

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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31ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

**Report by V. M. Molotov at Celebration
Meeting of Moscow Soviet on Nov. 6, 1948**



Comrades,

We are today celebrating the 31st Anniversary of the Socialist Revolution in our country.

The working people of the Soviet Union meet this anniversary of the Great October Revolution with a glorious record of victories achieved in the third, decisive year, of the post-war five-year plan. Socialist emulation is spreading and developing among the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, multiplying from day to day the achievements of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the work of building Communism. The constructive efforts of the Soviet people are concentrated on the realisation of the great plans for the advancement of industry and agriculture, plans of hitherto unprecedented scale and significance. The economic might of the Soviet Union is growing and the material welfare of our people steadily rising before our eyes. Friendship among the peoples of the USSR grows firmer and firmer. Inspired by Soviet patriotism and infused with unbounded confidence in and love for the Stalin leadership of our country.

The October Revolution marked the beginning of the collapse of the capitalist system but for nearly three decades the Soviet Union was the sole Socialist country. After the Second world war there fell away from capitalism such European countries as Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Yugoslavia. In the dependent and colonial countries the movement for national liberation is making giant strides. In spite of all obstacles, the democratic forces are growing and becoming tempered in the struggle against the forces of reaction in the capitalist countries. The international prestige of the USSR is continuously growing as the main bulwark of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp opposed to the camp of imperialism and aggression.

Under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin our people are marching forward, looking back with satisfaction on the past years of heroic struggle and glorious victories and full of confidence in their future.

I. A New Upsurge

All efforts of our people since the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War are guided by the well-known directing principles outlined by Comrade Stalin:

“Having terminated the war with victory over the enemies, the Soviet Union has entered a new, peaceful period in its economic development. At the present time the Soviet people are confronted with the task of advancing further ahead to a new economic upsurge after having consolidated the positions gained. We cannot limit ourselves to consolidating these positions, for that would lead to stagnation—we must advance further ahead in order to create the conditions for a new powerful upsurge in the national economy. In the shortest possible time we must heal the wounds inflicted on our country by the enemy and restore the pre-war level of development of the national economy in order considerably to surpass this level in the nearest future, raise the material well-being of the peoples and still further strengthen the military and economic might of the Soviet state.

Everyone can now see that the Soviet people are successfully carrying out this Stalin program of firmly consolidating the position won and marching forward to new economic upsurge.

Whereas the program of the first year of the post-war five-year plan was not completely fulfilled, since in the first year after the war much effort was spent on the reconversion of industry from a war to a peace footing and also because of the

additional difficulties, which arose in connection with the drought and crop failure of 1946, already in the second year of the five-year plan the position improved along the whole economic front. In 1947 our industry not only fulfilled out considerably exceeded its annual program. The effect of this was that the combined programs of the first two years of the post-war five-year plan were completely fulfilled. It must be reckoned as a great achievement of the Soviet people that already by the end of last year our industrial output had reached the level of the pre-war year of 1940.

Under these circumstances the present, third year is of decisive importance for the fulfilment of the post-war five-year plan. On the success of our efforts, on the efforts of the Party organizations, trade unions and Young Communist League depends the fulfilment of the five-year plan as a whole and what is especially important, the possibility of fulfilling it ahead of schedule. And we know that the idea of fulfilling the five-year plan ahead of schedule has taken a deep hold on the minds of the working class.

Last year the working men and women of Leningrad addressed an appeal to the working men and women of the whole country to fulfil the five-year plan in four years. This appeal met with the broadest response. Thanks to our efforts, in the first quarter of this year the usual decline of industrial output as compared with the last months of the previous year was not in evidence. This year our industry is steadily over fulfilling its programs from quarter to quarter. In the first nine months gross output of industry showed an increase of 27% as against the corresponding period of last year. This fact alone indicates how rapidly the post-war rehabilitation and economic progress of our country are proceeding. This is also borne out by the fact that in the current year industrial output is proceeding at a level 17% higher than that of the pre-war year of 1940. (Applause.)

Together with the recovery and growth of industry the material prosperity of the working class is also rising. This year the aggregate payroll of factory and office workers is nearly double that of 1940. The building of houses, schools, hospitals, rest homes and cultural institutions is proceeding on a broad scale. The program of improvement of the living and working conditions of the people adopted in the five-year plan is being effectively realised.

Of course we shall not rest content with the successes achieved. Nor shall we forget that a number of branches of heavy and light industry, where the aftermath of the destructive effects of the war period are still being felt, have not yet attained the pre-war level, and that not infrequently due effort is not being made to improve the quality of industrial output. Nevertheless, the achievements already available enable us to accelerate the progress of the lagging branches of industry and to insure the fulfilment of the post-war five-year plan for industry ahead of schedule. The Party calls us to advance—to organise and develop still better systematic struggle in factories and collective farms for the fulfilment of the five-year plan in four years.

In the Soviet Union we witness a general and steady expansion of industry directed by the Socialist state. Now the people's democracies have also embarked on a similar course. But this cannot be said of the capitalist countries, although they suffered immeasurably less from the war than the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies.

In the United States industrial output is not even 80% of the level of 1943, when nourished by enormous war contracts, it reached its peak. In spite of this the profits of American corporations continue to grow. Whereas in 1939 they amounted to 6,400 million dollars and at the height of the war they exceeded 24,000 million dollars per annum, last year the profits of the American monopolies reached nearly 30,000

million dollars. On the other hand, the wages of the American workers in these past years have been lagging heavily behind the rise of prices, which signifies a considerable deterioration in the condition of the working class. While according to official reports the number of unemployed in the United States barely exceeds 2,000,000, which, there is much data to show, is greatly underestimated, the actual figure being at least three times larger, the number of semi-unemployed, those not working a full week, already amounts, even according to official statistics, to over 8,000,000.

Or take France, where the condition of the working class is focusing general attention. The real wages of the French workers, owing to rising prices of commodities, have in post-war years fallen by one-half. It is known from published figures that in the first half of this year the profits of the French capitalists amounted to 43% of France's total national income, whereas the wages of the workers and office employees comprised only 39% of the national income. These figures show that the profits of the French capitalists considerably exceed the total wages received by all the workers and office employees of France.

Whereas the progress of our industry is entirely based upon our internal resources and on the labour effort of the Soviet people, in the capitalist countries of Europe everything is based on the expectation of receiving credits from "Uncle Sam."

Everybody is familiar with the stir raised in Europe over the Marshall plan. This plan is advertised as the factor of salvation for the post-war recovery of Europe's economy. To listen to certain British or French statesmen, without American credits under the Marshall plan, economic recovery in the European countries is impossible. However, the American dollars which floated this year into the pockets of the European capitalists under the United States credit plan did not produce any real revival of industry in the countries of capitalist

Europe. And they cannot produce that revival, since the American credits are not being given in order to restore and expand the industries of the European countries which compete with the United States but in order to provide a broader market for American goods in Europe and to place these countries in economic and political dependence on the capitalist monopolies which dominate the United States and on their aggressive plans, in disregard of the interests of the European peoples themselves.

In contradistinction to this, the post-war recovery and expansion of industry in the U.S.S.R. are not dependent upon any capitalist country and entirely serve to satisfy the needs of its own people.

Both industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union have entered a period of a new and powerful upsurge.

Here are a few facts.

This year the gross grain harvest has already reached the level of the pre-war year of 1940. We achieved this in spite of the fact that the crop area has not yet attained the pre-war level and that the heavy loss of tractors and farm machinery sustained in the period of enemy occupation has not yet been repaired in agriculture. Of all the greater significance is the fact that thanks to more efficient use of available machines and a considerable improvement in the organisation of the labour of the men and women collective farmers, the grain yield this year exceeded that of the pre-war year of 1940. We are now fully aware that our principal tasks in agriculture are to achieve a further increase in the yield of grain and other crops.

Everybody knows how successful were the grain deliveries this year, to which our Government has always attached the greatest significance. The competition which developed between region and region, district and district as well as between republic and republic, yielded valuable results. You know of this from the numerous letters addressed to Comrade

Stalin which have been published in our press. In spite of the drought which afflicted a large part of the Volga area, the fulfilment of the plan for grain deliveries this year is successfully nearing completion. A whole number of regions and territories have delivered to the state far more grain this year than last year and more than they did in pre-war years. Suffice it to say that 131 million poods of grain were delivered this year more than last year in the Ukraine, 77 million poods in the Northern Caucasus and 40 million poods in Siberia. Now not only is the current supply of the population with bread fully insured, but necessary government stocks have been built up for the future.

With a view to accelerating the further progress of agriculture—the production of grain, cotton, sugar beet and other crops—as well as to creating a base of fodder supply for the all-round advancement of animal husbandry, the state is initiating broad measures for advancing farming methods to a higher level in the collective farming and state farms, for the supply of chemical fertilizers and all necessary machines. With the support of the state the collective farms will now be in a position to advance all branches of collective animal husbandry and at the same time increase its productivity. This year the agriculture will receive from the state three times as many tractors, twice as many motor trucks and twice as many agricultural machines as in the pre-war year of 1940. The state is continuously initiating new measures for the all-round extension of the technical facilities of agriculture, for lightening the work of the collective farmers and for enhancing the productivity of their labour.

This year emulation on the collective and state farms attained especially wide scope, for which our Party organizations primarily deserve the credit. At the same time the collective farms have begun more effectively to combat idlers and disorganisers of collective labour, and this will contribute

to a further improvement of the organisation of collective farm production and to the growing prosperity of the collective farmers. Last year's decision of the Government to award decorations for outstanding achievements in agriculture was a powerful stimulus to the development of Socialist competition in the countryside. We now have thousands of Heroes of Socialist Labour in the collective farms and among state farm workers. Tens of thousands of men and women of the collective farms have been awarded Orders and medals for big achievements in agriculture. This year it has been decided to raise the requirements for those who will in the future be rewarded by the Government for their achievements in agriculture and stock breeding and in mastering agricultural technique. It need not be doubted that this year the number of recipients of decorations will not diminish but on the contrary greatly increase. This is indicated by the scope of competition and the growing labour enthusiasm on the collective farms.

Only a few days ago a decision of the Party and the Government was published, adopted on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, introducing a plan for the planting of shelter belts, development of lea rotation and building of ponds and reservoirs for the purpose of insuring big and stable crops in the steppe and forest-and-steppe areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R. The objective envisaged is to utilise the great practical experience and achievements of agricultural science so that the collective farms and state farms of the steppe and forest-and-steppe districts, armed with advanced technique, may in the next few years make a big spurt in the further development of agriculture and animal husbandry. Particular importance is attached to the development of lea rotation and to the large-scale planting of wind screens to protect the fields. The realisation of this majestic state plan, with the adoption of which war has been proclaimed on drought and crop failure in the steppe and forest-and-steppe areas of the European part of

our country, will lead our agriculture onto the highroad of big and stable crops, will render the labour of the collective farmers highly productive and will greatly enhance the economic might of the Soviet Union. Our confidence that this epoch-making plan will be fulfilled is indicative of the speed with which our strength is growing and of our achievements and our potentialities when we follow the path mapped out by the Communist Party, by the Great Stalin. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

In view of the fact that the task of directing the national economy has become more complicated, we are faced with the new problems in the field of State planning, organisation of supply of materials and development of advanced technique in all branches of economy.

In the field of economic planning, special importance now attaches to the work of co-ordinating and expediting the development of the various branches of production. As you know, the plans of production and construction are now drawn up for plans on the basis of progressive technico-economic standards for the utilisation of equipment and materials which helps to accelerate the progress of industry, transport and other branches of the national economy. The purpose of control over the way plans are being fulfilled is not simply to ensure the total planned volume of gross output but also, and as an essential requirement, the fulfilment of programmes in respect to the main classes of goods assortment and improvement of quality of product.

