

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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Bureau of the Communist and Workers'  
Parties**



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## **DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES**

The question of the nationalisation of industry and its development on a socialist basis has been solved successfully in the new democracies. The working class has once again demonstrated its ability to run the state and the economy better than the capitalists. In the sphere of the development of industry the new democracies have made a serious step forward along the path to Socialism.

The Communist and Worker's Parties in these countries are focussing their attention on the practical application of new methods to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry. Experience has shown that, as a result of the consolidation of people's power, the major successes in rehabilitating and developing national economy, the basic changes in the balance of class forces in favour of the working class and the strengthening of its leading role have made it possible for the new democracies to lay the foundations of Socialism.

From this there arises the urgent need for a new solution to a number of questions linked with the further development of the countryside.

The agrarian reform gave land to the peasants, raised the living standard of millions of working peasants and agricultural labourers and abolished the landlord class. The correct policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties very largely contributed to the consolidation of the people's power and its basis—the alliance of workers and peasants; to the successful rehabilitation of the national economy.

It resulted in a growth of political consciousness and greater activity among the broad peasant masses and enhanced the influence of the Marxist parties among the peasants and extended their organisational bases in the countryside,

The Communist and Workers' Parties set themselves the task of securing the results of the agrarian reform and going forward to a new stage of development of the countryside, They are fighting to achieve progressive methods of agriculture, to raise the productive forces of the countryside to serve the vital demands of a rapidly developing industry.

The realisation of these vitally important tasks demands that the struggle against the capitalist elements in the countryside should be intensified, that the kulak should be deprived of his privileged position in the village. It demands a consistent policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements and giving all-round assistance to the poor and medium peasant. This is all the more necessary since the agrarian reform did not, and could not prevent class differentiation in the countryside nor the growth of the kulaks,

The working peasantry know from their own experience how the kulaks exploit a considerable part of the workers in the countryside, how they impede the development of the village cooperative which is designed to protect the poor and medium peasants against speculation and usury; how by slander and threats they intimidate and disorganise the rural population in an attempt to disrupt the measures the people's power has taken in the interests of the working peasantry, The kulaks actively supported the Mikolajczyks, Nagys, Manius and Petkovs and their like and today the foreign imperialists base themselves on the kulaks in their subversive struggle against the people's power.

Only the Tito clique, which has betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism to side with the kulaks, even in the face of the experience of the new democracies and of Yugoslavia

herself, is endeavouring to 'deny the fact that capitalist elements in the countryside are growing and the class struggle sharpening as a result.

An important condition, for successful struggle against the kulaks and for consolidating the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry is the strengthening of the leading role of the working class, securing the leading role of the town in the socialist reorganisation of the countryside.

The Information Bureau Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is of exceptional assistance to Communist and Workers' Parties in defining correctly the important tasks in the countryside in this new phase. The Resolution states:

"The experience of the CPSU (B) shows that the elimination of the last and biggest exploiting class—the kulak class—is possible only on the basis of the mass collectivisation of agriculture, that the elimination of the kulaks as a class is an organic and integral part of the collectivisation of agriculture.

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

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

The Information Bureau Resolution denounced as adventurism the demagogic attempts of the Tito faction to solve in haste and by means of decrees, the task of liquidating

capitalism in the countryside which is a long process of work and struggle.

Guided in their policy and in all their practical activity by the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the Communist and Workers' Parties are constructively applying the world historic experience of the C.P.S.U. (B) in the struggle for socialist construction in the Soviet Union. They take into account the historical peculiarities of the development of their country, critically drawing lessons from their own experience so as to work out guiding principles of socialist reorganisation in the countryside.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are widely studying and popularising the experience of victorious collective-farm construction in the Soviet Union, the outstanding achievements of the Soviet collective-farm peasantry, the historic role of the industrialisation of the country in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

The recent plenums of the Central Committees of the Polish Workers' Party and the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) adopted a number of decisions on work in the countryside. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party outlined a big programme for helping the poor and medium peasant in restricting their exploitation by the kulak. A number of steps have been taken to develop and reorganise the work of the machine hiring stations, to make differentiations in the tax policy and to ensure that the credit policy in the countryside is approached from a class angle. The Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party stressed the need to extend distributive and consumer cooperatives in every way, to reorganise the economic and administrative apparatus in the countryside, purging it of kulaks and their hirelings. The Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party considered it most important to give every possible assistance to peasants wishing to form producers' cooperatives. It stressed that the

change-over from individual economies to collective farming was the only way which could lead to a really rapid growth of the wellbeing of the countryside, to freeing the working peasantry from exploitation by capitalist elements. The Central Committee warned the Party against undue haste in solving this historical task.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) also adopted a decision to give every possible assistance to peasants in forming and strengthening agricultural cooperatives. The successful work of these cooperatives is evoking increasing interest among the Bulgarian peasantry. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party stated that alongside the policy of restricting kulak influence, building machine-tractor stations, strengthening State-run farms and developing the production of agricultural machinery and artificial fertilizers, the establishment of agricultural cooperatives was all important factor in the reorganisation of agriculture on socialist principles.

In its decisions the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party stressed the need to put into effect more vigorously the policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside, of making greater class differentiations in the tax policy, in the sphere of grain deliveries and so on.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the new democracies are drawing practical conclusions from the Information Bureau Resolution. They are carrying out a number of measures to strengthen the parties ideologically and organisationally. They pay special attention to consolidating the rural Party' organisations, to purging their ranks of kulak elements; they are-raising the class vigilance of the rural party organisations and their ability to head the struggle of the poor and medium peasants against the kulaks and to successfully

carry out all measures of the people's power in the countryside.

By strengthening in every way the militant alliance of workers and peasants—this true guarantee of victory—the Communist and Workers' Parties of the new democracies are confidently advancing to new successes in the struggle to strengthen the forces of democracy and Socialism.

## **LABOUR EMULATION IN RUMANIA IN HONOUR 32 ANNIVERSARY OCTOBER REVOLUTION**

The working people of Rumania have decided to honour the thirty-first anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by labour emulation for new production achievements.

Workers of Brasov's 42 factories have promised to achieve increased production, lower' production costs, reduced wastage and economy in raw materials by the date of the anniversary.

The Reşita steel workers are competing with the workers of the Hunedoara and "Red Steel" metal plants for the fulfilment of their production targets.

## **EVE OF CONGRESS BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)**

Labour emulation in honour of the forthcoming Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) is now speeding up throughout Bulgaria.

A brigade of Communist miners in the Pernik coalfield took the initiative. In honour of the Congress they pledged themselves to fulfil this year's target by November 1. Following their example, another brigade of Pernik miners pledged themselves to fulfil their daily norm by 140 per cent.

The Party committee in the coalfield supported the miners' initiative. A conference of management, engineering, Party and trade union workers held at the committee's suggestion decided to honour the Congress by organising a six-day drive for intensified productivity of labour.

At the "Bulgaria" weaving mill in Sofia, 20 brigades are competing for the right to be registered on the mill's board of honour. Hundreds of working men and women of this mill pledged themselves to put in 20 to 30 extra hours work for the fund to build a Party House and a publishing house.

At the Varna textile mill the women workers who operate many looms simultaneously, are increasing their number of machines.

## **SOVIET YOUTH PREPARE FOR THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF SOVIET UNION**

The Young Communist League of the Soviet Union will celebrate its thirtieth anniversary on October 29, Soviet youth is enthusiastically preparing for this significant event.

At factories and plants, in collective and state farms throughout the Soviet Union young men and women are fighting to fulfil the Stalin Five-Year Plan ahead of time. They want to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Young Communist League with new labour exploits and production achievements.

The Y.C.L. organisations in Moscow and Moscow region have started competitions for each young worker to fulfil his annual targets by October 29 and to fulfil the Five-Year Plan targets in four years. This emulation has involved thousands of young workers, more than 90,000 of whom have already fulfilled their annual targets and over 12,000 their Five-Year targets. The young people have produced goods exceeding the plan to the value of 500,000,000 rubles.

The young men and women of Leningrad are not lagging behind those of Moscow. They are fighting to lower production costs. On the initiative of the Young Communist members, the Electrosyla factory economised 40 tons of highly expensive metal. Sixty-three youth brigades at the factory have joined the 30th anniversary emulation campaign of the Young Communist League and have pledged themselves to economise two and a half million rubles.

In connection with the forthcoming anniversary, millions of young men and women are taking on additional obligations. The young people of the Stalin metallurgical plant in Kuznetzk have decided to produce 7,000 tons of steel and 4,000 tons of rolled iron above plan by the anniversary. Apart from this, the young workers have decided to economise 10,000 tons of ore, 5,200 tons of limestone, 400,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity and 100,000 cubic metres of gas.

Young people of the countryside are also preparing for the anniversary enthusiastically. They are fighting to over-fulfil the plans of state grain deliveries, to organise autumn field work successfully.

The preparations for the Y.C.L. anniversary are also accompanied by further development in the field of culture and sport. In connection with the anniversary, a special relay race will be organised in which riders, runners, cyclists and motor-cyclists will carry messages to the Soviet capital from even Republics and along twelve routes.

Soviet youth loves and treasures its leader, the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. Actively preparing for its anniversary, Soviet youth demonstrates its devotion to the Soviet Y.C.L. and its leader—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

## **CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL ECONOMY BECOMES LAW**

The Czechoslovak Government has ratified the law on the Five Year Plan for the development and reconstruction of the country's national economy for 1949 to 1953.

The Plan envisages further development of all branches of the national economy, especially heavy industry, and increased production of the iron and steel engineering and other industries.

During the next five years the national income will increase 48 per cent and by 1953 will be 310,000 million crowns, compared with 210,000 million crowns in 1948.

The level of industrial production will be brought up to 57 per cent over 1948. The volume of output will be valued at 454,000 million crowns by 1953 against 288,000 million in 1948. Agricultural production will go up 15 per cent.

According to the Five Year Plan, the number of factory and office workers in industry will increase by 18 per cent and by 50 per cent in the building industry. Capital investments in industry, agriculture and for cultural development will amount to 366,000 million crowns. The Five Year Plan envisages a great improvement in the people's living standards.

## **BRITISH PEACE CAMPAIGN GROWS STRONGER**

Every day, the campaign for peace grows stronger in Britain.

Plans are being made all over the country by trade unions for peace conferences.

On October 3, for example, representatives of 40,000 workers in the area of Southall (industrial borough on the outskirts of London) met to demand peace. Delegates welcomed the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals.

In the important industrial towns at Hull, Leeds and Sheffield among others; trades councils have decided to call or to participate in local peace conferences.

The London District of the Communist Party, acting on the manifesto of the Party Executive, has called on the people of London to organise mass demonstrations at every factory and enterprise.

## **CALL OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PROGRESSIVE LABOUR PARTY CANADA**

The Executive Committee of the Progressive Labour Party of Canada has issued a call declaring that the Wall Street magnates are provoking a third world war.

In Paris, Mackenzie King and General Marshall are wrecking the United Nations. The war-thirsty American imperialists are now rejecting everything for which Roosevelt had fought—the United Nations and friendship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Under the banner of “Socialism”, Bevin is doing Wall Street’s dirty work by kindling the Berlin crisis—a barefaced lie aimed at intimidating the people.

The Progressive Labour Party calls on the Canadian people to fight for peace; to give neither a single soldier nor a rifle to America’s war; to prevent army recruitment and the militarisation of Canada’s youth; to clear U.S. troops out of Canadian territory; to demand that the Canadian representatives at the U.N. General Assembly should support the Soviet proposals for an immediate universal armaments reduction by one-third and for prohibition of atomic weapons.

# **TOGLIATTI'S SPEECH TO PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY ITALY**

Reports by Comrade Luigi Longo on the political and ideological work of the Party and Comrade Guiseppe di Vittorio on the struggle of the Communists for trade union unity were given at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, held in Rome, September 23-25. The Plenum was addressed by Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Party.

Opening his speech, Comrade Togliatti said:

To find the sources of these mistakes it is necessary to refer back to April 18 (Italian Election Day. Ed.). A section of the membership failed to draw the proper conclusions about the situation after the election. They considered April 18 as a defeat from which we could only recover by launching a broad movement of an insurrectionary character, using armed force to sweep aside the enemy—an enemy who as is well-known, won by staging election stunts.

It is deplorable that there was insufficient discussion after the election with the result that a vague feeling of dissatisfaction pervaded certain sections of the Party. This lies at the root of these shortcomings.

What was the reason for the mistaken orientation of part of the membership? In my opinion it was this: during the period of our cooperation in the Government, during the period of the National liberation Committees and immediately after the liberation some of our Party functionaries and members lost sight of our fundamental ideological position.

The fact that we cooperated in the Government with

representatives of the hostile classes and that this cooperation dictated specific methods of solving certain political problems led to a section of the Party forgetting the principles of the political struggle. They forgot that in a society divided into classes, the political struggle is an expression of the class struggle. Therefore, when our comrades were met by the organised resistance of the bourgeoisie, some of them lost sight of our political perspectives.

At the same time, the slogan of progressive democracy was not clearly understood by all Party members. Broad sections of our Party advanced this slogan (we opposed this deviation repeatedly) as an unimpeded movement toward Socialism, unaccompanied by serious struggle and achieved through a number of compromises. Thus the perspective of peaceful development was created—a development which did not reflect the class struggle but in which conditions would steadily improve and mutual accord become increasingly evident as we approached Socialism.

The real situation is diametrically opposed to this.

Comrade Togliatti went on to say that the failure to understand the post-election period, when it seemed that the path of this peaceful development made up solely of compromise and agreement was completely barred, gave rise to an opportunist deviation on the part of certain comrades, often disguised by extremist insurrectionary phrase-mongering.

In order to understand that this was a radical divergence from our basis ideological position, it was only necessary to examine the attitude of those comrades who, after April 18, sat back and thought that the immediate perspective was an uprising.

Comrade Togliatti continued: What is the situation today and why has the Party raised the two questions: examination of our political line and strengthening of our ideological training? The present situation throughout the world and in our country

is one of tense class struggle by the most reactionary capitalist groups and the big bourgeoisie who are trying to smash the forces of democracy, progress, revolution and Socialism.

What is the meaning of the fundamental contradictions between us and the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party? What is the meaning of the treachery of some of these leaders to the united front of the democratic progressive socialist forces? What is the meaning of the discussions in the Polish Party? All these facts are an expression of the growing resistance of the reactionary groups who are trying to shake the foundations of the order existing in these countries and who are trying to win allies.

What is the danger threatening us in this situation? In the face of this organised onslaught by the most reactionary capitalist forces there is a danger of capitulation and of losing sight of our own forces. This is the danger of opportunism and it exists in the new democracies, in our country and in France. It is the tendency to capitulate, to credit the enemy with victory when in fact he is a long way from victory. Those who reason like this believe the stories of the development of the capitalist forces in the capitalist press: they imagine that the capitalist world has already emerged from its deep-seated crisis.

This also applies to the question of war. The newspapers which work for American and British propaganda are campaigning to make people believe that war is imminent and inevitable. This campaign must be exposed since its object is to create the impression that the capitalist forces now dominate the world, and that we, they allege, are staking on war.

It is obvious that this campaign of American and British propaganda is levelled at upsetting the relation of forces through panic, fear and confusion. It can be said that during the past few months the peace front has strengthened its positions while nothing has come of the manoeuvres and provocations aimed at splitting this front, at placing it in a difficult position

and isolating the Soviet Union which heads it.

The perspective facing our Party is of struggle, fiercer than hitherto. We can and must go into this struggle confident of our great strength, confident of our ability to rally round the Party the majority of militant people—for nobody has succeeded in proving that we are unable to do this.

The danger threatening us is the danger of opportunism.

To maintain its political line, the Party must strengthen itself ideologically.

In conclusion Togliatti said: As Luigo Longo pointed out in his report, we shall continue our policy in keeping with the new conditions under which it is now being realised. We shall continue to battle for the unity of all democratic forces, for the freedom of democracy and the independence of nations.

Our aim is still to win over the majority of the people and, in the changed conditions, preserve the old trade unions and form new ones.

The struggle against the “Marshall Plan,” against the foreign policy of Sforza and de Gasperi is in content a national struggle (not a nationalist one). We defend the independence of our country, her autonomy, her desire to play a bigger role than she has played hitherto.

The last question I would like to take up is the question of the unity of the Party. We have Party unity but I must warn the comrades that unity is effective only if it is conscious unity built round the political line for which the struggle is being waged, a unity which all members of the Party are capable of putting into practice.

Unity of the Party is created in the struggle for its political line against those who do not understand this line, against those who either do not understand or who forget about the ideological principles of the Party.

This is the unity we need. We want the unity of our Party

to be a conscious unity. Then it will become a new weapon in our hands in the coming bitter struggle.

## **PURITY OF PARTY RANKS IS OUR DAILY CONCERN. M. Farkas, Assistant General Secretary, Workers Party of Hungary**

The Hungarian Workers' Party has considerably increased its role and prestige since the Unity Congress of last June.

The people of Hungary consider our Party to be the party fighting for the interests of the people. They have confidence in it, support it and accept its lead. However, we would be committing a serious and irredeemable mistake were we to become smug, less vigilant or to take a less exacting attitude to the work of the Party and each of its members.

We must see not only the successes but also the shortcomings of our Party and the dangers threatening it. Through Bolshevik criticism we must expose our mistakes and mobilise the membership to correct them.

Our Party is at the helm of the state. But it will only be able to carry out its historical tasks if the decisive role inside the Party is held by the workers, if the Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks is unshakable and if it is organisationally strong and disciplined. All this calls for exceptional efforts to keep the Party ranks pure and demands a great deal from each member.

Even before the Unity Congress, Comrade Rakosi had drawn the attention of the membership to the dangers of an excessive expansion of the Party. In view of this, the Congress changed the Party's admission rules and closed its doors to alien class elements.

A period of probationary membership was introduced, and each applicant had to be supported by two recommendations. The new regulations also laid down that Party organisations, must have a strict, careful approach to new recruits, selecting

only the best, tested, loyal candidates.

Recently the Political Bureau of our Party has given a thorough study to the question of how the Party organisations are carrying out these important decisions of the Unity Congress on Party building. At the same time, the Political Bureau carefully examined the Party's social composition.

This verification has shown that a great number of leaders and members of our organisations are not yet fully acquainted with the Statutes adopted by the Unity Congress, and have understood neither their significance nor their profound importance. Because of this, certain local Party organisations accepting new members, committed major mistakes.

As a result there penetrated into the Party, people unworthy of the honourable name of Party Member, people who used the Party for their own ends and, in some cases, even to undermine its prestige and disrupt its organisations. Responsibility for these mistakes does not only with the leaders of local Party organisations. The Organisation Bureau and the Organisation Department of the Central Committee are to a large extent to blame. They did not pay sufficient attention to the question of the growth of the Party, failing to explain Congress's decisions on Party structure to local leaders and to the entire rank and file of the Party,

The Political Bureau's examination of the Party's social composition has shown that the percentage of petty-bourgeois elements in the Party has greatly increased and that in some places even bourgeois elements have penetrated. Resulting from these harmful changes in the Party's social composition, we can observe signs of right-wing deviation, of slackened vigilance and a weakening of the staunchness and militant spirit of the Party.

These signs became especially noticeable recently, when the Party began to pursue a more decisive policy on all fronts. For example, when the schools were taken over by the State,

there were certain Party organisations and individuals who did not agree with this policy. Again, some of them were influenced by the kulaks after the kulak offensive launched on the eve of the grain deliveries. The verification of such organisations has proved that the source of the opposition to the Central Committee's policy came from the hostile elements that had penetrated into these organisations.

In this way because the social composition of our Party had deteriorated, the enemy succeeded in some places—true, only temporarily—in causing separate Party organisations to deviate from the correct political policy of the Central Committee. No matter how isolated these cases are in our Party, they cannot be permitted in the future.

The social composition of our organisations in the towns has been weakened by mass influx of Government officials into the Party. For example in Pacsá 724 out of 1,500 officials are members of the Party, in Kaposvár 539 out of 750, in Szekszárd—240 out of 250. These figures clearly indicate the serious mistake committed during the growth of the Party. Now we must begin to cure the Party's maladies resulting from this practice of accepting new members which is absolutely incorrect from the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

The deterioration of the Party's social composition also affects leading Party bodies. For example, at the Budafolk electric factory 5 out of the 6 members of the Party committee are office workers. Only one is a worker at the bench. And, during Committee meetings the worker-member is usually sent somewhere else to do a job. This instructive example shows that at certain factories, office workers succeed in squeezing workers out of the Party leadership, virtually taking control.

In view of these serious mistakes and to make the Party a really militant vanguard of the working class, the political Bureau of the Central Committee decided on September 2 to stop recruiting for six months and to hold an investigation of

the present membership. The conscious, advanced Party members welcomed this decision enthusiastically. The Central Committee has received thousands of letters and telegrams of approval. This shows that in spite of its shortcomings and mistakes, our Party is sound and strong. We can already see that the Political Bureau decision has resulted in intensified activity of Party members. There is no doubt that its realisation will heighten the Party's prestige and the name "Party Member"; it will help to strengthen the Party's bonds with the working people.

It must be said that the hostile elements which penetrated into the Party were alarmed by the Political Bureau decision, for they know it is a measure against themselves. They are deliberately misinterpreting it to the more backward Party members, claiming that it aims to expel former Social-Democrats and intellectuals from the Party. Some people are even spreading rumours that the petty-bourgeois worker elements will be expelled from the Party and that all those expelled will be dismissed from their jobs and deprived of a living.

Of course, all this is a downright lie. The vast majority of former Social Democrats who after the fusion with the Communist Party became members of the Workers' Party have come together with the workers and the working people as members of a single family. They are now fighting shoulder to shoulder with them in the factories and in the fields for new economic and political achievements. Whatever our enemies attempt in order to break this unity, they will fail. We did not discriminate and will not discriminate between members of our Party according to their former Communist or Social Democratic membership. The Political Bureau decision will be carried out so that it brings about even greater unity of the former members of the two parties.

Nor is the decision of the Political Bureau levelled against

the intelligentsia. Today our Party and the country more than ever before need every honest intellectual who supports people's democracy and is eager to help to build Socialism. We shall help such intellectuals in every possible way so that they can play an active part in developing our industry, culture and art in the spirit of people's democracy.

There can be no question of a mass expulsion from the majority of loyal and honest petty-bourgeois elements. This would only play into the hands of our opponents and class enemies.

Whom do we intend to weed out of the Party in keeping with the Political Bureau's decision? It is quite natural that if some former landowners, manufacturers and bankers succeeded in penetrating anywhere into our Party ranks as a result of our slackened vigilance they must be mercilessly expelled from the Party. This is also true of merchants, blackmarketers, kulaks and artisans who profit at the expense of the peasants.

We must ruthlessly expel any former functionaries of fascist or other reactionary organisations. We must expel all the reactionary journalists and writers, officials dismissed for political unreliability, former gendarmes, reactionary officers of the army and the police, Horthy supporters returned from the West, where such people are found in the Party.

We must make a thorough check-up of those Government officials who were loyal to the old regime, the people who, after the liberation, either openly or undercover conducted anti-democratic activities and only recently joined us.

There must be no place in our Party for criminals of any kind, either political or otherwise, for the corrupt, for those who practise bribery, for drunkards or anyone leading an immoral life.

Our enemies sought for shelter in our Party. In some places they found it. But they will find it no more. With all the

determination and vigilance characteristic of Communists, our Party will rid itself of those who should have no place in its ranks. We know that these hostile elements, aware that their days in the Party are numbered, will try to keep their Party cards. Many of them will loudly protest their loyalty and will mouth radical phrases at Party meetings. They will demand a vigorous Party purge. They will try to pretend that they are the staunchest defenders of the Party's interests. But they will not mislead us.

The correct application of the Political Bureau's decision is by no means a simple technical task of an organisational nature. It is a task of the greatest political importance.

Decisions will be taken concerning thousands of people. We must carry out this work most thoroughly, scrupulously, determinedly and with real Bolshevik Vigilance. During the verification we shall make sure that the fate of individual Party members does not rest on papers and anonymous reports.

A bureaucratic and formal investigation of our ranks might cause considerable harm. That is why decisions on each member must be taken only after personal conversations with him and after a thorough examination of all the circumstances.

In the course of the verification we must tighten up Communist vigilance in the Party and considerably strengthen inner Party democracy, developing sound Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

In the struggle for the purity of our ranks we will be guided by the example and experience of the great, victorious Party of Lenin and Stalin. We will make our Party correspond in every respect with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin about the revolutionary party of the working class.

## **DECISION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF SLOVAKIA ON FUSION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Comrade Siroky, Chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia, reported on “The fusion of the Communist Party of Slovakia with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—an inevitable stage on the way to Socialism”, at the September 27-28 meeting of the Central Committee of the Slovak Party.

In his report, Comrade Siroky pointed out that under the new conditions of sharpened class struggle, the Slovak Communist Party had not been sufficiently prepared to take resolute action against reaction and had underestimated the strength of reaction.

Because there was no clarity on ideological and political questions and on account of the resulting confusion in the working class, a state of uncertainty pervaded the Party during the past few months.

Comrade Siroky analysed the relation of class forces in Czechoslovakia and drew attention to the methods used by the reactionaries whose desperate resistance against socialist construction, against the popular-democratic power and the Communist Party, he said, would inevitably grow.

Comrade Siroky also drew attention to the influence of petty-bourgeois nationalism within the Party which even affected the Party’s leading bodies.

Comrade Siroky said that for centuries the Slovak bourgeoisie had, in its own class interests, encouraged national narrow-mindedness among the Slovak people to prevent them

from understanding the progressive ideas of Socialism and democracy. It pursued a policy of enmity and mistrust toward the Czech people, The influence of these nationalist prejudices is still to be seen in the economic field, ,as well as in art, science, literature and so on, These prejudices can lead to particularly harmful political consequences, since they may weaken the common efforts of the Czech and Slovak working class and the people as a whole in their struggle for the Republic's prosperity and for the victory of Socialism which will create the necessary conditions for full national development of the Slovak people.

Comrade Siroky pointed out that the influence of petty-bourgeois nationalism must be eliminated by systematically improving ideological work, by educating the mass of the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

On the organisational fusion of the Communist Parties of Slovakia and Czechoslovakia, Comrade Siroky stressed that this had become an inevitable and important stage on the way to Socialism.

Comrade Siroky said: the struggle for the victory of Socialism in our Republic makes it essential that the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, should base itself on the united will of the entire working class of the country, that national division within the framework of that class should cease. In this way the role of the working class would be further strengthened. Our development has reached a stage when any further national division among the Communists and the working class would be harmful.

In view of this, he proposed that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia should approve the formation of a united national Communist Party with a single political leadership.

The existence of an independent Communist Party in Slovakia, said Comrade Siroky, was explained by the specific

historical conditions of Slovakia's development. The destruction of the Czechoslovak Republic by fascist Germany in 1939, resulted in Slovakia developing differently politically from the Czech lands. Under such circumstances the formation of the Communist Party of Slovakia was a historical necessity. The Slovak Communist Party, the glorious party of the Slovak working class, honestly and successfully fulfilled its tasks in the struggle for the liberation of Czechoslovakia and for a new order of people's democracy.

The Communist Party of Slovakia led the Slovak people throughout the underground anti-fascist struggle, during the national uprising in Slovakia and in the struggle against Slovak reaction, for building and strengthening people's democracy. The Slovak Communist Party was the only political force in Slovakia which consistently defended the unity of the Republic and the interests of the Slovak people.

The detailed resolution adopted by the meeting on Comrade Siroky's report states that on the principle that the working class and the working people of Slovakia should have a single political leadership in the form of a unified national Communist Party basing itself on the unanimous will of the Communists of Czechoslovakia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia declares that the Slovak Communist Party becomes an integral part of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee also discussed the report submitted by the Chairman of the Board of Representatives, Comrade Husak on "The status of people of Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia". The decision reached on this question points out that after the exchange of population, a considerable number of persons of Hungarian nationality would still remain in Czechoslovakia. Basing itself on proletarian internationalism and the Lenin-Stalin doctrine on the equality and friendship of nations, the Central Committee considers it necessary to grant

Czechoslovak citizenship, all civil, political and democratic rights and the opportunity of full national economic and cultural development to all Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who have not committed crimes against the people's state.

## **CELEBRATION OF TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF “SHORT HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U. (B)” IN BUCHAREST**

The tenth anniversary of Comrade’ Stalin’s brilliant work, the “Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)”, was widely celebrated in Rumania.

The meeting of the Bucharest Party Active on October 1, devoted to the tenth anniversary of the “Short Course” was addressed by Anna Pauker, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party.

In Craiova, Cluj, Brasov,’ Ploesti and other towns throughout the country, public lectures were organised on the significance of the book for all Communist and Workers’ Parties.

# **HOW THE TITO CLIQUE FIGHTS AGAINST ITS OWN PEOPLE. L. Baranov**

The present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party call themselves friends of the Yugoslav people. Even more, in their daily propaganda against the Communist Parties, against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, they are endeavouring to identify themselves with the people, posing themselves as champions of their interests. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In reality, who are these traitors who call themselves “friends” of Yugoslav people? They are bourgeois nationalists, enemies of the working class. They are people who do not treasure the interests of the international working class movement, the interests of their Party or of their people.

The article, “Whither the Nationalism of the Tito Group in Yugoslavia”, published in “Pravda”, September 8, correctly points out that in no circumstances can the Tito group be regarded as courageous and honest leaders who love their Party.

What, in actual fact, has Tito, present “leader” of the Yugoslav Communist Party, lauded by his assistant Djilas and his other accomplices, in common with real leaders in the Marxist conception of the word? Absolutely nothing. He is an arch nationalist, an old factionist, a pampered individual far removed from the people.

It is impossible to imagine that a Marxist who is true to the working class and to Marxism would declare, for instance, that the peasantry constitutes the main and principal support of the new power in Yugoslavia—as Tito has declaimed to his

followers time and again. How can anyone who considers himself a Marxist neglect the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle, tested by the experience of the international revolutionary movement, by the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union? Not a real Marxist, would not do so. Only traitors and enemies of the people would do so.