Upon the proper organisation of supply of materials, the creation of the necessary material stocks and the economical utilisation of the State resources largely depends the speed of development of our economy. In view of the present vast scope of production and construction, efficient organisation of supply and control to ensure that the established standards of expenditure of materials are observed, are of paramount

importance to the State.

The accelerated mechanisation of processes requiring great expenditure of labour and the introduction of up-to-date techniques in all branches of industry, transport and agriculture have always been considered a paramount task of the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin has said in connection with our economic tasks that “...the mechanisation of labour processes is for us that **new** and **decisive** force without which it will be impossible to maintain our pace or the new scale of production.” Our potentialities in this respect have grown immensely. The industries of the Soviet Union can now produce any machine, and the scale of machine building has, moreover, already far surpassed the pre-war scale. The number of machine tools in our country has greatly increased as compared with 1940, and within a short period may be increased still further. The systematic introduction of up-to-date technique in all branches of the national economy is a powerful level for enhancing the might of the Soviet State.

One highly important measure introduced in our country since the Thirtieth Anniversary of the October Revolution was the currency reform coupled with the abolition of the ration system of supplying the population and the establishment of uniform and reduced State prices for manufactured goods and foodstuffs. This decision helped the rapid elimination of the pernicious effects of the excessive amount of money in circulation—a heritage of the war period—and created favourable conditions for accelerating the progress of the national economy. As a result of the reduction of State retail prices, for foodstuffs and manufactured goods and the accompanying reduction of prices in cooperative trade and in the collective farm market, the purchasing power of the rouble increased twofold. Thanks to this and also to the growth of money wages, the real wages of workers and office employees have more than doubled as compared with last year. (Prolonged

applause).

Thus the currency reform and the Government's measures to improve trade have greatly contributed to raising the standard of living of the workers and office employees.

These measures became already possible two years after the end of the war during which the fascist invaders had inflicted untold misery and ruin on our country. This fact is a demonstration to the world of the vast forces and internal potentialities inherent in the Soviet State.

At the same time, following the abolition of rationing, new tasks have arisen in all their urgency in the sphere of Soviet trade, both in town and country. Everything must be done to expand the production of consumers goods to the utmost and to improve their quality and assortment and also to improve service to the consumers by the trading organisations—both State and cooperative.

On the other hand, the favourable results of the currency reform can be ensured to the full only if we observe the strictest economy in everything, if we do not tolerate extravagance and spare Soviet copecks. Consciousness of the importance of these simple duties has now penetrated the broadest sections of the Soviet public.

This year has seen the birth of a new patriotic movement among the working masses—a movement for the mobilisation of internal reserves, for rendering our enterprises profitable and for accumulations in excess of plan. In the first nine months of this year total economies above plan resulting from reduction in the cost of production exceeded 4,000 million roubles. The emulation which has developed in this field permits us to hope that by the end of this year the total of accumulations above plan will have increased by at least 50 per cent. Emulation in this field, furthermore leads to more efficient utilisation of machines and of equipment generally at the plants, and facilitates better organisation of production, which deserves

encouragement on the part of all our managerial bodies. This is a movement which now embraces thousands of the industrial enterprises and has acquired nation-wide significance, thanks to the initiative of the Communist organisation and the working people of our capital, Moscow, which once again has justified the high appreciation accorded to it by Comrade Stalin when he called it the “standard bearer of the new, Soviet epoch”. (Prolonged applause).

We are living at a time when our factory and office workers and the collective farm peasants throughout the country are taking part in socialist emulation. There are not, and there should not be now, any plants, or factories or collective farms which do not take part in emulation or do not strive to increase the number of those participating in socialist emulation in the enterprises or on the collective farms. “Emulation is a Communist method of building Socialism”, Comrade Stalin has said, And now we see that this Communist method of building Socialism has been adopted by the entire mass of working people of our country. This is an achievement of the October Revolution, the greatness of which cannot be overrated.

The immortal Lenin said:

“Socialism, far from extinguishing competition, for the first time creates the possibility of developing it on truly broad, truly mass lines, of truly enlisting majority of the working people in endeavours where they may display their ability, develop their capacities and reveal their talents of which there are inexhaustible wellsprings among the people and which capitalism mutilated, crushed and stifled by the thousand and million.

“Our task now that a Socialist Government is in power is to organise competition”.

Lenin further said:

“The creation of the opportunity, in a broad and truly mass

scale, for the manifestation of enterprise, competition and bold initiative is appearing only now. Every factory from which the capitalist has been ejected, or at least curbed by real workers' control, every village where the exploiting landlord has been smoked out and his land taken away is now, and only now, a field in which the man of labour shows what he is worth, can unbend his back a little, can straighten up, can feel himself a man. For the first time after centuries of working for others, of compulsory work for exploiters, there appears the possibility of working for himself and working with all the backing of all the achievements of up-to-date technique and culture”.

Lenin wrote these lines in December 1917, that is, more than thirty years ago. Everyone can now see for himself the fundamental and practical significance of the great postulates of Lenin.

The scope and profundity of socialist emulation show that the entire Soviet people has become a closely knit family of working people, regardless of national religious distinction. The reports addressed to Comrade Stalin daily published in our newspapers, telling of the labour achievements of factories and collective farms, construction jobs and scientific institutions, districts and cities, whole branches of industry and transport, regions, territories and Soviet Republics—all this testifies that our country closely knit family of nations which displayed its unbreakable solidarity and invincibility in the years of the Patriotic War and is now from day to day, by its participation in the front of labour, demonstrating the growing power of moral and political unity and socialist consciousness of the Soviet people. (Applause)

In our country all are workers, there are no idlers or parasites, nor should there be. It is sometimes said abroad that by dislodging these gentry from their nests we acted not quite democratically. But the results have not proved to be bad. Just because we are a state of working people where there is no

room for idlers or parasites we today constitute a closely-knit multi-national labouring family and at the same time a strongly organised, mighty and invincible army. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

Lenin and Stalin teach us to avoid becoming conceited and not to rest content with what we have achieved. Comrade Stalin never tires of explaining the importance of the method of criticism and self-criticism for our progress and for workers of all ranks without exception.

The work of our organisations on the cultural front is steadily growing in scale and significance. We have 730,000 university students and in addition 270,000 university correspondence course students, and over 34 million secondary, elementary and secondary technical school pupils. Our press and our cultural organisations are carrying on immense work of scientific education among the masses. Where is the capitalist state that would like to come forward and compare with the Soviet Union in the field of cultural progress! (Applause)

We have the right to be proud of the accomplishments of the Soviet arts and, especially of late, of Soviet literature which represent no small achievement of the guidance and direction given by the Party. Our literature, cinema and other arts are being increasingly enriched with productions which in their characters reveal the ideological substance of events and the endeavours of the people of the Soviet epoch. True art appeals to the people and leaves an indelible impression in their minds; hence the great significance of the present advance of the Soviet arts for the successful development of the Communist education of the Soviet people. Soviet art penetrates far beyond the borders of our country, telling of the life and deeds of our country, which the capitalist press strive to conceal from, and distort in, the eyes of the working people.

Of great fundamental and practical importance for the

promotion of scientific theory was the recent discussion in scientific circles on questions of biology. The discussion on the theory of heredity raised profound and fundamental questions relating to the struggle of genuine science founded on the principles of materialism against reactionary idealistic survivals in science such as the Weissmann doctrine of the immutability of heredity which denies that acquired characteristics can be transmitted to offspring. This discussion stressed the creative significance of materialist principles for all branches of science, and this should help to accelerate the progress of scientific theory in our country. We should recall the task set our scientists by Comrade Stalin, the task of “not only overtaking but outstripping in the near future the achievements of science outside our country”. (Prolonged applause)

The discussion on biological questions was also of great practical significance, especially for the further advancement of our socialist agriculture. It is not fortuitous that this struggle has been headed by Academician Lysenko, whose services in our common effort to promote socialist agriculture are well known. The keynote of this discussion was Michurin’s famous motto: “We cannot await favours from Nature, we must wrest them from her”. This injunction of Michurin’s, it may be said, is infused with the Bolshevik spirit and is a call out only to scientific workers but also to the millions of practical farmers to engage in active creative work for the benefit and glory of our people.

Scientific discussion on biological questions was conducted under the guiding influence of our Party. Here, too, Comrade Stalin’s guiding ideas played a decisive part, opening new and broad vistas in scientific and practical work.

Our country is in the midst of a new upsurge.

This is borne out by the labour enthusiasm and improved wellbeing of the Soviet people, by the achievements of

scientists and artists and by the accomplishments of Socialist construction which we observe daily, in which we share, each according to his strength and ability, and of which we have the right to be proud. Only yesterday our enemies were attempting to convert vast areas of our country into a “desert zone”, demolishing and destroying everything in their path. We have still not healed many of the wounds of war, have not rebuilt a number of cities, have not erected all the buildings and houses we need in order to eliminate the aftermath of the invasion of the fascist barbarians. But we are conducting this work successfully and are advancing ever more rapidly and confidently and have already left behind many of the achievements of pre-war days.

Remarkable progress is being made by our country where the family of Soviet nations is cemented by friendship and common effort for the benefit of the fatherland, displaying examples unparalleled in history of co-operation and fraternity among the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union. (Applause)

We are united and inspired in this struggle and are led forward by the Bolshevik Party and the great leader of the Soviet people, Comrade Stalin. (Great ovation)

II. In the Vanguard of Struggle for a Lasting, Democratic Peace

Four years ago Comrade Stalin, defining the tasks of the post-war period, said:

“To win the war against Germany consummating a great historical cause. But winning the war does not yet mean ensuring the peoples a durable peace and a reliable security in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to prevent the outbreak of fresh aggression and another war, if not

for ever then at least for a long time to come”.

In order to assist the effective realisation of these aims, the U.S.S.R. took an active part in the elaboration of a number of international agreements while World War Two was still in progress.

Everybody will recall how agreement was elaborated between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain, to which China and France adhered, and which later was taken as a basis for the Charter of the United Nations Organisation. Of utmost importance were the agreements between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain on the German question adopted at Yalta and Potsdam. We also know that the Potsdam decisions defined the general line of the post-war settlement not only in Europe. The special Potsdam Declaration on Japan, together with the Cairo Declaration and the Yalta Agreement, should serve as the basis for the peace settlement in the Far East as well. It should not be forgotten that these international agreements were sealed with the blood of our peoples who bore countless sacrifices and made it possible for us victoriously to end the war against fascism and aggression in Europe and Asia. Since then the Soviet Union has invariably insisted that the obligations undertaken under these agreements must be sacredly adhered to and carried out in practice by all the states.

It cannot be said that these obligations have remained only on paper. It is sufficient to recall that the international organisation of the United Nations has been created and is functioning, although not infrequently attempts are made to guide it into channels which diverge from its fundamental purposes. Five peace treaties have been concluded—with Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Finland—which are an important contribution to the Peace Settlement in Europe.

On the other hand we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the peace treaty with Germany is making no headway. At the

same time in the American, British and French zones of occupation in Germany, which contrary to the agreements between the Soviet Union, United States, Britain and France have been placed outside four-power control, people who were prominent under the fascist regime are being restored to key positions in industry and administration. Moreover, many democratic organisations are deprived of the opportunity of functioning normally, which the Soviet Union considers arbitrary and impermissible.

Nor is the peace treaty with Japan making any headway.

Naturally, the Soviet Union is insisting that the work of framing the peace treaties for Germany and Japan be expedited in conformity with what was envisaged in Allied agreements. This means that it must be the purpose in framing the said peace treaties to prevent the resurgence of Germany and Japan as aggressive powers, and, consequently, it must help to promote the demilitarisation and democratic reconstruction of these countries. In conformity with this the Soviet Government insists upon the complete disarming of Germany and on the implementation of the well-known plan of international control of the industrial region of the Ruhr as the principal base of Germany's war industry. In conformity with this, too, the Soviet Government insists that the war industry be completely banned in Japan and that proper international control be established to prevent the restoration of war industry in that country. But at the same time the Soviet Government considers that peace industry must not be stifled either in Germany or Japan. Both the German and Japanese peoples must be given the opportunity to secure everything that their own industries, serving peace needs, can provide.