Behind Tito follows Rankovic, the hangman. Everyone knows that this gentleman can neither boast intelligence nor valour. But he has certainly distinguished himself in other respects. During the past three months, thousands of the Yugoslav people who selflessly battled for freedom and the national independence of their country, have been thrown into prison or concentration camp. He has murdered and tortured to death hundreds of Yugoslav Communists whose only "crime", was that they wanted to march in the united front with the fraternal Communist Parties and revered the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism. He and his lackeys are responsible for murdering Arso Jovanovic, hero of the national-liberation movement of the Yugoslav people, for throwing Zujovic and Hebrang behind bars. It is Rankovic, the hangman, who has established a regime of terror in the country, hounding all who do not agree with the line of the present, leader of the Yugoslav Party, the clique which is driving the country to disaster.

Kardelj, a henchman of Tito and Rankovic also calls himself a friend of the Yugoslav people at the very moment when he is betraying their interests. By attempting to give a "theoretical" basis to the nationalist, treacherous policy of the Tito clique, Kardelj is trying to deceive and mislead the Yugoslav people. But ever wider sections of Yugoslav working people are beginning to see through Kardelj's cunning.

Yugoslav Communists view with the same abhorrence Djilas, who is saturated with anti-Soviet poison, odious in his nationalist antics and who likewise considers himself a

Marxist, although he has long since betrayed Marxism.

Such are the false “friends” of the Yugoslav people. Their bourgeois nationalism and betrayal of the cause of the working class draws them together.

These gentlemen have already long since lost every vestige of honesty and courage. As a Russian proverb has it, they are “thievish as cats and timid as hares.”

How can the present Yugoslav leaders be regarded as honest and courageous when they lacked the courage to come to the session of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties and in discussion with their comrades, recognise their mistakes? How can there be respect for such so-called leaders who having taken the path of nationalism, sacrifice the interests of the Party, and the interests of their people, to whom they swear the loyalty of the Pharisee? These cowards and Philistines are “brave” only when they call deceive the people with impunity and hound people who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet Union. However, these machinations cannot last for long. The farther the Tito clique leads the country into a blind alley, the fewer become the numbers or the credulous among the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslav leaders cannot reckon on the confidence and support of their people. The leader who does not respect and love his people cannot remain leader for long. The revolutionary leader lives the life of his class, devoting himself entirely to service for the people. The real leader is able to distinguish between the transient and the vital interests of his people; he never deceives with illusions; he knows more and points out the way leading to the victory of his class. Real friends of the people neither lie nor deceive them, but tell the truth whatever it may be. This quality, inherent in real leaders, is unknown to Tito and his clique. On the contrary, they have lost their sense of shame to such an extent and have become such arrant liars that they have elevated Pharisaism and

falsehood to a cult: they swear loyalty to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—in words: in deeds they pursue an outright anti-Soviet policy.

The history of the Russian and international working class movement gives numerous examples of political Philistines trying to head the revolutionary party. However, they usually perished and found themselves on the garbage heap of history. Such individuals inevitably finished up in the camp of reaction. They became the bitterest enemies of the working class, renegades, traitors and assassins, like the contemptible degenerates, Bukharin and Trotsky.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Yugoslav workers place the present Yugoslav Party leaders who have betrayed the interests of the people, the interests of the international working class movement, on a par with Trotsky and Bukharin. The Yugoslav people and their genuine friends have every reason to do so.

The Yugoslav Party leaders started their crusade against their people by depriving the working class and the working peasantry of the most reliable weapon—in the struggle against the enemy. They deprived them of a militant revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party. The Tito clique have turned the Yugoslav Communist Party into a caste organisation, cutting it off from its life-source, from the element that constitutes the great strength of a revolutionary party—contact with the masses.

In doing so the Yugoslav Party leaders did not take into account, or more correctly, did not wish to take into account, the fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is not the private concern of Tito, but the product of many years of revolutionary struggle by the working class of Yugoslavia and the international working class movement. And that is why the Yugoslav leaders, no matter what their past services, in the first place had no right to act as they did toward the Yugoslav

Communist Party and in the second place, that is why they are morally and otherwise responsible to the Communist Parties, to the international Communist front. For the concern of the Yugoslav working class and of its Party is likewise the concern of the international working class movement and of the whole Communist front.

Why have the leaders of the Yugoslav Party turned their Party into a bureaucratic, illegal caste organisation? There can only be one answer to this question: because in such a situation it is easier for the Tito clique to retain power and continue its treacherous work. Had the Party been built up as an active body where elections are carried out from top to bottom, where criticism and self-criticism is practised; had democratic centralism existed in the Party, it can be confidently stated that the Yugoslav Party would long since have rejected such leaders and would today be firmly advancing along the path to Socialism.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that only a Party that is guided by an advanced revolutionary theory and is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat can lead the working class to the victory of Socialism. It alone can play the role of revolutionary leader and educator of the people. The leaders of the Yugoslav Party have dissolved the Party in the People's Front which, as well as the Communist Party, is made up of representatives of all strata of contemporary Yugoslav society, including the kulaks and the bourgeois parties.

And Tito and his clique consider this act of treachery to the working class and working peasantry as a "contribution" which they claim to have made to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. What could be more ignominious and illiterate than this trick of the Yugoslav acrobats in the Tito clique? Is it not clear that there is no semblance of science here—only charlatanism?

Lenin and Stalin teach us that only the working class, the

most revolutionary and organised section of modern society is capable of leading the peasantry along the path to Socialism, that the working class must move in close alliance with working peasantry.

This is borne out by the experience of victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav leaders ignore the thesis of Lenin and Stalin, ignore the experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Thus the Yugoslav leaders who call themselves Communists have turned the backs on the working class, the only consistent revolutionary class of modern society. Instead, they have given preference to the village kulaks, to the petty bourgeois intellectuals and such like elements whom they are now rallying into their Party.

The Yugoslav leaders are trying to close their eyes to the danger which the growth of the kulaks in the Yugoslav countryside represents. They are lulling the working people of town and country with illusions about the possibility of building Socialism peacefully, without class struggle. In spite of the laws long since discovered by Marxist science and proved on the experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, they would have the people believe that Socialism can be built on the basis of private ownership of the land.

This retreat from Marxist-Leninist theory can cost the Yugoslav people dearly if the truth does not win through in this and many other questions of policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The champions of democracy and Socialism throughout the world know that only by basing themselves on the powerful support of the Soviet Union and the new democracies—this bastion of peace and democracy—can Socialism be built in the countries where a people's democracy has been set up. Regardless of the fact that only this can be the correct view of events, of the perspective of development of countries and

peoples along the path to Socialism, the present Yugoslav leaders are endeavouring to convince their people that they can build Socialism without the help of the Soviet Union and the new democracies. Only rabid nationalists, only people who viciously hate the Soviet Union, the new democracies, the C.P.S.U.(B) and the fraternal Communist Parties, would dare to take the path of treachery and betrayal. Only enemies of the Yugoslav people would dare to deprive their People of this powerful support of the Soviet Union and the new democracies, which they always felt.

In order to create the semblance of building Socialism in Yugoslavia, the Tito clique resorted to a Leftist trick and decided to abolish the “remnants” of capitalist elements, practically overnight. Without any preparations, the adventurers nationalised all small-scale industry, municipal institutions, trade and so on. As was to be expected, the results of this adventurous policy proved to be most deplorable. Numerous letters from Yugoslav Communists reveal that Yugoslavia is experiencing extreme economic difficulties. Trade has been upset and supplies to the workers and urban population dislocated. Instead of improving the material conditions of the working people, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are worsening them. Incidentally adventurers rarely consider the consequences of their action. That is why they are adventurers.

However, realising that people cannot be kept in obedience for long, through deception the Tito Clique has taken the path at open terror, declaring war on its Party and people. The people of Yugoslavia and the progressive intelligentsia are no longer given the opportunity to read the Soviet press or Soviet political literature or the press of other Communist Parties. According to the unwritten law of the executioner Rankovic, the reading of Soviet literature and newspapers is punishable by imprisonment, just as in the old days of the German

gestapo.

The children of workers and peasants, the sons and daughters of the Yugoslav people, are deprived of their university scholarships because their parents or they themselves do not agree with the treacherous, nationalist policy of the Tito clique. All students who do not accept the line of the Yugoslav leaders are expelled from university and the majority of them thrown into prison.

Thus, according to a former Communist student, M--- who was expelled from Belgrade University, out of 1,000 Communist students in the University, 400 have recently been expelled from the Party and the University, the majority of them arrested and the more “dangerous” among them killed by Rankovic’s henchmen. According to the same statement, a group of 50 to 60 arrested students were brought to Vrzhats from Belgrade on September 8. Another report states that 50 students of the faculty of medicine at Belgrade were expelled from the Yugoslav Communist Party at a Party meeting on September 11. The same is true of other faculties.

Professor Markovic of the political economy faculty at Belgrade has been expelled from the Party and arrested. Dohovic, a professor of law, has also been expelled from the Party. The brother of Professor Markovic, the poet Radule Stijenski, who wrote of the exploits of the peoples of Yugoslavia in the liberation movement, is now hiding to escape the vengeance of Rankovic, the hangman. Many Communist officers have been discharged and are under threat of arrest. The prisons of Yugoslavia are filled with Communists, fighters for the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia. They have been put behind bars by the traitors of the Yugoslav people—by Tito and his gang who have declared war on the Party and the people.

The Tito clique are expelling from the Party proletarian elements who uphold the position of Marxism-Leninism and

are recruiting into the Party the sons of kulaks, merchants, nationalists and all kinds of rogues. Honest people are refusing to join the Yugoslav Party when they see the kind of people now being accepted into its ranks.

According to Yugoslav comrades, well acquainted with the work of the Ministries, the Yugoslav state apparatus is being staffed more and more with the supporters of the imperialist camp and agents of the Anglo-American intelligence service. It could not be otherwise for there is no middle way: either with the people, at the head of the people, in alliance with the Soviet Union and the new democracies against the imperialists, or with the imperialists against the forces of democracy and Socialism, against the people. The Tito clique has taken the latter path.

All this once again illustrates the irrefutable conclusion made in the “Pravda” article of September 8, that “the nationalism in the Yugoslav Party is a blow not only to the common anti-imperialist front, but, above all, to the interests of Yugoslavia herself, the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the interests of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—both in the sphere of home and foreign policy.”

Such are the facts. This is how the Tito clique is waging war against its own people; this is how it is betraying their interests, by joining the camp of imperialism and rejecting friendship and cooperation with the closest friends of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—with the united Communist front and democratic anti-imperialist camp of the Soviet Union and the new democracies. And in all this the Yugoslav Party leaders all themselves “friends” of the people, emphasising that they and the people constitute one indivisible whole.

No, gentlemen, you are not friends of the Yugoslav people. You have betrayed our people and you have no right, to call yourself their friends. Friendship with the people binds leaders to a great deal above all to loyalty to the working class, to the

international working-class movement, to Marxism-Leninism.

Like the peoples of the world, the peoples of Yugoslavia see in the land of Socialism, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) their hope, their support in the struggle for the triumph of Socialism, for the triumph of the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. In the bitter years of fascist occupation the elders of Montenegro, pointing to the east, would tell their grandchildren: "There is Russia... The day will dawn when the Russians will come and we shall be free."

And the Soviet people came and liberated the peoples of Yugoslavia from their bondage. They created the conditions under which the Yugoslav peoples could freely build their way of life, their state and Socialism.

The Tito clique has betrayed the Yugoslav people, their cherished dreams and hopes. But the Yugoslav people and their Party are not alone. They have real friends in the Soviet Union, in the new democracies, in the great Party of Lenin and Stalin and the fraternal Communist Parties, which represent the powerful invincible camp of democracy and Socialism. And the sooner the Communist Party of Yugoslavia abolishes the nationalist policy of the Yugoslav leadership, the sooner will it return to the family of fraternal Communist Parties and confidently lead its people: along the path to Socialism.

## **STRENGTHENING UNITY AND STRUGGLE OF FRENCH PEOPLE— Georges Cogniot. Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of France**

From the beginning of last summer the strike movement in France gained momentum each week. The nation-wide strike of September 24 for the demands of the working class was the biggest demonstration of the proletariat's strength since the country's liberation from German occupation.

On October 4, 300,000 French miners began a large-scale strike. Their struggle coincided with that of thousands of workers in the iron and steel, rail, gas, electric and postal industries as well as with that of municipal employees. On October 13, seamen and dockers called a 24-hour strike.

This sweeping strike movement of the French working class is characterised by unity of action. For many weeks the question was whether the leadership of the splinter trade union "Force Ouvriere" and the leadership of the Christian trade unions should support the General Confederation of Labour or whether the trade union members supporting them should, in spite of the leadership, take the course of joint action with the working people. On the initiative of the rank and file—a fact which opens wide perspectives—the workers rebuilt their unity of action which had been broken up at the end of last year by the splitters in the "Force Ouvrière"—and Christian trade unions.

What are the aims of this powerful movement? What are the interests that bring the working people together? The vital

question is to improve living standards of the working people. The cost of living has gone up by 31 per cent since December 1947. But it was not until September 23 that the Government, after freezing wages for a whole year, decided to introduce a 15 per cent wage increase. This wage increase—negligible in itself—was completely cancelled out by new price increases on essential goods (up to 25 per cent and higher) and a big increase on fares and municipal services. The C.G.T. is now fighting for an immediate wage increase, demanding a higher subsistence minimum and the introduction of a sliding wage scale.

In view of the political situation in the country, the struggle for wages is becoming a part of the common struggle for France's national independence. The miners' answer to the Government's attempt to cancel their social gains was a nationwide strike. The Government decree annulling these gains was issued at the time when Marshall was in Paris. This decree is directed both against France as a nation and against the miners as a section of the working class. Before the Communist Ministers were expelled from the Government the coal industry produced 180,000 tons a day and the target for 1948 was 200,000 tons a day. But the domination of reaction in the country's political life and sabotage of the industry's technical re-equipment that followed the removal of the Communist Ministers from the Government brought coal production down to 140,000 tons. This gives the present Government the opportunity to pay the United States 20 million dollars a month for the thousands of tons of coal which, but for their obstruction, could be mined in France.

Thus the French miners, fighting for the right to live, are at the same time fighting for the restoration of national independence.

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The sharp political crisis existing in France since July can be attributed to certain definite reasons. The ruling circles in the service of American imperialism are deliberately carrying out a policy diametrically opposed to the interests of the working class and of the people. And in this they are faced with the growing resistance of the masses. Hence the political deadlock they are trying in vain to solve and the spectacle of government after government.

In this situation of unstable political relations the fascists grouped around de Gaulle are feverishly increasing their activity. They are trying to stop the working people and all patriots from increasing their resistance to the country's Marshallisation and to prevent any fundamental change being made in France's general policy.

At a press conference in the beginning of October, de Gaulle cynically declared that he wanted to abolish trade union liberty guaranteed by the Constitution and to destroy the organisations of the working class. He said he would resort to force against the law if the law enabled Communists to be returned to the Government. He offered his services to the American imperialists to force all Frenchmen into complete submission to Wall Street's orders.

Working people and democrats are as perfectly aware of the country's instability as is reaction. They know that the situation is a grave one, that they must rally all possible forces to bar the path of de Gaulle's neo-fascism whatever turn it takes. In the words of Maurice Thorez, the hour has come for France to make her choice. Either the destiny of France will be decided in favour of the working class and the people and the country will advance along the path of the economic, political and social reforms outlined in the National Resistance Council's programme, along the path of restored national sovereignty—or de Gaullism and Vichyism will hurl the country into national catastrophe and a new war.