If we want to be true to the obligations we assumed with regard to the peace settlement with Germany and Japan, this is the course we must follow. Only those who want endlessly to protract the occupation of Germany and Japan, disregarding the

legitimate interests of their peoples, can evade fulfilling the aforementioned international agreements.

Such is how matters stand regarding the chief tasks of the post-war peace settlement.

Another fundamental point in the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. is the struggle against new forces of aggression and consequently against the propaganda for a new war and instigators of a new war.

With this aim in view, the Soviet Union as far back as 1946 submitted to UNO its well-known proposal for a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of the atomic weapon. Despite the resistance of the aggressive elements the proposal was, in the main, accepted by UNO.

Last year the Soviet Union submitted a proposal to the General Assembly for the adoption of measures against war propaganda and the instigators of a new war. After all sorts of reservations and limitations had been introduced into our draft, UNO adopted a decision on this matter. The General Assembly's resolution was so thoroughly washed and scrubbed that it contained not a word of reference to the instigators of a new war. Only in the title of the resolution did there remain any mention that it was aimed against the instigators of a new war. Nevertheless, even this resolution is of positive value in the eyes of all honest supporters of international security, since it condemned all forms of propaganda aimed at creating, or capable of creating, or at accelerating a threat to peace, violation of the peace, or active aggression.

In order that the resolution on reduction of armaments and prohibition of the atomic weapon should not remain a dead letter, the Soviet Union this year submitted concrete proposals to further this decision of UNO.

The Soviet Union proposed a reduction by one-third within one year of all the existing armed forces and armaments of the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, France and China—

the live countries which, as the permanent members of the Security Council, bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of international security. This proposal directly affects only the Great Powers and does not apply to the armaments of any other state. Furthermore, the Soviet Union proposed that the atomic weapon be prohibited as a weapon designed for aggressive purposes and not for purposes of defence. In order to exercise supervision and control over the implementation of the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, and the prohibition of the atomic weapon, we proposed that an international control body be set up within the framework of the Security Council to which the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., France and China would have to submit full official data relative to the state of their armaments and armed forces.

This question was debated in the General Assembly and its committees for over a month. The Great Powers resorted to every excuse not to agree to a reduction of their armed forces and armaments or to the prohibition of the atomic weapon and secured the passage by the General Assembly of a resolution which suited their wishes.

Particularly unfriendly was the reception the representatives of the United States and Great Britain gave to our proposal to prohibit the atomic weapon. They cannot deny the indisputable statement that the atomic bomb is a weapon of aggression and not of defence, that it is designed for the mass destruction of peaceful citizens and, chiefly, of big cities, and that only fascist fiends and not representatives of free nations can dream of employing such a weapon. But those whom Comrade Stalin called obedient "Churchill disciples in aggression" are seeking every excuse to prevent the prohibition of the criminal atomic weapon.

In this connection two major camps of public opinion are becoming more and more clearly defined.

In the United States the recently-formed Progressive Party headed by Henry Wallace, has come out in favour of prohibiting the atomic weapon, as also have quite a number of American scientists and public figures, not to mention the millions of working people whose voice is not reflected in the mercenary organs of the yellow bourgeois press. In the summer of last year, in the so-called Working Committee of the Atomic Commission of the Security Council, the majority of the states, including Great Britain, pronounced in favour of destroying atomic bombs although owing to the pressure of the United States they did not adhere to this position very long. It has long been known that many British scientists consider the position of the Soviet Union in this matter to be correct. There can be no doubt that in any country the supporters of prohibition of the atomic weapon constitute the overwhelming majority of the people, although this does not find reflection in the General Assembly.

The more stubbornly the aggressive elements resist the prohibition of the atomic weapon, the wider will become the split between the forces of aggression and imperialism on the one hand, and the forces standing for the promotion of general peace and democracy on the other. From this it follows that the partisans of the atomic weapon will, with every day, become more and more isolated from world public opinion. From this it also follows that in leading the struggle for the prohibition of the criminal atomic weapon the Soviet Union stands at the head of all peace-loving nations, of all progressive men and women throughout the world. (Prolonged applause).

Until the Second World War, the capitalist world was divided into bourgeois-democratic countries and fascist countries. At that time the chief instigators of aggression were the fascist and militaristic countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—which formed the so-called anti-Comintern bloc. It was they who unleashed the Second World War which ended in the

ignominious fiasco of all fascists.

Long before the Second World War, the Soviet Union called upon all non-aggressive countries to unite in order to resist fascist aggression and always condemned deals by individual great powers with aggressive fascist countries at the expense of other peace-loving nations, such as the shameful Munich deal at the expense at Czechoslovakia.

When the Second World War broke out the Soviet Union did not have to change its policy upon entering the anti-Hitler coalition together with Great Britain and the United States. This was a natural sequence to the foreign policy the Soviet Government had been pursuing before the Second World War as well.

The dangerous threat hanging over Europe, and not only Europe, which emanated from fascist Germany and aggressive Japan with their lunatic plans for world domination and of crushing all states that opposed them, compelled the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States to unite with the Soviet Union against the forces of aggression and of fascism. Thanks to this alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the democratic countries, the aggressive powers were vanquished and important agreements were concluded with regard to the post-war settlement.

The Soviet Union to this day adheres to these agreements which were designed to protect the interests of democracy and to prevent new aggression. The Soviet Union lawfully demands that these agreements be carried out in practice and that new questions which may rise in connection with this be also settled by mutual agreement between the interested powers. No one can deny the consistency of the Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Government, nor that it fully accords with the interests of international security.

The whole point is that since the end of World War Two, changes have taken place in the policy of the ruling circles of

the United States and Great Britain which virtually imply the renunciation of the agreements conducted jointly with the U.S.S.R., aimed at the establishment of a stable, democratic peace after the war and which reflect the desire of these circles to impose their peace—an imperialist peace—upon other countries, which is incompatible with the liberating aims of the anti-Hitter coalition of the powers.

They evidently consider that since for them the danger of war has passed they can afford to ignore the old agreements with the U.S.S.R., disregard their existence. Among the ruling circles of these countries there are many hankering to realise their predatory plans, plans aimed at establishing the world domination of the Anglo-American bloc. They believe that with victory over Germany and Japan the ground has been cleared for the realisation of their plans of domination over all other nations, although they cannot say so openly. The press of the imperialist circles attacks our country with ever mounting ranting and screaming, for it is known to all that the Soviet Union is an irreconcilable foe of imperialist predatory plans.

In view of this it is clear why major international agreements concluded with the participation of the Soviet Union are being violated at every step and why the Berlin question for instance, in spite of the agreements reached between the U.S.S.R., the U.S., Britain and France still remains unsettled.

Comrade Stalin gave a profound explanation of this policy of the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Great Britain:

“The point is that the inspirers of the aggressive policy of the United States and Britain are not interested in agreement and cooperation with the U.S.S.R.. What they want is not agreement and cooperation, but negotiation about agreement and co-operation so that after nullifying the agreement, they can put the blame on the U.S.S.R. and ‘prove’ that co-operation with the U.S.S.R. is impossible. The instigators of war who are

striving to unleash a new war dread above all, agreement and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. for a policy of agreement with the U.S.S.R. undermines the position of the warmongers and renders the aggressive policy of these gentlemen futile.”

Comrade Stalin defined this policy when he said that “The policy of the present leaders of the United States and Britain is policy of aggression, a policy of unleashing a new war”.

From this viewpoint it is clear why new American military bases are being created in all parts of the globe, why the American authorities want to maintain their troops in so many countries and why the American military budget has been inflated this year to war-time dimensions and to eleven times the size it was, for instance, in the pre-war year of 1940. From this viewpoint it is also clear why, in Washington, there is preserved to this day the Anglo-American military staff which was set up during World War Two and which is now working on new plans of aggression secretly from both the American and British peoples.

There is much ado of late about the creation of all sorts of “alliances” and “blocs” of Western states though they are not being threatened by any other states. All this fuss about the formation of “Western unions”, “Atlantic alliances”, “Mediterranean blocs” and the like is camouflaged by defensive declarations by which only exceedingly naive people can be taken in. In reality these “alliances” and “blocs” have as their purpose preparation for new aggression and the precipitation of new wars in which definite ruling groups are interested, but certainly not the peoples of the United States, Britain or any other country. In the case of Britain and France they are at variance with the pacts of friendship, and mutual assistance which these countries have with the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin has also pronounced his weighty word on how the policy of the instigators of a new war is likely to end. He said:

“The outcome can only be the ignominious failure of the instigators of a new war. Churchill, the chief instigator of a new war, has succeeded in losing the confidence of his own country and of the democratic forces of the world. A similar fate awaits all the other war mongers. The horrors of the recent war are too fresh in the minds of the people, and the social forces standing for peace are too great for the Churchill disciples in aggression to overcome them and turn them toward a new war.”

Comrade Stalin’s statement should have a sobering effect. It shows that the anti-Soviet intrigues in which various agents of the war instigators of a new war are now engaged are under the vigilant observation of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the whole world. Everyone knows that such things do not love the light. But the time has passed when the peoples were blind tools of one or another ruling clique. (Applause)

The elections in the United States on November 2 resulted in a victory for the Democratic Party and President Truman. The failure of the Republican Party and Dewey who came forward in the elections with a frankly reactionary and most aggressive programme indicates that the majority of the American people reject this programme.

World War Two, which ended with the defeat of fascism, led to substantial changes in Europe and not only in Europe.

The weight of the strengthened Soviet Union in international affairs has been further enhanced. A number of new democracies to which the U.S.S.R. is bound by bonds of friendship and mutual assistance have taken the road of Socialism. The treachery of the leading nationalist group in Yugoslavia has done great damage to her people but there can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, relying on its internationalist traditions, will find the way which will enable Yugoslavia to rejoin the closely-knit family.

which embraces the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies.

(Applause)

The Communist Parties in the European countries have grown in strength and numbers. The destruction of fascism has opened broad perspectives for the growth and cementing of all the forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp.

The situation in Asia has likewise radically changed since World War Two.

The population of Asia comprises one thousand two hundred million of the two and a quarter billion people of the globe. The peoples of Asia are in motion in which an ever greater part is played by the forces of national liberation. Only sworn enemies of the progress of mankind can put a spoke to the wheel of this national liberation movement.

Such is the onward march of history.

Too pillars of imperialism are steadily crumbling and becoming unreliable. At the same time the forces of democracy, peace and Socialism are growing and cementing their ranks.

In this situation the imperialist forces more and more frequently base their plans on intensifying the aggressiveness of their policy, on creating an atmosphere of war hysteria and so on. These methods are well known.

The noisier the warmongering gentry become, the more they will repel the millions of common folk in all countries and the sooner will they become internationally isolated. And at the same time, the international camp of the supporters of peace and democracy, in the van of which stands the U.S.S.R., is growing stronger and stronger and becoming a great and invincible force. (Prolonged applause).

Our country is in the midst of a new upsurge. This is evident in the economic achievements, in the scale and content

of cultural endeavour, in the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, which has risen to a new and higher level. The strength of the Soviet people grows from year to year. The international prestige of the U.S.S.R. and its influence on world affairs become ever stronger, confirming the correctness of the policy of our Party. And accordingly, the Stalin foreign policy is imbued with steadfast consistency and calm confidence in the morrow.

We owe our achievements to the Bolshevik Party, to the guidance of Lenin and Stalin. (Stormy, prolonged applause).

In the summer of 1917, in the days of military defeats and economic dislocation when our opponents declared that there was no political party in Russia that would consent to take the entire political power into its hands, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at once retorted that there was such a party, that “our Party does not refuse to do so: it is ready at any minute to take over the entire power”. That very year the Bolshevik Party, which then numbered only 240,000 members, headed the October Socialist Revolution and led our country to the triumph of people’s rule, Soviet rule. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

Then the Bolshevik Party led the country out of the imperialist war, turned over the landed estates to the peasants and put down the attempts at resistance of the capitalists and landlords. Then, too, we defeated the forces of foreign intervention, which had formed a puppet “alliance of 14 states” and which were beaten in their attempts to restore bourgeois and landlord rule in Russia.