More and more the mass of the people are beginning to see for themselves that there is only one government that can win back the country's sovereignty. That is a government of democratic unity in which the Communist Party—the premier party of the nation—will take its rightful place, a government which will completely smash the present policy of Marshallisation of France. Today not a single newspaper, not a single political figure of the American Party can avoid discussing, with rage in their hearts, the possibility of such a government being formed. This possibility is determined by the following facts:

1. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggle for national independence is recognised not only by the working class but also by all members of the Resistance Movement and by all patriots. Proof of this is the wide response to the important declaration of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, adopted at its September 30 session. The French Communist Party voiced the hopes of the broad masses of the people, once again affirming France's right to reparations and her desire to prevent France from becoming an ally of Western Germany, and warmly supporting Vyshinsky's proposal to the United Nations. The Political Bureau said: "What Hitler failed to achieve through Petain and Laval will not be achieved by the American imperialists through de Gaulle and Blum. The people of France will never fight against the Soviet Union".
2. This correct policy of the French Communist Party is increasing its strength and significance as a party representing the people. The number of votes polled by the Party at by-elections is increasing. For example, at the municipal election at Romilly on September 26 the Communists polled 48 per cent of the vote as against 40 per cent in 1947, while the Blum Socialists lost one vote out of every four and the de Gaulle candidates one out of thirteen.

On the other hand, under mass pressure, in practically all

political groups except the Communist Party, a differentiation of forces is beginning to take place. In a number of cases, including Parliament, this has already taken shape. The recent session of the National Council at MRP revealed the same serious differences as the Socialist Parliamentary group from which a section of Deputies has broken away under pressure of dissatisfied Socialist workers. Whole sections (Cannes, Crouy, and, so on) are withdrawing from the Socialist Party, and this movement is increasing. Confusion reigns in other political groups as well.

The call for a government of democratic unity is daily winning numerical support.

But a new trick is being prepared. The American Party is prepared to have Communists in the Government... on condition that they cease to be Communists and patriots. This is how Marshall Plan Administrator, Hoffman, reasons. This is the argument of world reaction, from "Messagero" in Rome to the bankrupt Third Force supporters in Paris. But their hopes are vain. It is useless to recommend the Tito example to French Communists. They will never play into the hands of reaction. The government they join will fundamentally change France's present policy.

France is faced with new crises, crises which remain merely Parliamentary incidents to a lesser and lesser degree. If anything, they will express to an ever increasing extent the contradictions between the will of millions of ordinary people and the policy of the Marshall rulers. The struggle of classes is growing sharper. But the will of the people can triumph only if the unity of its ranks continues to grow stronger.

## **TRADE UNIONS IN THE NEW DEMOCRACIES—B. VODA-PEXA**

The trade unions in the new democracies embrace broad sections of industrial workers, office workers and intellectuals.

Unity of the trade union movement—the lack of which brought many defeats to the working class. In the past, disarming it in face of the rising danger of fascism—was achieved as a result, of the bitter experience of the working people. This experience was bought at the price of the tears and blood of the people's liberation struggle, headed by the Communists. Unity was also won as a result of the liberation of these countries by the valiant Soviet Army.

Broad perspectives have opened up before the trade unions as the mass organisation of the working class which today occupies a leading place' in the new state order. Never before have these organisations of the working class presented such a powerful force as now, when they unite vast numbers of working people who were previously divided by various barriers and prejudices.

Trade unions in the new democracies today are one of the main sections of the People's Front, an important bulwark of the new state power. After the nationalisation of the greater part of industry, the banks and large-scale trading, the working class is now directing its country's economy together with the working people as a whole. Conscious of its historical role, organising itself in the trade unions, the working class is the bulwark of its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' Parties in rebuilding life on socialist principles."

This fundamentally changes the position of the trade unions, confronting them with new tasks. It makes it possible—even necessary—to apply new forms and methods to defend the economic interests of the workers, employees and

intellectuals.

In their activities the trade unions take into account the fact that the struggle for the realisation of common state tasks and the socialist transformation of the new democracies is inseparable from the struggle for a higher living standard for the people. Though they remain organisations defending the material and cultural interests of the working people, the unions in the new democracies are becoming an important factor in public and state life. They are educating the working people in the spirit of loyalty to the new state order and Socialism. They are schools where the workers are learning to be future public and state figures. Like the Soviet trade unions, the Unions in the new democracies are the mass school of state and economic administration, the “School of Communism” as Lenin said.

## **SUCSESSES IN THE WORK OF TRADE UNIONS**

The working class of the new democracies smashed the plans of reaction. The reactionaries had counted on the collapse of the nationalised industry which is laying the economic foundation for development toward Socialism. In spite of great difficulties and organisational defects after the war, production in these countries is steadily going up, targets are being smashed and labour productivity is increasing.

In Poland last spring, production had increased by 152 per cent compared with the pre-war level, in Bulgaria by 134 per cent, Hungary by 127 per cent and Czechoslovakia by 110 per cent. Rumania, where industry has only been nationalised very recently, has, in the main, reached the pre-war level of production.

This is the result of the efforts of the communist and Workers' Parties and trade unions; it is the result of the fact that the working class is now working for itself, for its state and not for the capitalists.

Trade unions of the new democracies devote considerable attention to strengthening the nationalised industries, increasing and improving output, raising the productivity of labour as the basis for the successful building of Socialism and the steady improvement of the living standards of the people. The turning point in the attitude to labour which Lenin spoke of as a more difficult and more important factor in the victory of the new social order that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie has already started in the new democracies. This is best seen from the steadily increasing number of workers taking part in labour emulation.

With the growth of production and the stabilisation of the monetary system, the trade unions worked extensively, to improve the conditions of the working people. This work was greatly facilitated by the help given by the Soviet Union to the new democracies in the form of grain supplies during the droughts reduction of reparations, and so on.

For instance, real wages of Hungarian workers increased by 43 per cent between October 1946 and July, 1948. In Czechoslovakia, average earnings registered a 37 per cent increase between January 1946 and spring 1948. Moreover, the price index remained unchanged. A similar picture is given by the other new democracies.

In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, real wages are steadily dropping. This is true not only of the countries which are in the stranglehold of the in "Marshall Plan", but also of the United States itself where real wages have fallen by 16.5 per cent from January 1945 to the middle of this year.

In Rumania, Hungary and the other new democracies, prices of essential goods have been cut and rations increased.

In Poland, bread rationing has been abolished. According to the reactionary newspaper, "*The Observer*", prices in the United States went up 8 per cent in one week alone, the week, of August 18 to 25.

In the new democracies, planned economy has eliminated unemployment. Surplus labour power, especially in the countryside, is rapidly being drawn into expanding industry. The direct opposite is happening in the capitalist countries, where unemployment is daily increasing. The United States today has 2,500,000 unemployed and 13,500,000 on short time. In the new democracies young people and women get equal pay for equal work, enjoy the right to leisure and benefit from other big democratic reforms. Under the influence of the trade unions, the social insurance system, labour protection, living conditions and education are being improved. Workers in industry and offices can get medical treatment at health resorts and in sanatoria. Their children can go to nurseries, secondary schools and universities. Such attention for the working people is impossible in the capitalist countries.

Strengthening the ties of the working class with the rest of the working people, especially with the working peasantry, the trade unions supported the small and medium peasants in their struggle for land reform and other vital interests.

By successfully fighting for industrialisation, for the creation of new agricultural technique, by helping the small and medium peasants to build cooperatives and by supporting them in their fight against the kulaks, the trade unions are an important weapon in the fight for the socialist transformation of the countryside.

Here mention should be made of the successful work carried out by the unions in the new democracies in educating and mobilising the masses to combat reaction—the exploiting and parasitic elements which are endeavouring to take advantage of the temporary difficulties in these countries. A

striking example of this was demonstrated by the Czechoslovak unions which during the February days came forward under the leadership of the Communist Party with their programme of demands, rallied the workers for the general strike which ended in complete victory for the popular masses.

## **TRADE UNIONS AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT**

The People's (National, Fatherland) Front was formed as a broad union of democratic forces under Communist leadership to fight for the national liberation of the countries enslaved by fascism and for the creation and strengthening of people's democratic states led by the working class.

The Communists waged a sharp struggle inside the People's Front against the reactionaries who tried to hold up its activities from within and distorted the aims and tasks of the Front.

The existence in the People's Front of parties and organisations representing broad semi-proletariat and petty-bourgeois strata, makes it easier for the working class to carry out its role, making it possible for it to spread its influence among the masses and to lead them.

On the other hand, it makes it imperative to wage a continual struggle against petty-bourgeois vacillations and reactionary intrigues. Before the decisions of the People's Front can be put into being there must be further persistent struggle. But not all members of the People's Front are capable of waging this with equal intensity. Therefore, the vanguard of the working

Class—the Communists and Workers' Parties—must not forget that of all the organisations in the People's Front, the trade

unions are its chief, support, most capable of upholding its policy consistently and keeping contact with the working class and, through it, with the whole of the working people.

Lenin and Stalin time and again stressed the great role of the trade unions in building the new society. Lenin, for instance, said that there could be no transition from capitalism to Communism “without having the supremacy of the class which alone was educated by capitalism for large-scale production and which alone was isolated from the interests of the small proprietor”.

Notwithstanding the specific conditions of development in the new democracies, the Lenin and Stalin thesis regarding the trade unions as the main and direct support of the vanguard of the working class, can be fully applied to these countries.

## **DISTORTION OF TRADE UNION ROLE BY YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST LEADERS**

By taking an anti-Marxist path the Tito-Kardelj-Djilas-Rankovic clique, consider the peasantry, as the leading force in the country. They have merged the Communist Party in the People's Front and have completely distorted the role of the trade unions.

The trade unions in Yugoslavia are artificially separated from the Party; they are regarded as the “conveyor belt” that connects the industrial and office workers with the heterogeneous People's Front, not with the Party. According to the present bosses of the Yugoslav Party, the trade unions are not the main support of the Party. These traitors to the proletariat have gone so far as to deny the need of trade unions as an independent organisation of the working class. Djilas, for instance, declared in January 1947 that it was senseless and

mistaken to hold separate meetings of trade unions and the People's Front organisations, and that such meetings should be held together, at the same time.

The Yugoslav Communist leaders consider the organs of State power—the People's Committees—to be the main support of the Party and give them the place of trade unions and the working class. This clique of traitors offers as an explanation the “specific” features of the liberation struggle in Yugoslavia and claims that the trade unions, that is, the working class, played no role in this struggle. This “theory” was propagated, for instance, by Mose Pijade in his article on the mechanism of state power in Yugoslavia (“Borba”, June 12, 1948).

The Tito clique deprives the People's Committees of the guiding influence of the working class and promotes the peasantry to the role of leading force in the country. Relegating the trade unions, and therefore, the whole working class, to the background in the political life of the country, negating the leading role of the working class, is part of the anti-Marxist line of the Yugoslav Party leaders, which is leading to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into a bourgeois republic.

## **WORK OF PARTY IN TRADE UNIONS**

The decision of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia states that the transition from capitalism to Socialism in the new democracies is accompanied by a sharpening of the class struggle. Therefore, at the same time as the Communist and Workers' Parties and their leading role among the masses are strengthened, it is also necessary to pay great attention to strengthen further the trade unions.

The tremendous growth in the membership of the

Communist and Workers Parties makes it necessary to ensure that the Party organisations do not lose their ability to be the leaders and educators of the working people, that they neither merge with the trade unions in the nature and level of their work nor replace them.

Taking into account the composition of the trade unions as a broad organisation of the working people, the Party should apply forms and methods of work which will gain it the following of the mass of trade unionists and through them enable it to raise the whole of the working class to a higher political level. In some of the new democracies there still are certain union leaders who are inclined to practice impermissible methods of work, to be bureaucratic and to issue decrees.

Addressing the Second Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions last February, Comrade Dimitrov said that it was the duty of the trade union to develop genuine democracy, to rely on the initiative of the industrial and office worker, to strengthen conscious discipline and to observe freedom of opinion. "There can be no lords and governors in the working class", said Comrade Dimitrov, "The working class demands of its leaders intelligence and character, decisiveness and tact in relation to the factory and office worker. We can only lament over the leader who does not understand this."

Party members who are also members of trade unions should ensure that the trade unions practise democratic principles and methods in all their work.

Criticism and self-criticism are being practised on an ever wider scale in the trade unions of the new democracies. What is important is that such criticism is beginning to be made not only from above but also from below. This will make it possible to expose mistakes and shortcomings more quickly and thoroughly, to expose bureaucrats and enemies, and to carry out mass control from below.

Party members should always be vigilant so that any reactionary machinations can be smashed in the early stages. They should expose wreckers, saboteurs and spies, guard the enterprise carefully, prevent provocateurs and enemies gelling into the trade union organisation, and steadily raise the class vigilance of union members. It is always necessary to remember the growing resistance being put up by the exploiting strata and classes, supported by imperialism, which are living their last days.

Party organisations should educate their members to take a reading place among the working people in the struggle for higher productivity of labour, to be the initiators of labour emulation—so important a factor in increasing production—thus improving the people's living standards. Only under these circumstances can the Communists maintain and develop their leading role among the mass of trade unionists.

Party organisations are responsible for the work of the trade unions. The Communists and Workers' Parties regard the development of the trade union movement as among the most important and current questions in their work. The strengthening of the trade unions and of their work will help to mobilise the working people to carry out current tasks, raise their militancy and enhance the leading role of the working class. This is one of the principal guarantees of the victory of Socialism in the new democracies.

## **SOLUTION OF NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF RUMANIA— Vasile Luca, Secretary, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Rumania**

In the struggle for a lasting peace, for a people's democracy and Socialism, against imperialism and reaction, the national question has always been, and still remains one of the vital problems of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' Parties in all the new democracies.

What is the essence of the national question in these countries today?

First of all, the peoples who were liberated by the heroic Soviet Army, or who won their national independence with the help of this Army can ensure the development of the people's democracy along the path of Socialist construction only they preserve their national sovereignty.

The fate of the peoples of Greece, Turkey, France, Italy and other countries who were "aided" by the Marshall Plan proves that the increasing interference of U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of these countries deprives them of their economic and political independence.

Until the imperialists are driven out from the countries where they are enslaving the people who want peace, freedom and progress, there can be no question of solving economic, political and cultural problems for the working class, or of building Socialism.

During World War two, the principal task of the working class led by the Communist Parties, was to mobilise all the forces of the people to fight the Hitler invaders, and to struggle for national independence and sovereignty.

But national independence and sovereignty were not

restored in all the countries liberated from the fascist yoke. And even those nations which, aided by, the victorious Soviet Army, have succeeded in preserving their national independence and sovereignty, are not yet wholly clear of the danger of new encroachments on their independence.

Today, U.S. imperialism, followed by Britain and France, is building a bloc of aggression against the peace-loving peoples. In this way, Hitler's plans have been taken over by a new imperialist group which is preparing a new criminal war, one of the aims of which is to deprive the new democracies of their national freedom and independence. With the help of bourgeois-landlord reaction and Social Democratic traitors, the imperialists are trying to erect bases against the new democracies and the Soviet Union.

The defence of national independence and sovereignty against the treat of a revival of fascism and imperialist aggression is a vital question for all the people's republics of Eastern and Southern Europe.

As with Socialism, national independence and sovereignty can only be safeguarded in the people's republics by uniting in each country all the democratic forces of the working class, poor and medium peasantry and intelligentsia, regardless of their nationality. They can only be safeguarded by the international solidarity of the working people, by mutual assistance between the people's republics and by rallying them around the most powerful, anti-imperialist force—the Soviet Union.

Any division in the democratic and socialist front means the betrayal of the people's national interests and the loss of the positions they have achieved in Socialist construction. This is evident from the example of Yugoslavia which, in provocative fashion, the Tito-Kardelj-Djilas-Rankovic clique is isolating from the Soviet Union and the new democracies and is thrusting Yugoslavia into the arms of the imperialists.

While they are defending their independence and sovereignty from imperialist encroachments from without, some of the people's republics which are multi-national or have considerable national minorities, must also solve the national question within their borders.

## **Bourgeois Nationalism—Weapon of Reaction**

From their own history, the peoples of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe can see for themselves how correct was the Marxist thesis that a nation which oppresses other peoples can never be free.

The anti-democratic solution of the national question in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and, after its fall, in the countries created or extended at the expense of the old Hapsburg Empire, caused many hardships to the peoples of these countries and much distress and suffering to the mass of the people.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin never compromised on the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin and Stalin criticised the incorrect approach to the national problem on the part of the West European Social Democrats who merely advocated cultural autonomy for nationalities, They stressed that an incorrect and non-democratic solution of this question would injure the working class and the popular masses of the ruling nation. Lenin and Stalin defined concrete tasks for the democratic movement to solve the national question in Russia. They fought simultaneously against Great Russian chauvinism and the reactionary nationalism of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationalities.

In keeping with the directives of Lenin and Stalin, the Bolshevik Party succeeded in mobilising the working class and

the popular masses of the oppressed nationalities of tsarist Russia and united them in a common struggle both against tsarism and against their own landlords and bourgeoisie.

The old Austro-Hungarian Empire is an example of an anti-democratic solution of the national question. Here the incorrect approach to the national question and the division of the working class movement (parties, trade unions, cooperatives) according to nationalities, made it difficult to unite all the working people of town and countryside for the struggle against national and social oppression! This made it possible for the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationalities to utilise the working class and the popular masses of their own nationalities in the struggle against the democratic movement in the given country.

After the downfall of the Austro Hungarian Empire, the new countries (Czechoslovakia), or those extended at the expense of the Empire (Rumania, Yugoslavia), received territories with many national minorities.

The ruling reactionary clique of these countries made good use of the slogan of the Hapsburgs and the Hungarian magnates; “divide and rule”.

They carried out an anti-popular and anti-democratic policy, of oppression against Hungarian and other national minorities remaining in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, Czech and Serb reaction fomented strife between Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians, between Serbs, Croats and the other peoples in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Later, the peoples of Central Europe and of the Balkan countries paid heavily for this policy of national oppression, discord and enmity. In the heat of their own quarrels they did not notice the mortal danger that hung over them in the shape of German imperialism which was raising its head again in its most bloody and warlike form—the form of fascism.

This paved the way for the national treachery of the fifth column and enabled German fascism to overrun these countries and turn them into its vassals, As a result of the policy of national oppression, these countries were enslaved by Hitler and involved in a criminal war against their own interests. During World War Two they found themselves on the verge of national catastrophe.

In Rumania, the Communist Party alone fought consistently for a democratic solution of the national question in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Guided by the Lenin-Stalin doctrine on the national question as well as by the experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union in solving this question, the Rumanian Communist Party included in its programme the Leninist principle of solving the national question in accordance with the common interests of the working class and Rumanian democracy. This evoked the bitter hatred of the Rumanian landlords and bourgeoisie who turned Transylvania, Bessarabia and Dobrudja into their colonies. The Communist Party was outlawed and had to go underground. At that time the Party failed to break the national-chauvinistic wave, but its stand helped it later, under new historical conditions, to destroy the reactionary cliques and to unite the working people of all nationalities in Rumania to work for the country's transformation into a people's republic.

The bourgeois-landlord parties in Rumania could only maintain their domination by using brutal terror against the Communist Party, by inciting and fanning chauvinistic hatred and developing a nationalist pogrom movement directed against the different national minorities in the country.

This ruling-class oppression of nationalities weakened the people's resistance and opened the way for the treachery of Antonescu and the Rumanian fascists, who led the country into the arms of fascist Germany. In this way the stage was set for Hitler's blackmail. Simultaneously promising Transylvania to

Hungary and Rumania, Hitler utilised the Transylvanian question as a pawn for the purpose of securing from both Hungary and Rumania hundreds of thousands of soldiers for his criminal war.

With the military defeat of fascism and after the peoples of Eastern and Southeastern Europe had gained their national freedom, there still remained fascist survivals in the national question.

In Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary, both home reaction and foreign imperialist circles tried once again to foment discord over frontiers and incited national strife between the peoples of these countries. They tried to split the unity of the democratic forces by setting the various nationalities one against the other.

Under the pretext of forming volunteer battalions to support the anti-Hitler front, Maniu, head of the former National-Tsaranist Party organised armed bands which were used against the peaceful Hungarian population of Northern Transylvania which had been liberated by the Soviet and Rumanian armies. These bands arrested and tortured thousands of Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals. Maniu's bands pillaged Transylvanian towns and villages, killing hundreds of Hungarian citizens.

Because of the provocations of Hungarian and Rumanian reaction supported by Anglo-American agents and because of Anglo-American blackmail, chauvinism spread not only to workers' organisations and trade unions, but even to the ranks of the Communist Party.

Our Party had to combat a strong chauvinist movement, had resolutely, and boldly to combat all nationalist and bourgeois deviations. In combatting nationalist enmity, the Rumanian Communist Party pointed out to the broad masses that:

“It regards the Hungarian population of Transylvania, as an

ally of the democratic forces against reaction, which was and remains the main enemy of the freedom and rights won by the Rumanian people and non-Rumanian nationalities. The question of relations between the Rumanian people and the non-Rumanian nationalities, and especially the Hungarian nationality, numerically the biggest, was one of the most complex questions which our democratic system had to solve.” (From Gheorghiu-Dej’s report to the Plenum of the Rumanian Communist Party, July 6, 1946.)

Our Party mobilised the broad masses of the Rumanian and Hungarian working people to combat the reactionary chauvinist slogans, the provocations of the reactionary Rumanian and Hungarian bourgeoisie and landlords, to fight for land, freedom and a new democratic order.

The wave of chauvinism was smashed after the Rumanian and Hungarian agricultural labourer together expropriated and divided the land of the Rumanian and Hungarian, landlords on an equal basis. It was also smashed because the Rumanian and Hungarian workers were mobilised for the overthrow of the government which had the support of the reactionary majority in Parliament, and because they fought and won democratic liberties.

The national movement of the Hungarian People, under the leadership of the political mass organisation, the Hungarian People’s Union, to an ever greater extent acquired new content. From defence of the “general” interests of the Hungarians against Maniu’s chauvinistic terror it went over to defend the interests of the broad masses of Hungarian working people of town and countryside in alliance with the Rumanian working class against reaction and foreign imperialist interference, thus resolutely joining the struggle of the Rumanian people for the creation of a new Socialist Romania.

## **Friendship of Peoples—Guarantee of National Independence.**

The people's democracy, in its fight against chauvinism, has in the main solved the national question in Rumania and is now waging a struggle against all survivals of the past in this sphere. The Hungarian population—more than 1,500,000 and the biggest of the non-Rumanian nationalities in our country—enjoys the same rights as all other citizens.

The Hungarian population has 30 representatives in the National Assembly elected on the lists of the Hungarian People's Union as well as deputies elected on the lists of other parties and organisations. The Hungarians have their representatives in all administrative bodies, starting with local councils and economic organs right through to the Government of the Republic.

The non- Rumanian nationalities are at liberty to use their native languages in the administrative and judicial organs. No differences are made for representatives of the various nationalities when accepting them for work in the State apparatus, industry, trade or other enterprises. The elementary educational system of the Hungarian population is included in the State system; all facial measures which were, aimed at restricting the rights of teachers and students have been abolished. New state schools and universities where studies are conducted in Hungarian have been opened with faculties in philosophy, philology, law, political economy, natural sciences, medicine and pharmacy.

There are 1,798 elementary schools, 230 secondary schools, 18 colleges and trade schools, 16 commercial, 27 pedagogical, 3 professional schools and 281 kindergartens which teach in Hungarian. Apart from this we have 71 elementary schools and one secondary Russian-Ukrainian

school, 61 elementary and 2 secondary schools where studies are conducted in Serbian.

Although the question of the German national minority, because of the role it played in Rumania's enslavement and in turning her into a Hitler vassal, has not yet been solved, the German minority has its schools: 52 kindergartens, 403 elementary and 37 secondary schools and one institute of medicine.

Before August 23, 1944 only one newspaper in the Hungarian language was published. There were several fascist newspapers and magazines in German. Today each non-Rumanian nationality enjoys freedom of the press in its native tongue. For instance 12 dailies, 10 weeklies and 25 periodicals are published in Hungarian, 2 daily papers and 3 weekly magazines in German, 2 newspapers in Serbian and one each in Armenian, Greek and Polish. The Jewish population has 9 publications of which six are published in Rumanian, one in Hungarian and two in Yiddish.

There are also special departments in the State Publishing House, "Russian Book" House, and in the publishing houses of the General Confederation of Labour and the Rumanian Workers' Party which publish literature in the languages of the peoples in our Republic.

Up to August 1944 there was not a single state theatre for the non-Rumanian nationalities. Today we have six national theatres in the country among them the Hungarian State Theatre in Cluj, the State Theatre in Târgu-Mures, the State Theatre in Arad, the Hungarian Theatre in Satu-mare and the People's Theatre in Cluj, whose Hungarian branch will be transferred to Sfântu-Gheorghe.

The Ministry of Arts is setting up a General Council for Hungarian Art in Cluj with departments for plastic art, music and theatre.

The Jewish population has its "Ikuf" State theatre in

Bucharest and several theatre circles in the provinces. There is also a Hungarian State Academy of Music and Dramatic Art in Cluj,

These are some of the achievements of the people's democracy in relation to the national problem which are ratified by the Constitution of the Rumanian People's Republic. Labour unity among the working people of town and countryside, irrespective of nationality, has been brought about as a result of the defeat of reaction and the democratic solution of the national question in the Rumanian People's Republic where only 4 years ago chauvinism was rampant.

In solving the national question, the Rumanian Workers' Party was guided by three sources: the doctrine or the great teachers of the Socialist Revolution, Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin; the great experience of the first Socialist State—the Soviet Union—which has fully borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question; the experience of our own struggle.

We still have to overcome a number of survivals of the past in the struggle to solve the national question, such as the influence of bourgeois-nationalist ideology, Bundism and other views alien to Marxism-Leninism.

We cannot, under the pretext of danger of isolation from the masses, compromise with the bourgeois nationalists or tail behind chauvinist trends which are the result of national oppression in the past and the provocation of the fascist invaders during World War Two. It would be an error to compromise by allowing one nationality privileges at the expense of another. Marxist-Leninist parties must combat unhealthy, chauvinist trends which sometimes embrace broad masses of the people and are depleted as being in the interests of people's democracy.

The heroic struggle of the Yugoslav peoples against fascism and for democracy, united the peoples of Yugoslavia

against their own quisling bourgeoisie. The common struggle created favourable objective conditions for completely eliminating discord and strife among the Yugoslav peoples. But the deviation of the Yugoslav Party leaders to bourgeois nationalism threatens the Yugoslav peoples with the danger of the loss of their independence, with the danger of once again being harnessed to the yoke of imperialist slavery.

By taking the path of nationalism, the Tito clique is isolating Yugoslavia from the fraternal people of the new democracies. The vicious anti-Rumanian, anti-Hungarian, anti-Bulgarian and anti-Soviet campaigns of the bourgeois nationalists in the Tito clique will undoubtedly lead to collisions between the various nationalities inhabiting Yugoslavia will break up the friendship between the peoples.

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The people's republics have solved the national question, each in its own way. In the interests of the solidarity of the working class, in the interests of waging a successful struggle against national reaction, in the interests of strengthening the Socialist, anti-imperialist front, in the interests of Socialist construction, all Communist and Workers' parties must increase their vigilance in the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and continue steadily to apply the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin to the national question.

## **AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES IN BULGARIA — Kiril Lazarov, Deputy Chairman, State Planning Commission, People's Republic of Bulgaria**

The period since the victory in September 1944, has been marked by historical social-economic changes in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The nationalisation of industry, mines, banks, home and foreign trade, big farmsteads and the expropriation of land holdings over 200 decares<sup>1</sup> made it possible to plan the national economy and speed up its development.

These economic changes naturally influenced the broad masses of the working peasantry. They helped to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants in which the leading role was played by the working class and which was developed by the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists).

Under the new conditions of people's democracy, it became possible to set out on a new path of agricultural development. The conception of this new path had for long been maturing among progressive peasants on account of the state of Bulgaria's small-scale, scattered and extremely primitive agriculture. The difficult economic conditions of thousands of peasant households made new agricultural methods essential. The victory of people's democracy created favourable conditions for a change to new methods and for settling up rural producer cooperatives fully supported by the Government.

This new method of organising agriculture through labour

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<sup>1</sup> *1 decare equals 1/10 hectare*

cooperatives soon became popular. These cooperatives have already achieved initial successes, notwithstanding their first organisational difficulties and in spite of the privation caused by three years of drought as well as by the machinations of the class enemy.

The number of labour Cooperatives increased from 33 in 1944 to 580 covering 1,900,000 decares of land at the beginning of this year. That was a great step toward socialist development of our agriculture. At present there are 741 of these cooperatives with over 4,000,000 decares of land.

Why do our peasants join the labour cooperatives?

There is only one answer: because in the four years of people's power the cooperatives, from the economic point of view, have proved to be a more successful form agriculture than individual farming. Their economic results are far greater than those of individual households. For example, to cultivate one decare of wheat-land by individual households takes four working days, but only one and a half days by the co-operatives.

The crops of the cooperatives are also considerably superior to those individual households. During the 1947 drought a decare of land in the labour cooperatives yielded an average of 116.1 kilograms of wheat compared with 113.5 kilograms rye compared with 94.1; 137.7 kilograms of barley compared with 77.1.

The labour cooperatives carried out a fine campaign for the spring sowing. This was greatly facilitated by the introduction of special labour teams and the setting up of independent production brigades working on specific areas for a given length of time. Since payment according to work is based on the total production, the work of the co-operators is given a great incentive. Because of advanced technical measures, this year the cooperatives secured a higher yield than the individual households. Usually, the cooperative crops are 30 per cent higher than those of individual households. Usually, the

cooperatives crops are 30 per cent higher than those of individual households.

All these successes are the result of the cooperatives wide use of agricultural science, finest quality seeds, excellent equipment enabling them to improve cultivation and irrigation. They also result from the fact that the cooperatives economise labour, working according to a plan which also makes it possible for them to proportion crop cultivation advantageously. These economic successes clearly demonstrate the superiority of large scale farming on the basis of labour cooperatives, over individual farming.