After this the principal task of the Bolshevik Party was to repair the economic dislocation caused by the protracted Civil War. Our enemies declared: “The Bolsheviks only know how to destroy. How often did they affirm that without the landlords and capitalists the national economy could not be restored. The Party of Lenin and Stalin replied to these assertions with the Bolshevik plan of socialist industrialisation, with the

triumphant Stalin Five-Year Plans which transformed our country. (Applause)

After this they prophesied that “the Bolsheviks will break their necks over the peasant question”, that the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was impossible. Guided by Comrade Stalin, the Bolshevik Party solved this problem, too, having eliminated the kulaks as a class, brought about the collectivisation of millions of peasant farms and created unprecedented conditions for the progress of agriculture and radical improvement of the conditions of the peasantry. The outcome of these far reaching changes was that we were able to secure the elevation to a new level of the alliance of workers and peasants which turned into the moral and political unity of socialist society, no example of which had been known to world history. (Stormy applause)

In accomplishing these tasks the Party time and again encountered the resistance of agents of the class enemy, especially of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites. Having purged itself of these elements the Bolshevik Party became still stronger and rallied around Comrade Stalin. (Stormy applause)

The events of the Great Patriotic War are fresh in the minds of all. Stalin headed the defence of our country and took over the direction of the country’s armed forces—and the Soviet people vanquished German fascism and its allies. It was thought that the U.S.S.R. would be impoverished and weakened, but actually it grew stronger than ever in the course of the Great Patriotic War. It was expected that after the war the Soviet Union would be dependent on the leading capitalist states, but the Soviet State is continuing as heretofore to pursue its independent Stalin foreign policy, guided by the interests of the Soviet people and international security. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

The war ended. And we were able to return to our peaceful, labour. The Soviet Union is overfulfilling its new post-war

Five-Year Plan. Progress is likewise being made in the other countries which have taken the road of Socialism. Now, in the ruling bourgeois circles all sorts of absurd “fears” are rife—they are scared by our achievements, they are afraid of the gathering tempo of the U.S.S.R.’s economic progress. Naturally, this will not induce Soviet people to relax their labour efforts but on the contrary will spur the millions of labouring people of our country, our workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, our youth, to still greater efforts.

What is the foundation of our growing successes? This question can be answered briefly. The foundation of our successes is the guidance of the Bolshevik Party, of the great Stalin, which has welded together the working class and the working peasants in their struggle for the triumph of Socialism. (Stormy, prolonged applause).

There are capitalist countries where much wealth and human experience have been accumulated. Where there are natural resources and much else. But the obsolescent capitalist system itself, with its private ownership and anarchy of production, and the social and political antagonisms and crises which rend it, dooms these countries to instability and catastrophic slumps, to periodical shocks and revolutionary upheavals.

Different is the situation in the Soviet Union, where the socialist social system stands firmly on its feet and is the inexhaustible source of the growing strength of our State, of the labour enthusiasm and spiritual progress of the Soviet people. In our country, in big things and in small can be seen the directing and mobilising will of the Communist Party which recognises no insuperable obstacles. (Prolonged applause)

The October Revolution tested and steeled the Lenin-Stalin leadership of our Party which enjoys the boundless confidence and love of the Soviet people. Our people have come to occupy

an honourable and historic place among the nations and have demonstrated that, led by the Communist Party and the great Stalin they are capable of performing ever new great deeds. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

Long live our Soviet country—home of friendship of our peoples and shrine of their glory! (Stormy, prolonged applause)

Long live the great Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin the battle-steeled vanguard of the Soviet people, the inspirer and organiser of our victories! (Stormy, prolonged applause)

Under the banner of Lenin. under the leadership of Stalin, forward to the triumph of Communism. (Stormy, prolonged ovation. All rise Exclamations: “Long live our Comrade Stalin!” “Hurrah to the Great Stalin!” “Long live our Great Socialist Homeland!”)

PROTEST MOVEMENT AGAINST THE TRIAL OF THE 12 U.S. COMMUNIST LEADERS

The framed trial of the twelve leaders of the United States Communist Party has been received, with great indignation by broad sections of democratic opinion throughout the world.

This protest movement is steadily growing. Mass democratic organisations, the press, societies of lawyers and cultural and scientific workers—in fact the whole progressive world, is denouncing the attempt of the new U.S. Gnerings to smash their political opponents.

In France an appeal signed by the most prominent figures of science, literature and art exposed the “trial o~ the twelve” as a “violation of all democratic principles... which can later spread to all countries whose governments have joined the Marshall Plan.”

A meeting in Paris’ Mutuallité Hall attended by 5,000 representatives of French democratic organisations—the Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party, the League of the Rights of Man and the Fighters for Freedom League and others—protested against the trial and demanded that this persecution which creates a “precedent directed against any progressive thought both in Europe and in America” should be stopped immediately.

In a recent issue, “l’Humanité” recalled the fake trial that camouflaged the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottsboro Negroes, and stressed that the Washington Government was persecuting American Communists, in order to outlaw Marxism-Leninism as a political doctrine not only in the U.S. but also in all countries where U.S. imperialists are

trying to establish their domination.

The lawyers' union of Czechoslovakia issued a statement denouncing the methods of the U.S. inquisition. They emphasised that from the legal point of view the charge brought against the twelve Communists abused and openly insulted law and justice and that "the trial itself could be classed with those of the inquisition and the anti-Communist trials held under fascism. Progress cannot be put behind bars!" they declared.

Protest demonstrations against the Trial of the Twelve were held in Britain, Rumania and other countries. Meetings in Bucharest factories and various Rumanian towns denounced this criminal act of the American imperialists. A meeting of the Filatura Rornaneasca plant attended by 2,400 workers passed a resolution stating: "We see in the framed trial of the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party a vile and cowardly manoeuvre." Mass meetings were also held at the Grivita Rosie, Steagul Rosu, Vulcan, Laminor and many other factories.

Articles and reports in the word democratic press show that the struggle to save the American lighters for peace and democracy is steadily developing.

PROBATIONARY MEMBERSHIP INTRODUCED IN COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Presidium of all regional Party committees have discussed and unanimously approved the proposal to introduce probationary Party membership. On the basis of this the Presidium of the Central Committee took a corresponding decision on November 3.

Probationary membership will enable people wishing to join the Party to get to know the principles, policy and Statutes of the Party. It will also enable Party branches to assess the personal qualifications of applicants and how they carry out their tasks.

The following conditions for accepting applicants have been introduced: individual verification on the basis of a biography presented by the prospective candidate; recommendation by two Party members of two-year's standing; decision of the Party branch meeting to accept the applicant; ratification of this decision by the district Party committee. Candidate members have the same duties as Party members but they have only a consultative vote a branch meetings and cannot be elected to the Party branch committee.

Working-class applicants will serve a one-year probation, others two years. After this period the Party organisation must decide whether the candidate member should become a full member.

If a candidate does not qualify for Party membership, his probationary membership may be prolonged. At the same time, Party members who do not fulfil the demands of the Party may

be given the rank of candidate.

The directive given on probationary membership points out that before Munich the revolutionary struggle and the dangers which Communist Party membership entailed at a time when the Party was being persecuted were the best probation for Party membership. After the country had been liberated in May 1945, when a strenuous struggle was being fought against reaction which still held important positions, there was no great danger that careerist or hostile elements would penetrate into the Party.

However, the danger appeared after the February victory over reaction. There was mass recruitment to the Party, and organisations did not thoroughly check each applicant, nor was the acceptance of new members decided by the Party branch. The present verification shows that previous steps taken to correct these mistakes were inadequate.

The Party does not want mass expulsions of those Party members who were not thoroughly verified before being accepted into the Party and who during the present verification have proved to be immature. Therefore the correct policy is to transfer them to candidate rank though such should be the exception in Party organisations. The transfer to candidate membership should not be regarded as demotion because candidate members constitute an integral part of the Communist Party.

In conclusion, the directive stresses that the introduction of probationary membership will increase the prestige of a Party member, will enliven inner Party life and will contribute to its ideological and organisational strengthening.

EVE OF UNIFICATION OF POLISH WORKERS' PARTIES

A joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party and Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party was held recently.

Reports on the preparations for the Unity Congress of the two parties were given by Bierut, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party and Cyrankiewicz, General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party.

The meeting unanimously decided to call a Unity Congress for December 8 and drew up its agenda.

Zambrowski submitted a report on the draft Statutes of the future United Party. The meeting accepted the draft and decided to publish it in the press so that any member of the two parties could comment and submit amendments.

The meeting greeted the emulation campaign started by the Zabrze-Wschod mine workers in honour of the Unity Congress which has been enthusiastically taken up by hundreds of thousands of Polish workers.

Preparations for the Unity Congress are being carried out all over the country.

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

The first Congress of the Communist Party of Albania opened in Tirana on November 8. It was attended by 853 delegates and by fraternal delegations from the Communist and Workers' Parties of France, Greece, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania.

The Congress was opened by Comrade Tuk Jakova, Secretary of the Central Committee who read a message of greetings sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Delegates greeted this with great enthusiasm.

After the Presidium had been elected and the agenda agreed, the Congress heard and discussed a report submitted by the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Enver Hoxha.

DEMANDS TO FREE THE TEN GREEK PATRIOTS

Despite desperate resistance on the part of the Anglo-American bloc, the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has acted in defence of the ten leaders of the Greek Seamen's Union who were sentenced to death by the monarcho-fascists. This is a great moral victory for the delegations from the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

But the ten victims of the Greek fascists are still in danger. Their murder has merely been postponed.

World democratic opinion is demanding that these men be saved. The World Federation of Trade Unions has demanded that the sentence should be quashed and the men freed. In Britain, after Bevin had refused to act in the matter, a group of Labour Members of Parliament sent a protest message to the King of Greece.

In a message to Truman, United States trade unions also protested against the death sentence.

Protest meetings and demonstrations have been held in many towns in Britain, while public bodies in many other countries have requested Trygvle Lie, General Secretary of the United Nations, to act at once to save the lives of the ten Greek patriots.

THE SOVIET UNION BULWARK OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLES. François Billoux Member, Political Bureau, Communist Party of France

The working class of France, fighting a widespread battle for their vital demands, warmly greeted the 31st Anniversary of the October Revolution and took the occasion to express once more their deep love for the Soviet Union.

The working people of France showed their devotion to the Soviet Union in the early days of the October Revolution. In 1917, Paris metal workers, Le Havre dockers, Toulon arsenal workers were among those of numerous industries and districts who gave practical proof of their solidarity with the October Socialist Revolution. The mutiny of the French fleet in the Black Sea, led by André Marty, now one of the secretaries of the French Communist Party, is a fine example of how the French people fought to defend the Russian Revolution.

Since then, when the Bolshevik Party, guided by Lenin and Stalin, led the working people of Russia to the victory of the October Revolution, a number of circumstances have steadily developed the friendship of the French people for the Soviet Union.

In 1939, when the Munich traitors in the French Government tore up the Franco-Soviet agreement they failed, in spite of all their terror and reprisals, to destroy the sympathy of the French people for the Soviet Union. During the war against Hitler Germany, the victories of the Soviet Army at Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad filled the hearts of the

French with joy and hope. With each blow struck at the Hitlerites by the Soviet troops confidence in the victory of the Soviet Union, steadily grew.

With the ending of the war the gratitude of the French people has become even greater. Not only the Communists and working class of France, but even wider sections of the working people, all who support the country's national independence and all friends of peace clearly see that the Soviet Union guards the peace of the world, that only a Franco-Soviet alliance can safeguard our national independence.