Our labour cooperatives are certainly not yet collective farms because the law entitles each co-operator to private land ownership and rent for his land, the total amount of which comprises from 20 to 40 per cent of the income of the cooperative.

As is known, collective farms are created on the basis of socialised land. That is why our agricultural co-operatives represent a transitional form, which will develop to a higher stage. They however, represent an important step forward. They are paving the way for our working peasantry to embark on the path to Socialism. The reason why the people's democratic Government is actively supporting the agricultural cooperatives (in 1946 it gave subside of 600,000,000 leva; in 1947, 1,100,000,000 leva) is that the government regards them as a transitional form which, in the further development and together with certain additional measures, will help place our agriculture firmly on the socialist path.

What elements of the agricultural cooperatives in their present form which, taken together with the additional measures, will secure their transformation into a socialist form of agriculture? Most important is the yearly increase of the common indivisible fund. Every year the cooperatives allot money for the construction of cooperative buildings, for

transport and agricultural equipment. At present, the cooperatives have 354 tractors, 207 reapers, 460 binders and a total of 819 tractor and horse-drawn sowers, altogether they have 4,000 agricultural machines valued at 500,000,000 leva. The labour cooperatives have so far put up over 1,200 agricultural buildings valued at 400,000.000 leva, They have irrigated 200,000 decares of land, cultivated new vineyards of over 54,000 decares, bought 21,000 head of draught cattle, 3,300 cows. 90,000 sheep and poultry to the total of 20,000.

These cooperatives are large-scale farms that can only be run on the basis of a plan, Ploughing, harvesting, distribution of income and expenditure are carried out under a plan which also organises crop rotation. The planned nature of the cooperatives represents the element which is one of the important laws of socialist production,

Another extremely important socialist element in labour cooperatives is the system of payment according to work. Each member is paid on the basis of the amount and quality of his work. There is no equalising, or irresponsibility. Of course, this principle has not yet been fully realised, since some members are getting a higher rent for their land. However, the principle gives an incentive to members to make great efforts to develop their cooperatives. The more a member works for his cooperative, the better will be the welfare both of himself and of the cooperative. The member's household outside the cooperative is beginning to play an increasingly secondary role. This is an extremely important condition for the further development and strengthening of each cooperative.

Labour discipline is also an important element in the cooperatives. Conscious labour discipline is a guarantee of fulfilling and over-fulfilling production plans; it aims at securing the greater material well-being of each member by rising the level of cooperative farming. In yesterday's peasant, this labour discipline develops a new attitude to work, to

common properly and common interests.

Shock work and emulation between different brigades and different cooperatives for a higher qualitative fulfilment of the following plan, repair of equipment and a higher crop yield have been successfully developed throughout the country.

The progressive growth of the productivity of labour and the reduction of production costs strengthens the labour cooperatives and generally improves the living conditions of their members. Higher productivity of labour is secured by better organisation, by the utilisation of up-to-date machinery, better seeds and by scientific cultivation.

In outlining the social characteristics of the labour cooperatives it is necessary to remember that although they are of undertakings owned by separate cooperative producers, they are closely linked with the entire social system and are based on contact with the machine-tractor stations which are public property. This fact will also play a big role in strengthening and developing socialist elements in the labour cooperatives.

The growing number of cooperatives calls for many thousands of tractor drivers combine operators, agronomists, veterinaries, bookkeepers, statisticians, planners and others. This will make it possible to train new cadres, will give thousands of peasants who at present are not directly involved in agricultural production, the opportunity to apply themselves in a new sphere. The cooperatives will also develop industrial crops and various local trades which will seek to utilise the surplus man-power which still exists large extent in the countryside. The country's rapid industrialisation and electrification, carried out under the trades which will seek to utilise the rest of the spare hands in the countryside.

The development in our country of a vast network of labour cooperatives will create favourable conditions for successful socialist construction in the countryside.

The Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of our

Party decided to give every possible support to peasants setting up agricultural cooperatives, utilising the great historical experience of collective farm building in the Soviet Union, The Plenum also pointed out that together with the policy restricting kulak influence, increasing the machine-tractor stations, strengthening the state farms, developing the agricultural machine industry, the artificial fertilisers industry and the processing industries, the continued development of the cooperatives constitutes an important factor in reorganising along socialist lines.

## **STRUGGLE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM—R. PALME DUTT, Member, Political Bureau of Executive Committee, British Communist Party**

In his report on the International situation to the Conference of Communist Parties in September, 1947, Comrade Zhdanov declared:

“The sharpening of the crisis of the colonial system as the result of the Second World War is seen in the mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, which threatens the near of the capitalist system.

“The colonial peoples refuse to live any longer in the old way, and the ruling classes of the metropolitan countries cannot any longer rule them in the old way. Attempts to suppress the national liberation movement by military force now encounter ever increasing armed resistance from the colonial peoples, and lead to prolonged colonial wars, such as that of Holland in Indonesia and of France in Viet Nam.”

The truth of this has been powerfully further shown in the twelve months since the delivery of this report: in the new colonial wars in Malaya and Burma, now developing alongside those in Viet Nam and Indonesia; in the advance of the mass movement in the African colonies, especially the Gold Coast and Nigeria, in the increasingly critical situation of the old declining imperialist economies of Britain and the Western European colonial Powers and in the desperate attempts of imperialism to out manoeuvre and suppress the rising colonial revolt and seek a solution of its political and economic

difficulties on the basis of intensified exploitation of the colonial peoples.

At the same time, important new features have arisen in the struggle of the colonial peoples, in the strategy and tactics of imperialism and in the consequent tasks of the liberation movement which require further examination.

## **Crisis of Colonial System**

The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples since the Second World War has enormously exceeded that which followed the First World War. This higher level is not only quantitative, but also qualitative. It has shown itself in the emergence of new features which were not paralleled after the First World War. These new features include:

First, the establishment of Independent National Republics in former colonial territories in Viet Nam and Indonesia, maintaining themselves in armed struggle over a period of years against the assault of imperialism.

Second, the increased political maturity and higher level of struggle in a series of colonial territories: notably, the advance to armed struggle of the national liberation movements in Malaya and Burma, and the local peasants' uprisings and States peoples' revolts in India, reaching to occupation of the land and armed self-defence in such a considerable region as Telengana in Hyderabad.

Third, the geographically wider extension of colonial revolt and organised movements of mass struggle, as in the tropical African colonies.

Fourth, the advance in the role and leadership of the working class in the colonial countries, the development and strengthening of the trade union movement and of the alliance

of the working class with the peasant movement, and above all, the existence of Communist Parties, exercising mass influence and political leadership in a number of colonial countries, and in certain countries at a highly developed stage of struggle, as in Viet Nam, Malaya and Burma, directly leading the national liberation movement. These mark the qualitative difference of the colonial upsurge after the Second World War.

Japan's sweeping offensive in Eastern Asia, and the rapid collapse of the rotten Anglo-French-Dutch colonial system before the Japanese assault, exposed before the eyes of all the Asiatic peoples the bankruptcy and smashed the myth of the military invincibility of the Western imperialist Powers. In the struggle against the Japanese occupation the liberation movements and partisan armies of the colonial peoples of South East Asia grew in strength and political consciousness and extorted political recognition as allies in the war of the United Nations. After the expulsion of the Japanese these national liberation movements were thus already strongly based in mass support, political consciousness and experience of armed struggle, to resist the attempts of Western imperialism to reimpose the old colonial system. Hence it is that the highest advance of the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples after the Second World War has been demonstrated in the countries of South East Asia, and it is in these countries that the political mass leadership of the Communist Parties is in most cases most powerfully established.

This sweeping advance of the liberation movement in the colonial territories of the Western European imperialist Powers, especially in the rich treasure house of South East Asia, has weakened and undermined the colonial base of Western imperialism. It has dealt a blow to the traditional structure of imperialist economy in Britain and the Western European countries, and has thus constituted one of the main factors in the crisis of the economic situation in Britain and

other Western European countries after the war. This has been further intensified and complicated by the increasing penetration of the more powerful American imperialism into the colonial preserves of the European imperialist Powers.

The Marshall Plan Conference Economic Report in 1947, signed by Bevin and others, published the following revealing table on the pre-war economy of the “Marshall” European countries:

	Pre-War Population Millions	Imports (5 of World Total 1938)	Exports
United States	131.7	8.1	13.2
Marshall Plan Countries	205.9	40.8	30.4

Thus, before the war the “Marshall” countries of Western Europe, representing less than one-tenth of the world’s population received two-fifths of world imports, and obtained no less than one quarter of their imports as unpaid imports representing overseas tribute from their colonial possessions and foreign capital investments. Such was the parasitic economy of the Western European imperialist countries. The crisis of the colonial system after the war, striking a blow at this basis of colonial tribute, has resulted in the protracted crisis of the economies of the Western European imperialist countries.

This crisis, of a bankrupt imperialist economy is revealed in its most extreme form in Britain, whose entire economy before the war was built up on extreme dependence on overseas imports.

Hence the deep-seated character of Britain’s economic difficulties since the war, revealed in the colossal deficit in the balance of payments, and the complete inability of the Marshall panacea and the Labour Government’s programme based on the assumption of maintaining the imperialist structure, to

promote recovery.

Faced with this crisis, the imperialist governments of Britain and Western Europe direct all their efforts to endeavour to restore and maintain the basils of colonial exploitation devise new political methods of adaptation, as in India, conduct savage colonial wars of suppression, as in Viet Nam, Indonesia and Malaya, or plan new methods to extend and intensify colonial exploitation, as in Africa. These policies in turn, with the heavy costs they throw on the home budget, deepen the crisis of the already weakened economies of the metropolitan imperialist countries in Europe.

## **New Tactical Methods of Imperialism**

The armed forces and machinery of repression of imperialism are incapable of overcoming the present-day extent and volume of colonial revolt. Imperialism can no longer govern in the old way. The movement of revolt in India extended also to the Indian armed forces, as shown in the naval rising. The dispatch of Guards and Hussars for the colonial war in Malaya has used up the major part of Britain's mobile military reserves.

Hence imperialism is compelled to seek out new tactical methods. methods of manoeuvre to endeavour to divide and split the national movement, to win over its leadership by concessions, to win new allies among upper class strata against the masses of the colonial peoples. This is seen in the Middle East in the creation and fostering, under the guidance of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, of the Arab League based on Arab Princes and feudal potentates against the Arab peoples with the conferment of formal "independence" on Transjordan under King Abdullah, or on Iraq, as previously on Egypt. Similarly, it is illustrated in India and Southern Asia in

the creation of the Dominions of India and Pakistan and Ceylon and the establishment of the “independence” of Burma.

Previously imperialism built its support mainly on the old feudal elements, and on some trading sections, against the national movement led by the new industrial bourgeoisie in the more developed colonial countries. Now imperialism seeks to build up its alliance directly with the colonial big bourgeoisie in the capitalistically developed colonial countries, as demonstrated most clearly in the example of India.

Similarly imperialism has always pursued the method of “divide and rule” to play on racial and religious divisions among a colonial people, as in the fostering of Hindu-Moslem antagonism in India, or Jewish-Arab antagonism in Palestine, or playing off the Burmese against the Karens and Shons in Burma, or the Malays against the Chinese in Malaya. But now imperialism has pursued this method to the point of actual partition and splitting up of State forms, even at the cost of considerable administrative and practical economic inconvenience, as in the partition of India.

This new technique of formal “independence” is the most characteristic technique of imperialism in the modern period.

It is on the basis of this technique of sham illusory “independence” that the claptrap is spread about on all sides today, by the imperialist spokesmen and press, and by their hangers-on in the Labour and right-wing Social Democratic camp, by the Attlees, Bevins and Blums, about the “end of imperialism”, talk of imperialism being “obsolete”, and the “dawn of a new era of colonial freedom” through the “voluntary renunciation of imperialism”.

The reality, however, in every case shows a different picture. Imperialism has in no sense withdrawn from the colonial countries on which “independence” has been conferred. The essence of the imperialist colonial system lies in the economic exploitation of the colonial country, its resources

and manpower: second, in the strategic domination of the country and its absorption in the imperialist bloc on the world scale; and third, in the maintenance of a political system capable of fulfilling these aims in the interests of the imperialist Power. The vested interests of the great imperialist monopolies, dominating and strangling the life of the country, are maintained and protected and guaranteed by special treaty arrangements. Joint military arrangements are maintained, with varying degrees of direct occupation, control by military missions and upkeep of bases. Joint warfare or repression by imperialism and the puppet governments is carried out against the liberation struggle of the masses of the colonial peoples and against the working-class movement.

Further, the methods of constitutional concessions or conferment of formal “independence” are not the only methods pursued. In other cases, especially where the stage of social and political development! is less favourable for these methods, where there is no stable upper class or big bourgeoisie to whom to transfer administrative responsibility, and where the special economic or strategic importance makes imperative the maintenance of direct imperialist rule, the policy is ruthlessly pursued of seeking to restore or maintain the old colonial system by methods of violent repression and full-scale military operations against the popular revolt. The outstanding example of this is Malaya, where the new constitution imposed after the war makes no pretence of veiling the open imperialist dictatorship, suppresses civil rights. The barbarous colonial war in Malaya is openly justified on the grounds that Malaya represents Britain’s “chief dollar-earning source” (Walter Fletcher M.P., former Chairman of the Rubber Trade Association in the “Times” of September 1, 1948).

Thus it would be erroneous to regard the new constitutional manoeuvres as the tactics of imperialism in retreat or preparing withdrawal. On the contrary, imperialism, although weakened,

continues to pursue an aggressive colonial policy, and even seeks to extend the area of colonial exploitation as a means of solving its own crisis.

## **Attempts to Solve Crisis of Imperialism by Intensified Colonial Exploitation**

The outstanding example of the endeavours of imperialism today to solve its own crisis by intensified colonial exploitation is in the sphere of Africa.

As already stated, one of the main factors in the economic difficulties of the Western European imperialist countries lay in the bankruptcy of the old economic structure based on unpaid imports drawn directly or indirectly from colonial exploitation. From this the imperialists draw the conclusion that the solution must lie in the intensified exploitation of the colonial countries, and especially, as the basis in the Middle East and Asia grows more precarious in the face of rising colonial revolt, in the intensified exploitation of the rich and undeveloped territories of Africa.

The dream of solving the problems of Western European imperialism on the basis of grandiose schemes for the intensified exploitation of Africa is common to all the present-day spokesmen, economists and politicians of Western imperialism and unites Mosley-fascism, Conservatism, the Labour Party and Social Democracy in a single chorus.

Mosley, speaking in London on November 15, 1947, declared:

“If we link the Union of Europe with the development of Africa in a new system of two continents, we will build a civilisation which surpasses and a force which equals any power in the world”.

These visions are not confined to the fascists and ultra-Tories. They are fully shared and no less ardently expressed by the Labour Government and the Labour Party leadership.

And at the Scarborough Labour Party Conference in May, 1948, Bevin further elaborated this theme of intensified colonial exploitation as the essence of British foreign policy:

“If we limited ourselves to the Commonwealth alone, it would not be sufficient. If we harnessed the Commonwealth and those overseas territories for which we were responsible to the skill, ability and productive capacity of the West, we could solve our balance of payments and have a continually rising standard of living, for generations to come. That was British foreign policy”.