One reason why the French people are hostile to the successive governments which act on the orders of the American imperialists, is the Government's policy which is opposed to France's vital interests in relation to Germany, interests that can be summed up in the two words: reparations and security. All the proposals made after the war by the Soviet Government on this question fully correspond to the interests of France, while all the American proposals are diametrically opposed to them.

Comrade Stalin outlined the main principles of the international organisation designed to secure a just and lasting peace at the time when the Soviet Army was preparing to strike its death blow at the enemy in his lair in Berlin. He also outlined the framework for the future United Nations Organisation.

But the essential conditions for peace, harmony and concerted action by the Great Powers were violated by the American Government, immediately the war had ended. After it had been formed in San Francisco, every session of the United Nations was a step promoting the aggressive policy pursued by the representatives of American imperialism. The war-like anti-popular character of American policy became increasingly apparent. America emerged from the war with her economic power considerably increased. She had suffered no

serious losses. Now she is trying to establish world domination and to lay her hands on all the markets formerly held by the vanquished countries (Germany, Italy and Japan) and by some of the victor countries weakened by the war (Great Britain and France).

And while certain governments, like that of France for example, readily agree to become American vassals, this does not hold true for the people. Opposing the imperialist camp, the democratic forces in the capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies who are battling for their freedom and national independence are lining up with the new democracies in the camp of democracy and peace, headed by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is the chief obstacle preventing the American millionaires from establishing world domination. The American monopolists and the governments they control are not particularly fastidious about the allies they choose. Having aligned themselves with Japanese reactionaries, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and Tsaldaris, they now want to gain the support of their recent enemy—the reactionary, circles of Western Germany in any case, if not those of the whole of Germany—in order to achieve their aim, that is, to prepare a third world war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, against the freedom and independence of all peoples.

The French Government, guided solely by the class interests of the exploiters, is trampling underfoot the national interests of France and her right to security. The word “reparation” has been struck out from the vocabulary of the French rulers.

The direct outcome of the Marshall Plan was the statement of the 16 governments which included the Government of France, that “priority of equipment imports will be given to the Ruhr.” The London recommendations of June 1948 signified a

new capitulation by the French Government to the political and strategic demands of the American monopolists. The French Government yielded its remaining guarantee—the French occupation zone; it has renounced reparation; gives priority to German restoration over the restoration of France; the security guarantee has given place to the restoration of the aggressor; the political status of Western Germany endangers universal peace.

The actual abandonment of inter-allied control over the Ruhr is in keeping with the French Government's military policy which places the French Army and its General Staff at the disposal of American strategy. France's military budget has gone up to over 400,000 million francs. These are some of the disastrous consequences of the policy carried out by the Marshall government of France. That is why many French people today quite naturally contrast the results of the country's subordination to the United States' demands with those that could be achieved through a policy of genuine alliance with the Soviet Union.

When the whole of France was under enemy occupation, the Soviet Union was the only power to recognise the French Provisional Government set up first in London and later in Algiers. Although, due to de Gaulle's policy, France did not employ her total war resources during the war, the Soviet Union signed an agreement with her at the end of 1944. De Gaulle signed for France though he had even then the same hostile intentions as Laval had had ten years earlier.

Because of the Soviet Union there is not a single article in the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam treaties which is contrary to the interests of France. In spite of the fact that as a result of the Munich policy of the British and French ruling circles, France's role in the international arena had considerably decreased, the Soviet Union has recognised her as a great power and secured this recognition of her rights by the other

great powers at San Francisco and the Paris Peace Conference, where the peace treaty with Germany's satellites was signed. The proposals made on behalf of the Soviet Union by Comrade Molotov with regard to four-power control of the Ruhr and reparation being paid out of current production upheld the interests of France. By fighting for Germany's political unity on a democratic basis and for economic unity which would enable her to make reparation payments and at the same time make the revival of German war industry impossible, the Soviet Union fought also for the vital interests of France.

While the French Government abandoned in London last June all its demands including control of the Ruhr, the proposals put forward a few weeks later in Warsaw by the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and the new democracies made it possible for all France's rights to be restored.

It is impossible to give all the actions of the Soviet Union which correspond both to the interests of France and to the defence of world peace. But it is necessary to mention the proposals made by Vyshinsky at the recent United Nations General Assembly.

Is the proposal to reduce armaments by one-third acceptable to France? If such a reduction were made, France could save over 100,000 million francs thus enabling her to cut the heavy taxes which now fall on the shoulders of the workers and the middle classes. At the same time this would facilitate the task of reconstruction which has recently come to a standstill as a result of the Marshall Plan.

As for outlawing the atomic weapon no other country is more concerned with this than France, since all the American strategists unanimously agree that France would be the chief "atom buffer" and one of the main battle fields in the war they are now preparing.

Thus, no matter what problems we consider, the vital

interests of France in no way conflict with those of the Soviet Union. A policy based on loyalty to the Franco-Soviet treaty would result in and would have as its natural complement, the rehabilitation of our economy, the development of trade relations on the principle of equality and a solution of the German question in keeping with the interests of France.

It is thus easy to understand why all the democratic forces in France, all patriots, all who wish for peace and disarmament back the programme of national salvation put forward by the Communist Party. The first two points of this programme are:

1—The denunciation of all treaties and agreements which harness France to the war policy of the imperialist camp, and which stipulate the granting of foreign credits with political conditions attached which run counter to the interests of the national independence and which bind France to her former enemies against her allies (the Marshall Plan, the Brussels military treaty, the London agreement; the bilateral Franco-American pact).

2—France's active participation in the struggle together with the Soviet Union and all the forces of peace throughout the world for a just and lasting peace based on the principle of keeping inter-allied treaties and the Statutes of the United Nations.

The success of the demonstrations held in honour- of the 31st Anniversary of the October Revolution, together with the tremendous scope of the preparations for the National Congress for Peace and Freedom called on the initiative of the Fighters for Freedom movement which will take place in Paris at the end of November, once again show the Government which is supporting all the anti-Soviet attacks and the threats to peace that it does not represent the will of the French people who consider the Soviet Union to be their loyal friend and ally.

As pointed out by Comrade Stalin in his answers to the "Pravda" correspondent the outcome of all this can only be the

ignominious failure of the warmongers. And, incidentally, this same fate awaits, the present rulers of France.

EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN PARTY WORK

Cultivating a New Attitude to Labour. Bela Balog

For many years the working class of Hungary was harnessed to the yoke of capitalist exploitation. Manufacturers and industrialists grew rich at the expense of labour. Therefore, the workers were not interested in the success of production.

After our country was proclaimed a democratic Republic, the Communist Party was faced with the important task of developing a new attitude to labour on the part of the workers and of interesting them in the functioning of the plant.

Immediately the State took control of the Weiss Manfred plant in December 1946, Communists at the plant organised talks and meetings explaining the need for a new attitude to production.

We explained in the following way. Hitherto, the capitalists grew rich on your labour. But there are no capitalists now. You are working for yourselves, for your country. By working conscientiously in present conditions you are strengthening the economic might of the country and at the same time improving your standard of living. Our Party organisation popularised the slogan advanced by Comrade Rakosi: "It is your country—build it!" Several hundred propagandists undertook political work in the shops of our plant. A great deal of material on this was published in our widely-circulated paper, "The Pinion", and in our wall newspapers.

Last March our plant was nationalised. A former worker

was appointed director. The Party organisation mobilised all members of the Party and the trade unions to carry out the production programme on schedule, and initiated labour emulation. Here it should be noted that a start in labour emulation had been made at our works even before it was nationalised.

Many workers smashed their production targets, and competed with each other. The successes of the foremost workers made it clear that the time was ripe for organising labour emulation at the plant.

The next task was to develop this emulation on a mass scale. Our Party organisation encountered a number of difficulties in carrying this out. Some of the workers for instance believed that they would not get extra remuneration for exceeding their targets. To disprove this, we held a conference of the Communist workers who decided that they would start labour emulation among themselves. Before long they recorded big successes. Propagandists publicised these at Party and trade union meetings and in the factory paper, indicating by how much each comrade had topped the target and how much extra he had earned.

The Party and trade union committees called upon the workers to follow their example and some 120 shops had responded.

The workers of our plant were the initiators of labour emulation throughout the country. Party members are the driving force of the emulation. Workers like Antal, a turner, who exceeded the norm by 160-170 per cent, Janos, a polisher who went up to 180 per cent, and Florian, engineer, by 165-170 per cent, qualified for premiums. By their conscious attitude to labour, these workers are an example to the rest of the workers to fight for the fulfilment of the Three Year Plan ahead of schedule.

Labour emulation has helped to improve the work of the

enterprise. Prior to nationalisation, the plant operated at a deficit. By April of this year, however, it had already made a profit of 300,000 forints and in May and June of 9,000,000 forints. Output is increasing each month. The programme for the first year of the Plan was completed by June 26, that is, 35 days ahead of schedule.

The hourly productivity of labour has gone up by 50 per cent. Wages have likewise increased, for instance, a worker who in January fulfilled the Plan by 107 per cent, averaged 137.28 forints a week, while in June the same worker, topping the target figure by 131 per cent, earned 174.172 forints. The average wage in the plant in January was 143 forints a week and in June 167.44 forints.

While encouraging labour emulation as one of the important methods of inoculating a new approach to labour, we have not forgotten other tasks in this sphere. A conscious attitude to work is reflected not only in high productivity of labour.

The Party is impressing upon the workers the need for high discipline, the need to handle equipment and raw materials with care; we are training the workers in the spirit of perfecting production processes which, in its turn, contributed to increased labour productivity.

Our propagandists have done much in this direction by explaining the detrimental effects of lateness and absenteeism and by calling upon the workers to make the maximum out of the working day. This has improved discipline with the result that lateness and absenteeism are now rare at our plant. The workers are enthusiastic about labour emulation and are applying themselves to the job, fully conscious of their duty.

The Party organisation has devoted considerable attention to developing rationalisation methods. We explained to the workers that under the conditions of the new democracy, rationalisation is a means of increasing labour productivity.

The workers responded by making valuable suggestions. The Party and trade union organisations saw to it that these were put into effect. As a result, the plant has been able to effect economies saving nearly one million forints worth of electric power, gas, coal and other materials.

The problem of inculcating a new attitude toward labour calls for patient and persistent work on the part of all Party and trade union organisations. This is today one of the most important tasks in our political educational work in the plant.

Rural Party Organisation. At. Dimitrov, Secretary, Staro-Zagorsk, District Committee Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

In this article we shall give a picture of the work of the local organisation of the Bulgarian Workers' Party in the village of Radnevo, Staro-Zagorsk region.

Radnevo has a population of 2,800. It is 30 kilometres from the district centre of Staro-Zagorsk. Agriculture is the people's main occupation, but various handicrafts are also carried on in the village. There are some small but important industrial enterprises and a railway station. All this makes Radnevo a centre for neighbouring villages.

The local organisation of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) is guiding the entire social, political, economic and cultural life of the village.

It mobilises the working people to play an active part in solving problems of both local and national importance. In order to carry out successfully the tasks facing the Party, five Party branches have been formed, four on an area and one on

an industrial basis. Total membership of the branches is 275.

The branches are led by a village Party committee of nine members, responsible for work in various fields of village life. For example, one member is responsible for Party work in the local Fatherland Front organisation, another is in charge of economic questions, a third of organisation and so on. In its work, the Party committee is supported by the Party Active which does a great deal of work in mass organisations of the working people such as those of women, trade unions and youth.

At this weekly meetings the Party committee discusses and takes decisions on different questions relating to the life of the Party organisations as well as those concerning the work of the enterprises, of the railway station, cooperatives and agriculture. On the suggestion of the secretary, draft resolutions of various matters are drawn up by members of the committee together with members of the Party Active and submitted for consideration by the committee as a whole.

The Party rank and file is informed of all committee decisions either at Party meetings or through the Party Active. In this way the membership takes an active role in preparing, adopting and carrying out all decisions.