United States Imperialism, while having its own designs for the penetration of Africa and for utilising and dominating European colonial administration and expansion in Africa, simultaneously presses forward the schemes for African development with American financial backing as an integral part of the scheme of the Western Bloc. Foster Dulles, the Republican adviser on foreign policy, who was the first to press forward the scheme of the Western European Bloc, has been no less active in pressing forward the conception of African exploitation as its indispensable base:

Africa, he has said, could make Western Europe completely independent of Eastern European resources, and that should be the aim.

“Britain has built and lost two great empires—in America and in India,” says Professor Lowell Ragatz of George Washington University, who recently spent a year in Britain. “But the prospects are that her third—in Africa—will be her greatest”. (“News Chronicle”, August 25, 1948).

These pipe-dreams of a declining imperialist Power are remote from reality. In pursuance of these aims the Government has announced a series of colonial development

projects, and launched in 1947 the Colonial Development Corporation with borrowing powers up to £100 million, and the Overseas Food Corporation with borrowing powers up to £50 million. Colonial Development Regional Directors have' been appointed. Of the various projects the largest and most publicised has been the Ground Nuts scheme, designed by Unilevers for the establishment of over 100 giant plantations of thirty thousand acres each, worked by cheap African labour in Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya, and involving initial Government expenditure, according to the original estimate of £24 million. Already the first experiences of this project have proved disillusioning; the estimates of the capital expenditure required have been doubled: and the results have been meagre.

These dreams are unrealistic, because they fail to take into account the real factors of the situation. The colonial system of exploitation in Africa has produced the progressive impoverishment, starvation conditions and physical deterioration of the African peoples. The new projects carry forward this process to a more extreme point. So far from being in a position to provide surplus food for export to Europe, the African peoples would in reality need food imports at present, until such time as they can, under free conditions, build up balanced economies in their own countries.

Second, the projects require enormous capital expenditure, which under the most favourable conditions, could not bring in any rapid return. But the essential character of the problem of the British and West European imperialist countries today is that they find themselves short of resources even for necessary capital expenditure at home, which has had to be heavily cut down, and facing a deficit in the balance of payments which leaves them with no surplus for capital investment overseas.

Third, the projects are based on the assumption of the passive servitude of the African people, who have no say in

them. But the illusion that the colonial revolt which has reached such heights in Asia will never reach Africa is already being powerfully shattered by present events, as in the recent struggles in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Uganda. The first forms of organisation and political consciousness are rapidly advancing at varying stages in all the African colonies. The dreams of a new revival of imperialism on the basis of intensified African servitude and exploitation are built on sand.

*(to be continued)*

# **BRAZIL—A PATRIMONY OF THE U.S.A. Jorge Amado**

Hollywood films usually show Brazil as a country of beautiful palm groves where swarthy, carefree Brazilians pass their time in a setting of exotic dances and gay music. In reality, however, life in Brazil is quite different. It is full of drama and is often coloured by bloodshed.

Although theirs is the fourth biggest country in the world, rich in natural wealth, with fertile soil and a mild climate, the people of Brazil live in poverty and misery, except for a small, privileged group of the rich.

The country's national wealth does not belong to its people who create it, but to the American trusts and a handful of feudal lords who dominate the Government, the police and the censorship, and who brutally suppress the liberties of the people as a whole and of the intelligentsia in particular. In fact, Brazil is a semi-colony of the United States. The President of the Republic in the Palace of Cateta in Rio de Janeiro is nothing more than a governor-general who receives his orders from Wall Street through the U.S. State Department.

The Brazilian Government spends millions on the upkeep of its police machine. Forty per cent of the budget is allocated to buy military equipment from the U.S. and less than 10 per cent for public education and health. Seventy-two per cent of the population of 45,000,000 is illiterate; in the countryside more than 80 per cent is illiterate.

Simultaneously with liquidating Brazil's own Industry and seizing her raw materials, plantations and military bases, American imperialism is striving to strangle the country's culture.

The Americans are imposing their standard "cosmopolitan

culture” on Brazil, which is clearly one of the forms of ideological preparation for war. Book shops and libraries are flooded with American publications in Portuguese (such as “Reader’s Digest”), with anti-Soviet books and trashy novels, which try to instil in young people a respect for gangsterism, war and destruction. They also sell Falange and other fascist literature published in Madrid, Lisbon and Buenos Aires.

Brazil is a big market for American films—American magnates make annual profit of 200 million cruzeiro (nearly 12 million dollars) out of the country. The standard American films are received with disgust by Brazilian audiences. Though there is no national film industry of any size, the few Brazilian films shown last year deprived the American monopolists of more than 10 per cent of their profits. The American film magnate retaliated either by threatening to boycott all cinemas which dared to show national films, or simply by taking over the leading cinemas in the country.

The American monopolies are bringing the same pressure to bear in other spheres of culture, science, education, the press, radio, and so on.

In 1947 alone, twelve—that is, half of Brazil’s publishing houses went bankrupt or closed down.

The independent democratic press is brutally persecuted. At the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, police raided and closed down six progressive dailies.

Twenty-three journalists of “Tribuna Popular” have been given prison sentences ranging from three to seven years.

The smear campaign against the progressive intelligentsia and the suppression of national culture are being conducted, as was to be expected, under American imperialism’s well-worn slogan of combating Communism, so well-known in all countries. Brazil is a striking example of the bankruptcy of the pernicious “theory” advocated by certain cultural figures that the intelligentsia

should not meddle in politics. Brazilian intellectuals know from their own experience, that every political event in the country affects the destiny of national culture.

As soon as the reactionary Dutra Government had driven the Communist Party of Brazil underground, hundreds of schools for abolishing illiteracy, organised by the Party, were automatically closed down. When the General Confederation of Labour was dissolved, the people's University was forced to close its doors, and a book by Brazil's finest novelist, Monteiro Lobato, banned. After the mandates of the Communist Senators and Deputies were annulled, the Brazilian Writers' Association protested against the treatment of many of its members whose homes were searched, their personal libraries looted and they themselves arrested.

In their crass stupidity, the police hunted for a long time for a dangerous Communist agitator known by the name of Victor Hugo, author of "Les Miserables".

However; the American imperialists have bitten off more than they can chew. The people of Brazil, headed by the working class and 200,000 strong Communist Party are boldly fighting the attempts to abolish their independence. They are not intimidated by the vicious measures of the Yankee imperialists and their stooges.

The majority of the intelligentsia is courageously and vigorously fighting alongside the people in defence of Brazilian culture. It is aware of its close bonds with the traditions of the great figures of notional culture and is growing ever more conscious of its duty to serve the people. It is beginning to understand that there can be no national culture without first winning complete national independence and complete economic emancipation from the yoke of American imperialism.

As early as October 1947, the Second Congress of Brazilian Writers in Belo Horizonte stated in its programme

that the object of Brazil's writers was to fight for peace and for the economic liberation of the country.

We Brazilian intellectuals cannot remain indifferent to the sufferings of our people who are perishing from tuberculosis and leprosy, suffering from malnutrition and slave labour on the landed estates and are doomed to become cannon fodder in the American imperialists' plans for world domination. We suffer together with our people and together with them we fight for their freedom and our freedom. We are confident that we are not alone in our struggle; we shall win victory.

## **PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Even during the war, in spite of brutal persecution by the fascist occupation forces, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia never lost sight of the need to educate through Marxist-Leninist literature, its members who were working underground. The "Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)", translated into Czech, was cyclostyled in several editions.

Today publication of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in Czechoslovakia is handled by "Svoboda", the Party publishing house established after the liberation in 1945. "Svoboda" also publishes political literature and fiction which bring world progressive thought to the Czech public, prints outlines of courses for Party schools, various propaganda material, important speeches and reports by leading functionaries of the Communist Party and so on.

Publication of the main classics of Marxism-Leninism in translation was started immediately after the war in two editions. known as the Little and the Big Library of Marxism-Leninism. During the past three years 26 books of the little Library have been printed in 850,000 copies. These include the "Communist Manifesto" (100,000 copies), Stalin's "Dialectic and Historical Materialism," (65,000) and the "Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (200,000). Certain works have been completely sold out and new editions are now in preparation.

To date, 12 books of the Big Library have been published in 153,000 copies, including books by Marx and Engels. Such as "The Eighteenth Brumaire", "Anti-Duhring", "The Origin of

the Family, Private Property and the State”, “Ludwig Feuerbach”, Lenin’s “Who are the Friends of the People?”, “What is to be Done?” “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back,” “Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder,” “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, “State and Revolution”, Stalin’s “Problems of Leninism” and “Marxism and the National Question.”

Another eight books will appear in 1948:—Lenin: “Philosophical Notes”; Engels: “Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844”; Marx: “The Poverty of Philosophy”, “Critique of the Gotha Programme” and others. Publication of the collected works of Stalin has also been started.

The Council of Lecturers of the Central Committee of the Party is preparing a plan for 1949 publications, is helping “Svoboda” to draw up an annual programme of scientific literature and is checking the accuracy of translations. The members of this Council write prefaces to the Czech translations of the classics, which help the reader to fully understand the contents of the book and to apply the conclusions to the class struggle in Czechoslovakia.

The publishers now plan to make a new translation of Marx’s “Capital” and to speed up the publication of the collected works of Lenin and Stalin.

Of other publications widely distributed in Czechoslovakia, note should be taken of the volume of selected articles and speeches by Klement Gottwald entitled “Ten Years”, published in eleven editions (251,000 copies) and the book, “My Last Words” by the heroic Czechoslovak Communist fighter, Julius Fuchek who was executed by the fascists.

Also the Gottwald Libraries, which are being organised in all the lower Party organisations, are promoting the mass distribution of Marxist-Leninist literature.

## **MARXIST-LENINIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF POLISH SOCIALISTS TEMPERED IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHTS.**

**Joseph Cyrankeiwicz, General  
Secretary, Central Committee, Polish  
Socialist Party**

Several months ago the leadership of the two workers' parties in Poland—the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party—agreed on the principle that the unification of the Polish working-class movement must be carried out on the platform of Marxism-Leninism, the only correct platform.

In view of this a wide campaign was launched in the Polish Socialist Party to educate and train the membership in the spirit of revolutionary theory. The ground was prepared for such a campaign since the Polish workers and poor peasantry, who comprise the majority of our membership, had in the course of years learnt to apply in practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against the Hitler invaders and in the daily class struggle in Poland after the country had been liberated by the Soviet Army.

But the change over of the Polish Socialist Party onto a Marxist-Leninist basis was not made without a struggle since the Party was not a homogenous organisation from the political and class view point. Even its leadership was not homogenous. A long and stubborn battle had to be waged by the Left, revolutionary elements in the Party, who favoured a united front with the Polish Workers' Party and unity against the Right Socialists and Centrists who had remained in the Party since before the war or who had penetrated into its ranks after the war. The Right elements endeavoured, time and again, to

obstruct the Party's advance to unity and to push it back onto the path of opportunism, reformism and nationalism. The manoeuvres of these elements (Drobner, Wachowicz and others) were made easier by the fact that the harmful reformist and nationalist traditions of the past still carried weight in the Party.

The sound Left core of the Party leadership had for a considerable time declared war on all Right and Centrist tendencies and taken up a position of revolutionary Socialism. However, although this battle steadily gained momentum—especially after March 17 when we put forward the slogan that the Party was entering the stage of fusion with the Polish Workers' Party—it still met with vacillations, compromise and hindrances. For a number of months the core of the Party leadership fought to break the influence the Right and Centrist views had on the masses and on Party policy. But this campaign was not sufficiently vigorous and consistent. Moreover, the Party masses were not well informed of the nature of the changes taking place in the Party and did not take an active part in the struggle against the Rights, in the struggle for the Marxist-Leninist character of the Polish Socialist Party.

Great help was given to the Party by the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party which declared war on opportunism and nationalism, stoutly defending the purity of the revolutionary traditions of the Polish working class movement against all attempts to distort them made under pressure of the right-wing of the Polish Socialist Party. The Plenum, with its keynote of sharp criticism and self-criticism, helped the Polish Socialist Party to take the same path of struggle.

The recent meeting of the Central Council of the Polish Socialist Party, on September 18-22, was a great, decisive step forward in the Party's development. The chief task facing the Central Council was to get rid of the old ideological legacy

which was burdening our Party, obscuring the outlook of the mass of the membership and hampering their education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The task of the Central Council was also to analyse thoroughly and eliminate completely all mistakes, vacillations and deviations which distorted the line of the Party's development and hampered its advance to unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It was the task of the Central Council to expose the exponents of false theories and political errors, revealing their roots through criticism and self-criticism, to expose them to the mass of the membership and to warn against the possibility of their future revival.

Thus the Central Council was the scene of a most bitter ideological and political struggle against the Rights and Centrists, a struggle unprecedented in the history of the Polish Socialist Party. One after another the false theories, Right Socialist arguments and mistaken political formulations fell under blows from the left-wing of the Party and from the core of the Party leadership.

The false theory about people's democracy being the "middle way" between bourgeois and proletarian democracy was completely smashed at the session of the Central Council. The exponents of this "theory" (Osubka Morawski, Szwalbe and others) advanced the thesis that in the people's democracy the class struggle dies down and the capitalist elements develop peacefully to Socialism. This neo-reformism was stigmatised and censured by the Central Council.

The Central Council likewise denounced the "economic theories" which tried to freeze existing economic forms and obstruct the development of our economy to Socialism. The false theorists put forward the principles that the scope of the private, small-scale trading sector of the economy should be left unchanged forgetting that this held the danger of a spontaneous revival of capitalism and the elimination of Socialist elements from the economy. One of the consequences

of this theory was an under-estimation of the class struggle in the countryside.

The Central Council also proclaimed a vigorous campaign against the most dangerous bourgeois survival in the working-class movement—nationalism, still prevalent in Party ranks and nurtured by the Rights.

The Central Council, however, did not confine itself to merely combating the theories and views of the Rights. It also analysed all the aspects of Left Socialist ideology, built up by our Party through the various stages of struggle against the reformism and opportunism of its pre-war leadership. This analysis showed that a number of supporters of this Left Socialist ideology who, in the past, had played a positive role had now become a drag on its further development, hampering its change over to a Marxist-Leninist position. It was necessary to end the state of affairs where the vanguard role of the worker's party was underestimated, the leading role of the working' class in the struggle for Socialism denied, and the struggle for Socialism regarded as a spontaneous process.

The Central Council denounced the theory of so-called "synthesis" which proclaims that the new ideology arising out of a "synthesis" between the element of "freedom" allegedly characteristic of Socialist Parties and the element of revolution characteristic of Communist Parties should form the ideological basis of the united party. The authors of this theory (Hochfeld and others) ascribed a super-class character to the conception of "freedom" and floundered in anti-Marxist formulations taken from the arsenal of the Right Socialists. This theory held up the Party's change to a Marxist-Leninist position.

The session of the Central Council was only the beginning of a big mass campaign now launched in all sections of the Polish Socialist Party. The fight to carry out the Council's decisions is now going on in every province, region, district

and city, in every factory and rural branch. Thousands of members of the Polish Socialist Party who will become members of the future united party of the Polish working class are getting their training in this struggle, which is taking place in an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism. The mass of the membership has been drawn into the struggle against the Rights. They themselves have to decide at meetings of the Party organisations who are the people who must be removed from the leadership and who must be expelled from the ranks of the working-class movement for their actions.

In view of the revolutionary tasks facing it, our Party must examine its social composition and remove from its ranks those whose class background make them alien to the working-class movement. At the time of the political upsurge of the Polish working-class movement, petty-bourgeois elements, merchants, speculators, proprietors and kulaks penetrated into the ranks of the workers' parties, as well as a certain number of morally corrupt elements such as embezzlers and careerists. They will be expelled from the Party by the present purge.

The session of the Central Council was held on the eve of the unification of the Polish working-class movement. We want to enter the united party as revolutionaries, fully conscious of our tasks, ideologically united, worthy of those splendid revolutionary traditions with which the Marxist parties have been enriched by the great Bolshevik Party, the victorious leader of the Socialist revolution and the creator of the first Socialist State.

## **PRICE CUTS IN FOOD AND CONSUMER GOODS IN RUMANIA**

On October 1, the Government of the People's Republic of Rumania cut the prices of food and industrial goods for the third time in the past five months. Reduction in food prices range from 20 to 40 per cent, textiles from 20 to 30 per cent, footwear from 20 to 50 per cent.

These new price reductions are a clear indication of the strengthening economy of the People's Republic of Rumania and of the improved living conditions of the Rumanian working people.

## **BREAD RATIONING ABOLISHED IN POLAND**

The Polish Council of Ministers has decided to abolish bread and Hour rationing from November 1. Restrictions on various flour products will also be abolished.

## **RESIGNATION OF YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS**

Counsellor to the Yugoslav Legation in Ottawa (Canada), Lukin, announced on October 4 that he and six other members of the mission had handed in their resignations since they

considered the policy of the present Yugoslav Government to be treacherous.

All the members of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Egypt, including the Charge d’Affaires, Sahinpasic, have resigned in protest at the disastrous policy of Tito and his clique against the Soviet Union and the people’s democracies, a policy aimed at linking the fate of the Yugoslav people with the Anglo-American bloc. All those who have resigned are members of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

## **TRADE UNION PERSECUTION IN U.S.**

Lilienthal, the Chairman of the commission for atomic energy control in the United States, has declared that he will not permit factory and office workers in atom plants to be members of the Electrical and Municipal Workers Trade Unions (affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organisations) because these unions are not “reliable”.

The Electrical Workers’ Union with its 600,000 members continues to be persecuted. Many union members are working in strategical military factories producing electron apparatus, radar and electrical equipment for munitions.

The Government attempts to break this progressive and influential union by provocation is closely linked with the Government’s whole anti-popular campaign aimed at suppressing U.S. progressive movement.

## **POLITICAL NOTES**

### **U.N. and Struggle For Lasting Peace**

The third session of the United Nations General Assembly now meeting in Paris, is being closely followed by public opinion all over the world. This is due to the fact that the problems discussed at the General Assembly are of vital importance for all peoples.

It is known, that the United Nation Organisation was created as an organ of international cooperation, as a weapon in the struggle for peace. Since the San Francisco Conference, the democratic camp, headed by the Soviet Union, has been consistently and vigorously fighting to strengthen U.N. At the same time the imperialist camp, headed by the United States, has intensified its attacks against U.N., endeavouring to turn it into a tool for realising its expansionist aims, into a tool for new war preparations. The present session of the General Assembly provides striking evidence in this respect.

At this session the Soviet Government presented for discussion proposals expressing the hopes of millions of common people throughout the world: to cut the armaments and the military forces of the Great Powers by a third, to prohibit atomic weapons, to set up within the framework of the Security Council an international body to see that these measures are put into effect. Had these proposals been accepted the peace and security of the peoples would have been strengthened and the prestige of U.N. as an organ of international cooperation and a weapon in the struggle for peace, heightened.

The Soviet proposals demanded from U.N. members an open, clear answer to the question: are you for peace or war? By rejecting the Soviet proposals the Anglo-American bloc has exposed its anti-popular, aggressive intentions. It has shown itself in its true colours, as a warmonger. The imperialists and their mercenaries are unable to conceal this now. As is known, the capitalist states have a vast propagandist machine at their disposal: press, radio, cinema, and so on. Corrupt bourgeois hack-writers used artful lies to throw doubt upon the Soviet proposals, to misrepresent them and to show them as “manoeuvres”.

However, the fact remains that the Anglo-American imperialists do not want to disarm, do not want to strengthen the United Nations. On the contrary, they are rearming, building new bases and alliances and striving for the break down of the United Nations which threatens to be an obstacle hampering their drive to war.

## **War Mongers At Work**

Simultaneously with the General Assembly session in Paris the war ministers of Britain, France and the Benelux countries who are busy building up an aggressive military alliance went into conference. The conference was attended by a U.S. unofficial observer who was really there in the capacity of controller.

“The significance of the conference of the five war ministers”, writes the Belgian paper “Cote Libre”, “which aimed at creating a military alliance of Atlantic powers, that would include the United States, should not be underestimated”. The conference formed the “Western Union Defence Committee”, composed of commanders-in-chief. Marshal Montgomery was made its chairman.

In the meantime a Wall Street emissary—Senator Gurney, Chairman of the Senate Commission for the armed forces, accompanied by a number of officers and generals went to Spain for talks with Franco. It is obvious that these were not talks about olive oil: it was a question of including Spain in the Western Military bloc.

“The position of the continental states”, writes the same paper, “is not a favourable one because of the instability of the Internal political scene, particularly in France. At present the Anglo-Saxons are mostly interested in Spain where they have already formed a number of strategically important air bases”.

The militarists are also stretching their tentacles to another part of the Mediterranean Wall Street presses a button and the Italian Minister, of Foreign Affairs Sforza, delivers a speech in which he makes clear that Marshall Italy is ready to join the Western military bloc.

Simultaneously the imperialists are energetically preparing to build up their “Near Eastern bloc”, whose aggressive aims they do not even consider it necessary to conceal.

And behind all these measures to build up “military blocs” and “military unions” looms the evil shadow of U.S. banking and industrial tycoons who, through their “Republican” presidential candidate, Dewey are trying to keep up the spirits of their European puppets with promises of “immediate material assistance” in the form of a new military lend-lease. In one of his election speeches Dewey frankly admitted that the main task of the Marshall Plan was to build up a military bloc in Western Europe and to give it material support.

The policy pursued by the Western powers in Germany is also aimed at creating a military bloc: to split Germany, to create a Western German State and to make it an integral part of the Western bloc. The Ruhr will become a military arsenal and millions of Germans will become cannon fodder.

“As the militarist Western bloc is being established,”

writes the “Berliner Zeitung”, “the U.S. is paying increasing attention to the question of using the man-power and industrial potential of Western Germany. Now that Germany has been divided by the Western powers and a separate Western state, with a de facto government, formed in the main and a constitution prepared, it is openly stated that the inhabitants of this “State” will be called up for service for the Western and Atlantic blocs... There is also open talk now about operating Western Germany’s industry and the revival of the German army.”

The diplomatic and military activity at the imperialist aggressors goes hand in hand with an intensified preparation of public opinion through the press and radio which openly call for war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. War hysteria reached a particularly high pitch during the present General Assembly sessions.

These facts emphasise the timeliness of the Soviet Union’s peace proposals submitted by Comrade Vyshinsky for discussion at the General Assembly and the need to carry them out.

## **Consolidation of Forges of Democratic Camp**

All calculations of the imperialists to unleash a new war will inevitably come to nothing, for no war can be started without the people and against their will. And the mass of the people do not want war.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and the new democracies through their representatives at the General Assembly came out sharply in defence of peace and denounced the imperialist aggressors.

The French people expressed their attitude to war and peace in the statements made by the General Confederation of Labour and the French Communist Party. Even such a Marshall paper as the MRP organ, "l'Aube" was forced to admit that "the French people will not fight against Soviet Russia."

Meetings and demonstrations are taking place in the various countries of Western Europe at which the working people resolutely support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and denounce the aggressive plans of the imperialists. The call by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party states that the Italian people will not fight for the interests of U.S. imperialism.

The movement for peace is gaining momentum in Britain. The peace conference organised by the Southall Trades Council, representing 40,000 workers, welcomed the Soviet proposals at the United Nations to cut arms and stated that U.S. expansion is the main danger to peace. Addressing the conference, Mr. Grant, Trades Council representative, declared that under no circumstances, would the British workers fight against Russia.

In the United States itself Wallace, the Progressive Party presidential candidate who calls on the American people to fight for peace and against the war mongers is meeting with wide support.

The forces of the supporters of peace are growing, are gaining in strength. This is a guarantee of the success of the struggle against the imperialist instigators of a new war.

**Jan Marek.**

## **WEEK FOR AMERICAN PRESS SLAVES. D. Zaslavsky**

An American Press Week opened in the United States on October 1. This in itself is amusing enough. Why should the press bosses, Hearst, McCormick, Patterson, Sulzberger and their cronies celebrate a press week when they can gloat the whole year round as they watch the profits piling into millions?

Press week would mean something in the United States only if for that one week the slave owners of the press gave their slaves the right and opportunity to write truthfully what they thought about freedom of the press, about their own bosses and about the American chiefs in general. But this is utopia!

There is a Russian saying: "Fire away, Emil, it's your day!" But this kind of day, in which Emil talks nothing but nonsense, is going on all the time in the United States.

Why was a press week necessary in a country of press slavery?

The answer to this can be found in Heine's famous poem, "The Slave-Ship". The slave-owner forces his Negro slaves on deck to dance. He does this on the advice of the ship's doctor who says they are not well. But the slaves die.

They are driven out on deck, whips crack...  
And hundreds of Negroes, men and women,  
Exhausted from the tomb-like hold,  
Dance frenziedly, each leap ringing  
With the tune of his clanking chains.

This is how the numberless slaves of the capitalist press

spent their press week. The chief concern of the bosses was to make them cheerful and keep their minds off any gloomy thoughts they might have had about their dismal plight. To be able to carry on their business or, more accurately, the business of the newspaper magnates, the slaves of the American press must respect themselves and their masters. They must really believe they are doing important, necessary and honest work. But it is precisely this respect for themselves and for their masters that is wanting in the corrupt American press.

On Heine's ship the lash was cracked to persuade the slaves to be cheerful. As for the American journalists, Marshall himself took a hand at cheering them up when he spoke at the press week.

He spoke in a dual role: as the mouth-piece of American imperialist propaganda and as an advertiser for American goods. Advertising is the boon companion of capitalist trade. Mouthing a speech about the "freedom of the press" and the integrity of the newspaper word, Marshall was fully aware that the U.S. press is like a huge plantation on which the newspaper slaves cultivate political lies, and that the U.S. monopolies are just as interested in exporting this printed product to all countries of the world as the tobacco kings are interested in exporting cigarettes to Europe.

The U.S. suffers from an over-production of newspaper lies which not only threaten the countries where they are circulated but the world as a whole.

Owing to present-day conditions in their countries, not all peoples are in a position to protect themselves against the insolent, corrupt and venal American capitalist press. But an outstanding feature of our time is that the mask of honesty has been stripped from the U.S. newspaper gangsters. World democracy has branded the imperialist American press as corrupt and nothing can wipe out this stigma.

That is why Marshall loudly proclaims the freedom of the

American press—because no such freedom exists in the U.S. and because this fact can be concealed from nobody. In their books, Upton Sinclair, Seldes, Willard and other American progressives cite innumerable, irrefutable facts about capitalist censorship—the most savage, reactionary and ruthless censorship of the printed word ever to be found. Only recently Senator Murray exposed the press in the State of Montana where virtually all the newspapers belong to the copper trust and where it is impossible to get a single word of truth into them. But this State is no exception. If anything, it is typical of all the states in the U.S.

The false, corrupt character of the American' capitalist press is exposed by Americans themselves—those who have not sold their consciences. But these Americans are few and “freedom of the press”. takes the form of a conspiracy of silence on the part of the capitalist press whenever such exposures are made, while the individuals who made them are hounded and persecuted. The press slaves know the truth of their servile position. They know that the chains on their wrists are bound in velvet to muffle their clanging but they dare not lay bare the truth about the slavery of the American journalist before the public for fear of hunger and unemployment.

The American capitalist press is social evil that has become a menace to the whole world. This truth becomes clear in the struggle of world democracy for peace. The circulation of American newspapers is as much an international come as the drug traffic or the white slave trade. We must frankly and clearly state this act which is confirmed by international democracy: a press which has been made a tool of gangster commerce and serves the criminal aim of kindling war has no right to freedom.

Over the centuries the people battled for the freedom of the press for themselves, for the masses and not for the press lords. Nearly 200 years ago the American people won press freedom.

It was a great victory for democracy, but this freedom was seized by the monopolists who introduced vicious capitalist censorship. The American people are robbed of their rights and are practically silenced. The U.S., capitalist press conceals this obvious truth, but the success of world democracy lies in the fact that it is impossible to hide it from the whole of mankind and, in particular, from the American people.

Marshall boasts that there is no Government censorship in the U.S. This is a lie, to start with. The Communist press is openly hounded and honest American journalists are behind bars. In many places, capitalist terror takes the place of Government censorship. It is no secret that the editors of small-town newspapers are haunted by the fear of reactionary boycott. Is lynching an improvement on Government censorship?

Secondly, Government censorship is not needed for the capitalist press because the censorship of the stock-exchange tycoons is far more effective, than the censorship of the tsars and kings of feudal times.

The capitalist press of the U.S. has unlimited opportunities for slander and it makes full use of the well-worn liars' axiom: keep on slinging mud, some of it may stick. Some of it does stick. Herein lies the international menace of the American imperialist press. But the amount that sticks is getting to be less and less as the influence of the world democratic press grows.

American press week was designed to hide the growing uneasiness of its bosses. They cannot fail to realise that their words become increasingly ineffectual. Words that can no longer be believed lose their meaning and become empty sounds. What has the "Voice of America" achieved in the Soviet Union? It has accomplished nothing except to give rise to the latest saying: to lie like the "Voice of America".

The American capitalist press consoles itself with the fact that monopoly reo moves public criticism. This is not true.

History shows that when press statements are at variance with facts these statements ultimately break down. Let us recall how Goebbels hysterically called on the people to believe the fascist press which described the “victories” of Hitler. The louder Goebbels shrieked, the less the Germans believed the Hitler press which had a complete monopoly. No new type of weapon, secret or top secret, could take the place of words which had lost their meaning when they were faced by hard facts.

The American Government is stepping in the footprints of the bankrupt fascist politicians. The American capitalist press is repeating the unsuccessful experience of Hitler’s press propaganda. Fewer and fewer people in America itself now believe this press. It is certainly not believed in the countries outside American domination.

American press week was the same as all the other 51 weeks—laden with systematic lies. But an encouraging fact today is that the U.S. press plantation slaves are finding it increasingly difficult to do their work. No matter how they twist and turn, they betray themselves by the clanking of their chains.

Only a press that serves the people, belongs to the people, is controlled by the people, can be free. Such a press exists in the Soviet Union and in the new democracies. Only those who work on such a press know what human dignity is, they alone can be called men of the press and not slaves of the printed word.

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## **FROM THE PUBLISHING HOUSE**

The Publishers of "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!" wish to announce that from November 1, 1948, a German language edition of the paper will also be published.

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