So that the work of each branch and each member can be correctly guided, special Party committee meetings are held regularly to discuss the work of the branches, groups and individual Party members in various spheres, to analyse this work, exposing weaknesses and shortcomings and to decide upon future steps.

The Radnevo Party organisation has achieved considerable successes. A unified political organisation of the Fatherland Front has been set up with membership of 750 peasants. Through this the Communists are mobilising all the creative forces of the village population to struggle for Socialism. Every one of the local Party members has joined the organisation. A

branch of the Bulgarian Women's Union has also been formed with a membership of 400. The women's organisation is extremely active and is one of the best in the district. Almost all industrial and office workers In the village are organised in trade unions. Apart from this, there is an agricultural trade union organisation with a membership of 300.

The local organisation of the People's Youth Union covers all the young people. Through this organisation the young peasants are taking an active part in various campaigns and are being educated . in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The Radnevo Party organisation has done a big job in strengthening local government bodies. Due to the correct policy of the Party committee, the provisional council is slowly but surely taking its place in the life of the village as a new state body. All important local government questions are discussed beforehand by the Party committee, whose decisions are put forward in the form of suggestions for consideration by the village council, which often makes supplementary proposals.

The Party has also achieved successes in the economic field. When we speak about the work of a rural Party organisation we usually indicate that its main task is to fight for reorganising agriculture along new, socialist lines. Indeed, this historical task is the most important and the most difficult of all those facing rural organisations of our Party.

After the victory of September 9, 1944 the Radnevo Party organisation centred its attention on the fight to guide village agriculture onto a new path of development. The persistent explanatory work and the personal example set by the Communists themselves in Radnevo resulted in the formation and successful development of one of our Republic's best agricultural cooperatives. It has 92 members and owns nearly 5,000 decares of cultivated land

To strengthen Party influence in cooperative production, a

branch of 42 members has been formed in the cooperative itself. This branch is concerned with all production questions in the cooperative and guides its organisational and mass political work. Through its Active, the Party organisation is in close contact with all production brigades. The Party Secretary and one of the members of the village party committee are also members of the cooperatives Economic Council. It is no accident that the Chairmen of the Co-operative who belongs to the Ploughman's Union greatly relies on the Party organisation.

An important role in reorganising village agriculture is played by the local machine-tractor station. No Party branch has yet been set up at the station, and its 12 Party members work directly under the village Party committee which holds meetings with them and through them guides the entire work of the station. As a result of the Party committee leadership and the personal example set by the Communists, all the hundred workers at the machine-tractor station are actively interested in attaining a successful solution to the tasks facing the station. The non-Party director of the station, Comrade Chakyrov, said: "Not a single measure can be carried out successfully in the machine-tractor depots without the participation of the Communists.

Every day meetings of the various production groups are held at the station. Every week there are meetings of the leaders of the production groups, the trade unions and members of the Active. At wider intervals general meetings of all the workers are held.

As a result of the well-organised mass political work which helped all the workers at the machine-tractor station to carry out their tasks, the station successfully achieved its production targets. By the time the spring-sowing campaign started, all the agricultural equipment had been well repaired. The ploughing plan was fulfilled by 125 per cent. Particularly well-organised was the threshing of the new grain—every group threshed over

450 tons of grain.

A new kind of worker—shock workers—can now be found at the depots.

The Radnevo Party organisation is also carrying out work among handicraftsmen. With the help of the Party organisation two handicraft co-operatives of shoe-making and dress-making have been set up and are working successfully. The Party organisation has also taken the initiative in setting up consumer cooperatives. Nearly 70 per cent of all peasant requirements are provided through the social sector.

It would be incorrect to say that the work of the Radnevo Party organisation is ideal. Serious failures and shortcomings could be observed in its work which have now been eliminated by means of criticism and self-criticism. It is important, however, that the Radnevo Party organisation is not dizzy with success. It is far from being smug. All the Party members are strenuously working to realise the directives of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party and are persistently fighting to reorganise the village along socialist lines.

Party-Political Work of Prague Regional Party Organisation. Antonin Novotny, Secretary, Prague Regional Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The work of our regional organisation in Prague is of great importance to the whole work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Prague is the capital of the Republic, a centre for industry, science and culture. Political campaigns initiated by our organisation frequently take on a nation-wide significance.

The Party organisation in the Prague region comprises 20 district Party organisations, 12 suburban district organisations and one university organisation.

Since May 1945, when the glorious Soviet Army liberated the capital, the Prague Party organisation has developed with great speed. Today it has 410,395 members in 3,825 branch organisations: 1,529 of these are in factories and 2,296 work on a local area basis.

In 1938, the Prague region had only 10,000 members. During the years of the Hitler occupation, our Party suffered heavy losses. It is the pride of our Party and a sign of its strength, that after the liberation those cadres who had been tempered in the liberation struggle were able to solve the problem of building a people's democratic Republic and of building the Party.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has become the decisive political force in the country. It has taken responsibility for the development of the people's democratic Republic. It was necessary to prepare the Party cadres and the mass of the people to carry out new tasks. Our Party had to study how to govern the State when the struggle against reaction was becoming increasingly sharper; when, up to last February, reaction held important positions in the state apparatus, administration, national economy and cultural life.

After the February defeat of reaction, our Party took on full responsibility for state administration. In these new conditions it was essential to strengthen the Party organisations and ideological work in a considerable extent.

Our Party opened wide its doors to new members. This resulted in an unprecedented growth of branches whose membership often grew to hundreds and even thousands. A situation like this impedes the proper direction of Party organisations. It brings with it the danger of various groups and trends springing up, slackens the control of individual work,

makes it difficult to utilise new members for Party work and thus prevents the development of new cadres.

We are trying to make sure that every Party branch increases its capacity to fight and that each Party member takes an active part in the life of his Party organisation. As is known, Communists develop politically through day-to-day work which strengthens their bonds with the Party and teaches them to revere their Party. For this reason, it was necessary to divide branches so that each one had not more than a hundred members; it was also necessary to bring up from these organisations new comrades capable of taking responsibilities in Party committees and to increase the number of the “ten-men group” leaders.

The Party’s rapid growth made it necessary to develop new cadres for leading work in regions and districts. Besides this, we had to take a considerable number of efficient and conscious workers out of the factories to work in state administrative and an economic organisations. True, not everything has yet yet been done in this sphere. Our factory Party committees are reluctant to part with their best workers. They do not yet understand sufficiently well that now that power is in the hands of the working people, led by the working class, it is essential that the administration should be manned by working class personnel We must be bolder and more energetic in finding new worker-cadres for our state and economic reconstruction.

The great influx of new members—especially in our region—brought with it a number of dangers. In Prague tens of thousands of office-workers employed at enterprises, banks insurance societies joined the Party. A great number of these had previously been members of other parties which had pursued an anti-Communist policy. Many of them came over to us in order to combat the treacherous role played by reaction. It is quite clear, however, that there were quite a number of

people who joined the Party for opportunist reasons. Hostile elements also succeeded in penetrating into the Party. This influx of members confronted the Party with the task of giving its cadres real ideological education.

First we started to organise mass political study among the membership and branch functionaries. We had to organise discussions of the main principles of Party work among the new members in the shortest possible time and in the most suitable form.

We worked out a plan of mass lectures for the membership, branch functionaries and “ten-men group” leaders.

Now, in connection with the membership verification, we are organising lectures on such subjects as: “What is the Communist Party?” and “The political significance of the verification”. Held simultaneously in Prague’s biggest halls, these lectures were attended by 40,000 leading comrades from the branches. One of their shortcoming was that written questions were put to the lecturers instead of initiating discussion. Often as many as 150 questions were put at one session.. Besides this, Communist education days were introduced in branches, devoted to subjects connected with outstanding anniversaries and other important events. These education days will be continued.

However, we consider that such mass studies are only a temporary means of solving the problem. Our organisations need more profound studies by Party cadres in the district and regional schools. Some Party districts are setting up their own permanent one or two-week schools. At big factories, schools have been started after working hours where student attend a series of eight or twelve lectures both of a general political end of a specific nature.

The general political lectures consist of reports on such subjects as the scientific world outlook, political economy, imperialism, the international significance of the victory of

Socialism in the Soviet Union, the Lenin-Stalin doctrine of the Party, etc. Lectures on Czechoslovakia's national economy, given according to the profession of the students, are linked up with these subjects.

From January to October this year, 43 groups of students totalling 3,024 people, graduated from district schools. A hundred and fifty groups of students totalling 12,101 people went through evening district schools. We now intend to increase the number of students in the district schools to 25,000. These short-term schools are of considerable importance. Sometimes it is sufficient only to pose the question clearly to awaken a desire for political self-education among the membership. This is borne out by the fact that Marxist-Leninist literature recently published in Czechoslovakia is already out of print. Comrade Stalin's "Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)", "Problems of Leninism" and other Marxist-Leninist classics have been published in editions running into tens of thousands.

Wide-scale study is also being undertaken by the workers in the administrative and state apparatus.

At present the Prague regional Party committee has four permanent schools, two six-week schools and two special one or two-week schools. We are now preparing to open two more regional three-month schools. In the future another two six-week schools will be set up, one of which will be for industrial functionaries. Special weekly schools for youth and cultural workers, Civil Servants and others will also be opened.

The main shortcoming of such mass Party education is that insufficient attention is paid to the education of members in the suburban districts, to the proper selection of students. To controlling their work in the factories and offices and their promotion to more responsible jobs.

The fact that certain lecturers have not reached a high enough level is another difficulty. An important factor in

raising the ideological level of the membership is the institution of Gottwald libraries in the branches. At present there are over a thousand of these libraries.

While we developed ideological and educational work among our members, we also systematically carried out various political campaigns applying new methods of work in each case. For example, during the February events, the task of the Prague Party organisation was to mobilise the mass of its members to support the congresses of the factory committees and the peasants. It also played an important role in organising the workers' militia. At the same time, it was necessary to explain to the working class and the working people their tasks in the struggle against reaction for securing our country's advance along the path to Socialism.

After that the Prague region mobilised its members for the May Day demonstration and for the election in which the Communist Party won decisive positions in Parliament and in the Government. In these campaigns our organisations carried out their tasks well and achieved big successes.

However, we underestimated the role of the "Sokol" sports festival. Our organisation was not sufficiently vigilant and was not mobilised to counter the provocation of reaction during the festival.

Only when reaction came into the open did we realise our mistake and take the necessary steps to mobilise the Party. The "Sokol" festival gave us valuable experience which helped us to deal with reactionary provocation during the funeral of Benes, former President of the Republic.

At present our Party organisations are now active in carrying out the membership verification. This is a new extremely important political campaign. Its aim is to strengthen the Party, to clear out hostile and unstable elements, to replace Party workers who have not proved capable of this work by more efficient people. The verification must become a school

for political education of the masses. It has already been carried out among members of regional and district Party committees. In some places we noted a tendency to make a superficial verification which sought only for positive features in our members and did not disclose shortcomings in their work. Now this weakness has been practically eliminated.

In the main, our leading regional and district cadres understood the aim of the verification. At Party meetings the work of the membership was subjected to genuine and comradely criticism. This verification brought to light a number of shortcomings in our work. Certain Party functionaries will be removed or transferred to other sections of work. It can already be seen that the verification will be a considerable contribution to developing and strengthening our Party.

Now we have entered the most difficult period in which the verification will be carried into the branches. The task of the Prague regional Party organisation is to prevent this from turning into a petty, superficial check-up characterised by a petty-bourgeois fear of hurting feelings. The danger of this can be seen particularly in Party organisations of office workers and in the countryside.

Recently we have carried out a number of other big political measures, such as the celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the Republic, the mobilisation of the people to complete the Two Year Plan and prepare to put the Five Year Plan into action, the celebration of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

It is also necessary to note the participation of our organisation in the Party's drive conducted under the slogan: "Thirty million hours of voluntary labour for the Republic!" Originally the target of our region was seven million voluntary work hours. By October 28 (Anniversary of the Republic, 200,000 voluntary workers of the Prague Party organisation

had already put in more than 12.5 million hours. Most of this voluntary work was done in the countryside, chiefly harvesting. Now the Prague organisation is able to use this experience and the contacts made by this voluntary labour brigades to strength its work in the villages.

All these things cover only a few aspects of the work of the Prague regional organisation. We are aware of the great responsibility that our organisation has to the whole Party. We know that our tasks can be carried out only on the basis of intensified work guided by the Party's Central Committee, on the basis of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

Party Education in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Ten years ago when the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)" first appeared, fascist terror raged over Germany. Its publication and circulation on a mass scale was impossible. The Communist Party was only able to reprint important chapters illegally and to distribute them throughout the country with the help of the remaining active Party members.

Only after the victorious Soviet Army had defeated Hitler fascism was the German Communist Party able to regain its legality and resume its activities. One of its first tasks was to organise the study of the "Short Course" among the 'membership so that they could get a basis of Marxist-Leninist education.

Soon after Hitler's defeat, the Party publishing house was established. In 1945 it issued 100,000 copies of the "Short Course". Later some further editions of the book appeared. In Germany, especially in the Soviet zone, the "Short Course"

was sold in hundreds of thousands of copies.

As a result of the mass publication of the “Short Course”, broad sections of people were able to read it and carry out individual studies.

The “Short Course” is the principal material used in Party schools.

There is a vast network of evening schools. District and regional Party schools and the Karl Marx Higher Party school have been opened.

The recent plenum of the Party’s Central Board considered the Party’s work in ideological and political education still insufficient. It called on the membership to take an active part in the fight to build a party of a new type, the existence of which is impossible unless it is based on the rich historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, unless the leading role of the CPSU (B) in the international struggle against the instigators of a new war, for democracy and Socialism in fully understood.

FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA. F. Fürnberg, General Secretary, Central committee, Communist Party of Austria

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Austria was convened at a time when the world contradictions between the two camps that have taken shape since the end of the war—the imperialist camp headed by the United States and the anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union have sharpened. It was held at a time when the class contradictions inside Austria have sharpened.

During the past few months it has become increasingly obvious that the world-domination plan of the American imperialists which, with the help of the “Marshall Plan” they are trying to make a reality, is doomed to failure. The growth of the anti-imperialist forces, the growth of the forces of Socialism, can be seen quite clearly.

The Soviet Union, developing on a socialist foundation, is overcoming the terrible legacy of World War Two at a phenomenal rate, surpassing pre-war targets in industry and agriculture and is experiencing a great new upsurge both in economy and culture. The Soviet Union has emerged from World War Two stronger than ever before.

The new democracies, in overcoming the desperate resistance of the exploiting classes and foiling the attempts of the imperialists to interfere in their internal affairs, have not only strengthened their social and state order and restored their national economy, but are energetically tackling the job of building Socialism.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are stubbornly struggling for their freedom and independence. The latest historic victories of the Chinese People's Army have dealt a smashing blow to imperialism in the Marshall countries the working class has redoubled its efforts in the struggle against the agents of American capital and its own capitalists, and has frustrated attempts to enslave the workers and to crush the Communist Parties. All over the world the struggle of the working people is developing and the conscious fight of the peoples for independence, progress, freedom and peace is gaining momentum. And everywhere this struggle is led by the Communists.

The sharpening of the political struggle in Austria is reflected in the fact that the Government and the leadership of the two non-Communist parties have accepted completely the American policy of Marshallisation, that they are even now bartering the independence of Austria before it has been won, that they have become the blind tools and the direct agents of American imperialism. It is also reflected in the sharpening class struggle for the economic demands and rights of the working people, in the growing class consciousness of the workers, in the mounting resistance of the working people to the country's Marshallisation, in the strengthening of the Austrian Communist Party.

International Social Democracy is also divided into two camps in the great historic struggle now being waged throughout the world—a struggle in which Austria constitutes one of the minor sectors. On one side are those leaders and parties of former Social Democracy who, after drawing the correct lessons from the past have taken their place together with the Communists alongside the people. On the other side are the Right Socialist leaders, the Bevins, Blums and Saragats, who recognise but one law—the law of the American masters. Among these people are the leaders of the Socialist Party of

Austria, the traitors to Socialism—the Schaerfs, Helmers and Pollaks. The Communist Party of Austria is resolutely fighting the treacherous policy of the Right Socialists by showing the people how disastrous it is, by rallying the working people in the struggle for their freedom and independence, for peace, democracy and Socialism.

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Austria was an unforgettable event for all delegates. It was a powerful demonstration of how Communists correctly appreciated the full responsibility of the tasks facing them, a demonstration of revolutionary upsurge, of their preparedness to battle selflessly for the cause of Socialism. The Congress was a demonstration of international solidarity shown not only by the fact that fourteen Communist Parties sent representatives, but also by the speeches of our foreign friends and by the warm sympathy displayed by our Congress for the struggle of our fraternal Parties, a struggle which constitutes an integral part of our struggle. Striking proof of this international solidarity was the ovation given to the greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and to the proposal to send a reply to Comrade Stalin.

After a detailed analysis of the international situation and the situation in Austria, the Congress outlined the future course of the country's historical development. It mapped out the path of struggle of the Austrian working class and placed before the Party a number of immediate tasks.

The Congress heard the reports by Comrades Koplenig, Honner, Fischer and Fürnberg, and in the subsequent discussion 47 delegates spoke. Comrade Koplenig reviewed the situation and spoke of the militant tasks of the working class and the people of Austria, and of our Party. The other reports and discussion dealt with such vital problems as the struggle against the "Marshall Plan", the struggle for the economic plan

of the Communist Party of Austria. The Congress discussed the principles of the Communist Party's programme, its aims and demands.

In his report Comrade Kopenig pointed out that "the class struggle in the Marshall countries is merging with the national struggle, and the Communist Parties in defending the vital interests of the broad masses, particularly the interests of the working class, are defending the freedom and independence of their countries. Inasmuch as Marshallisation spells impoverishment, social bondage and the loss of all rights to a national existence, the struggle for the interests of the working people is, at the same time, a struggle for national sovereignty. Within the framework of this struggle for national sovereignty the struggle for a peace treaty it being fought, the attainment of which would be a decisive step forward in the battle to prevent the Marshall dictate being imposed to the Austrian people."

The Congress unanimously approved Comrade Kopenig's words that "the Figl-Schaeri Government is not a Government of Socialist workers and Catholic peasants but a government of Marshallisation," which "is betraying the interests of the working people and considers that its chief task is to bolster up capital at the expense of the working people." The task of the Communist Party said Comrade Kopenig, is to "consolidate all forces prepared to fight against the Marshallisation of Austria, against the exponents of Marshallisation—the Figl-Schaerf Government—and for a government which will serve the people instead of serving foreign capital."

The working class is the principal force in this struggle. It must be the rallying point for the working people.

It alone can lead the struggle for independence, freedom and progress. The workers must raise their political consciousness if they are to carry out their great historical role. The Congress showed that it was necessary—day in, day out—to expose the treacherous policy of the Right leaders of the

Social Democratic Party which is aimed at preventing the working- class becoming united and holding back its struggle for its political aims and its daily economic interests.

The Party Congress laid particular stress on the very important task of winning the mass of peasants over to the Communist Party and that a considerable part of its forces must be allocated to this work. The Social Democratic tradition of underestimating the great importance of the working peasantry and of underestimating the joint struggle of the whole working people must be abandoned; the Party must intensify the struggle for the economic interests of the small peasants.

The Austrian Communists are fighting for a people's democracy. This struggle is merging with the struggle for our country's independence. It is a struggle to gain democracy for the people, to eliminate capitalism and to win the victory of Socialism.

The Communist Party of Austria which today has a membership of 150,000, unites in its ranks, the finest and most conscious elements of the working class. It is the main weapon of the working class and thus it is also the main weapon of the Austrian people. It takes on its shoulders the brunt of the struggle and the responsibility for our country's future.

It is therefore only natural that the Party Congress discussed in detail, soberly and frankly, the weaknesses and shortcomings still to be found in the Party and future steps to help the Party to carry out its tasks. This is a question of the ideological and organisational strengthening of the Party, of improving Party work, of consolidating the leading Party bodies, of raising the activity of the membership.

The unwavering unity of our Party, which our Congress reflected, was most clearly seen during the election of the Central Committee which, for the first time in the history of our Party, was held by secret ballot. All the leading members of the Central Committee were unanimously elected to the new

Party leadership. However, the Congress frankly recognised that it was necessary to strengthen the ideological unity of the Party still more, so that the Party could, having mobilised all its forces, move in one direction and concentrate all its energies on striking one great blow against the forces of reaction.

The Congress was held under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, our guide to action and work. The discussion was held and resolutions adopted under this banner. The Congress enthusiastically greeted Comrade Koplénig's words: "We Communists are true to the Lenin principle which holds that the Bolsheviks are a model for all Communist Parties. In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) we see the leader of the international proletariat. We salute Comrade Stalin, who stands at the head of the Bolshevik Party, as the teacher and leader of the international working class movement."

The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Austria was a big step forward in the Party's development. We must now put into practice the Congress decisions and see to it that the upsurge and strength demonstrated by this Congress spreads to the whole working class.

THE BUCHAREST TRIAL—A NEW FIASCO FOR IMPERIALISM. Sylviu Brucan

Imperialist circles cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the peoples of the new democracies have smashed their chains and, fulfilling their own hopes, have taken the path of building a free life. The imperialists are infuriated that they can no longer pile up profits by exploiting and oppressing the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Rumania is one of the countries which the imperialists systematically robbed for decades. And Anglo-American imperialist circles are today still trying hard to get another opportunity to exploit and run our country. The recent Bucharest trial of a group of plotters shows absolutely clearly the methods they applied to achieve their fantastic aims.

The trial revealed that this criminal group plotted against the people's state, planning to overthrow the people's democratic order by force and to restore the old bourgeois, landlord regime.

The names of the accused speak for themselves. The ringleaders of the plot were Max Ausnit, former owner of the Resitsa plant, the biggest iron and steel works in the country, and Ion Bujoiu, former owner of the largest coal mining enterprise in the country. Ausnit was a shareholder in the "American Credit and Investment Company" and in the few York iron and steel "Trading Company for the Orient" Engineer Popp, another of the ringleaders was formerly managing director of the Resitsa plant. He openly admitted in court that "Ausnit represented American interests in Rumania."

The plotters include Horia Mecelariou a former Alltones'cu admiral, as well as several commanders of the

Legionaries headed by Nicolai Patrascu, former general secretary of the organisation. The most indicative characteristic of the majority of the accused is the fact that they were 100 per cent fascists. All of them, without exception, had ties with fascism.

But there were other names which resounded in the great hall of the Bucharest Military Court: Melbourne, ex-first secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest; Henry Leverich, his successor; John Lowell, U.S. military attaché; Donald Dunman, Robert Shea and Owen Ferguson, secretaries at the Embassy; Charles Robinson, Counsellor to the British Embassy; William Worsen, British commercial attaché and Colonel Young also of the British Embassy, not to mention other high sounding names and titles which, it is true, were pronounced less frequently.

All the accused have been caught in the net of irrefutable proof. Witnesses disclosed that the above-mentioned official representatives of the imperialist powers inspired, organised and directly supervised the activities of the plotters.

The accused Poop admitted: "The Americans were the initiators and leaders of the illegal groups whose object was to overthrow the present regime with the help of Ausnit and his group, as well as with the help of the Maniu, Bratianu and Titel Petrescu groups."

Here mention should be made of the conference of American spies held in Frankfurt-on-Main last June. which became the base of American espionage in Eastern Europe. This conference, which was attended by the Nazi generals Guderian and Halder, set up a special department, under General Donovan, known as Department "I" to supervise subversive activities and terror in the countries of Eastern Europe. The same objects are pursued by another centre of American espionage in Salzburg which is widely using former Gestapo agents who have gathered around themselves a gang

of fascist cutthroats from different parts of Eastern Europe, people who had fled together with the Germans from the wrath of the people.

The activities of the espionage entre were laid bare at the trial. The “general instructions” drawn up by the accused, Manu on the directives of the military attaché John Lowell, which were discovered by the organs of the people’s power, laid down that the members of the illegal groups should collect information and engage in espionage of this centre. Carrying out these “general instructions” the accused Popp organised a broad espionage network made up of the people who had been, general secretaries of Ministries, a director of the National Bank, directors of enterprises.

After the war the group of Legionaries, Gestapo spies, sold themselves to the Gestapo’s successor—the American espionage centre. This group maintained direct contact with Salzburg through three special couriers who crossed the border illegally. Horia Sima, former head of the Legionaries who is now a trusted agent of the American espionage centre, is in Salzburg.

The plot, like all the terrorist activity of the criminal group was based on material support from imperialist circles. The accused Margineanu disclosed in its testimony that Leverich had assured them, in the name of the Americans, that “at the necessary moment they (the American imperialists) would parachute arms and soldiers for an armed struggle against the Government”.

The principal task of the illegal groups was subversive activity to bring about economic and financial chaos. These subversive activities were first outlined as early as 1945 by Melbourne, then first secretary to the U.S. Embassy, at a dinner in the “Financiers” club, attended by Ausnit, Popp and other industrialists. There, Melbourne placed before the big industrialists the question of financing and supporting the

illegal groups and political parties of Maniu, Bratianu and Titel Petrescu, and called for organised and systematic sabotage in industry, economy and finance.

The Resita iron and steel plant, the biggest in the country upon which the rest of processing industries largely depend, was the centre for all wrecking activities. Engineer Popp was the initiator of the most subtle methods of sabotage: disorganisation of workshops, blocking goods in the warehouses, dislocation of transport, breakdown in equipment and transport, reducing the capacity of electric power stations, systematic increase of rejects which in some shops amounted to 80-90 per cent of the total output.

By leaving fascist elements in the factories, cutting food supplies to industrial and office workers and holding up wages, by closely co-operating with the board of directors and the Right Social Democrats Herman and Mustetiu inveterate traitors to the working class, our enemies tried to arouse discontent among the factory and office workers against the people's power.

Through this sabotage Resitsa's output which had reached 234,000 tons of steel in 1943 dropped to 85,000 tons, the lowest in it's history.

Part of this output was sold by the wreckers secretly on the black market so as to increase inflation, and the enormous profits gained by these spindles were used to finance the illegal groups and parties of Maniu, Bratianu and Titel Petrescu's "Socialists".

The plotters even drew up a list for their government, headed by the Rumanian hangman, General Radescu, who, together with Ausnit and other traitors had taken cover in the United States and whom the imperialists had appointed "prime minister". The accused Margineanu told the court that "Leverich fully agreed with us that General Radescu was the man to head this government."

These spies and traitors were exposed because the Rumanian Workers' Party did not work under any illusions, did not allow itself to be disarmed in the face of the enemy, but was mobilised and vigilant. The Party daily draws the attention of the working people to the fact that during the transition from capitalism to Socialism the class struggle does not weaken but grows sharper, that the enemy, aware of his doom fights back with extreme methods rather than becoming timid and harmless.

The stern sentence passed by the people's justice on these spies, plotters and wreckers expressed the will of the people. At the factories the workers unanimously declared that they approved of the sentences.

The trial of spies and saboteurs threw the imperialist camp into confusion, exposing their real aims and methods. In this respect the admission of the well-known American magazine "Colliers" is most instructive. The writer of an article entitled "What Is Wrong With the American Intelligence System" wrote that the central espionage agency had suffered a number of big and stupid failures, one of which was the Rumanian fiasco.

This failure he attributed to the American spies Hall and Hamilton who left behind them incriminating proof of their part in the plot staged by Maniu, leader of the former National Tsaranist Party.

The magazine also complains on other grounds. The American central espionage agency, we read in the same article seems to think that conspiracy means using the diplomatic corps for their ends by sending agents into foreign states disguised as embassy personnel or other official persons.

It is therefore easy to understand the bitterness expressed by the author of the article who realised that these methods, as he put it, helped to expose the imperialist ambitions of the United States in Europe.

There is a much deeper reason for these “stupid failures”, which can be found in the general international situation. The imperialists of the United States and Britain are falling stupidly not only in espionage but in all other spheres as well, as a result of the weakening and disintegration of their forces and the steady strengthening of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism.

THE GREEK PEOPLE WILL FIGHT UNTIL VICTORY. M. Porphyrogenis

Recently Mr. Marshall left Paris for three days where he is conducting the docile orchestra of the majority in the United Nations, for Athens where things went badly for him.

When he arrived there, Marshall immediately hurried to the Headquarters of van Fleet or von Fleet, as he is called in Greece) and discussed the military situation with him. After that he had talks with Paul Glücksburg and Sophoulis. The monarcho-fascists were loud in their appreciation of this visit, as befits the mercenary local leaders when their masters from the metropolis deign to honour them with a visit.

One newspaper even wrote that this visit was one of the greatest events in the history of modern Greece! But Marshall's visit was not only welcomed with the customary greetings of these lackeys. Confused and in despair at the steady successes of the Democratic Army, they had hoped that their trans-Atlantic masters would give them some much needed encouragement. And Marshall's arrival was the encouragement they were waiting for. Marshall would certainly have liked to have been able to give them some more hope. But after the gloomy conclusions he drew from his talks, he was cautious enough not to say very much when he left. And he had good reason for this. The situation which he found in Greece gave no opportunity for encouraging words.

Actually it was only two months ago that Marshall received comforting news from Athens. According to these false reports, the Greek partisans had almost been wiped out. The "remnants" were "about to be exterminated" and the "pax americana" was to reign over Greece.

Encouraged by this, Marshall gave instructions that Truman's fourth report on aid to Greece should be optimistic.

But even before the report was issued a different kind of news started to come in from Greece. And when the report appeared in the press, the desperate cries of the scared monarcho-fascists reached even to America. "Enough of these illusions", wrote the deputy Averoff. "The problem of the war against the Andartès has become of decisive importance. If it is not solved in the near future, we shall no longer be able to find a way out of the situation .

Alarmed by this sharp turn of events, Marshall sped to Athens. But there he certainly heard even more alarming news. He had been told, for example, about the "excellent" morale of this mercenary army. But once in Athens, no one could hide from him the fact that demoralisation in the Army was growing daily, and that it was even spreading to the officers. It was equally impossible to hide the fact that it had been necessary to shoot 28 officers and men who had refused to go into battle.

However, many other things were concealed from him, including the fact that the overwhelming majority of the monarchist soldiers taken prisoner by U.S. immediately join the Democratic Army and that less than 5 per cent of them want to return to the monarcho-fascists, though we offer them the opportunity to do so.

Marshall of course was not shown the letters in which the soldiers expressed their despair and often their desire to put an end to the slaughter into which they are being pushed by the monarcho-fascists in the interests of the imperialists. For example, one letter picked from a thousand similar ones runs as follows: "We were told that Sophoulis would find a solution. But since he has not done this himself, we will dictate the solution to him." Most of the letters contain the following sentiment: "A stroke of the pen (that is, the agreement with the guerrilla fighters) is enough to stop this tragedy."

However, even on the basis of the material that was shown to him Marshall could get an idea of the real state of affairs.

And the reality is that today the Democratic Army is stronger than ever before, that its operations now cover vast areas, that in the Peloponnese the Democratic Army, with the help of the local population, liberated such a large area that one of the monarcho-fascist newspapers in Athens has even reported that Markos intends to transfer his Government to one of the towns in the Peloponnese. The reality is that at Vitsi the Democratic Army delivered such heavy blows to the mercenaries that the much-heralded monarcho-fascist offensive that was to eliminate the "remnants" of the partisans failed in its purpose.

This truth could not be concealed and had to be publicly admitted. Some people intended to bring up the so-called "Greek Question" for discussion in the United Nations General Assembly under such circumstances that it would be possible for the Americans to say that the "rebellion" had been completely suppressed and that the United Nations Organisation had now only to take the necessary measures to prevent it in the future. However, because they have no other arguments, the American imperialists are now forced to take refuge in abuse which shows how incapable they are of suppressing a proud and freedom-loving people.

The Greek Communist Party which is leading the difficult but successful nation-wide liberation struggle understands the situation very well and cherishes no illusions. However, the fact is that today, as the resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party pointed out, the doom of monarcho-fascism is near. Whether the monarcho-fascist army, whose teeth have already been drawn, can be dealt such mortal blows that it can no longer survive, depends on the Greek people and, above all, on the Communists, on their ability to mobilise and organise the broad masses of the people for the struggle.

The imperialists have to seek consolation in their illusion and will continue to send their mercenaries to be slaughtered.

This is evident from the comments that followed the Marshall visit, among other facts. According to these comments, one of the consequences of Marshall's visit will be the replacement of van Fleet by a "less optimistic" officer. It is believed that a new Commander-in-Chief of the monarcho-fascist armed forces will be appointed.

It is also reported that the question of increasing the mercenary army is under discussion to save the monarcho-fascists.

It has also been decided to intensify the terror. On the day Marshall arrived in Athens, his lackeys presented him with the death sentence for 23 Greek patriots and for Glezos, journalist and resistance hero who had been courageous enough to tear down under the eyes of the fascists the swastika hoisted over the Acropolis.

Marshall was delighted and suggested that the terror drive should be stepped up. Pulling this order into action, a few days later martial law was proclaimed throughout the country: an eloquent ex-ample of "Western democracy,"

However, all these new measures need an appropriate international setting. The spineless majority in the United Nations is to form this setting. Recently we have again witnessed the repulsive spectacle of the American imperialist lackeys in the United Nations applauding the stupidity, the vile abuse and Hatred the American and British delegates have poured out against our people. True. the straight forward proposals of our Provisional Democratic Government to conclude a democratic agreement in Greece caused some confusion among the imperialist Expressing the deep desire of our people for a settlement our Government twice submitted to the United Nations a memorandum in which it suggested that the General Assembly should decide to recall the foreign troops and missions from Greece. It presented another memorandum containing concrete suggestions for solving the

problem. At the same time we asked that a representative of our Government should be allowed to speak before the General Assembly. No one can deny that our movement had the right to be heard. Neither can anyone deny that our proposal constituted a sound basis for the solution of the so-called "Greek question". But while the representatives of the Soviet Union—the great defender of the rights of the people and of world peace—and those of the new democracies expressed the hopes of our People in the United Nations, the majority of the other delegations acted on the imperialists' orders and denied us the right to be heard.

Our enemies forget that the mass of the people are the decisive force both in the internal and international life of their countries.

The Greek people are fully determined to fight and to win. Their cause is just, since it is the cause of democracy and peace. They are guided by the Communist Party which, during the 30 years of its existence has been at the head of the struggle of the working people for freedom and their vital interests. We are supported by the freedom-loving peoples of the world headed by our great friend and defender, by the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union.

The Greek people will win; and this will once again prove that the peoples are stronger than their enemies.

THE PEOPLE OF ITALY OPPOSE MILITARY BLOCS

On his way back from Greece General Marshall stopped in Rome where, as laconically as Caesar, he told journalists at the airfield that he had, come to see, to hear and to speak.

Many Italian and foreign newspapers said at the time that the real purpose of Marshall's visit was to impose a military agreement on Italy with the kelp of the Pope. And if Marshall had to leave Rome without the signatures of de Gasperi and Sforza it was by no means the fault of the two latter.

The point is that during his stay in Italy, Marshall saw for himself that serious difficulties faced the realisation of his plan even though de Gasperi and Sforza were obligingly ready to sign any undertaking for their overseas masters. The first obstacle which beset the initiators of a military alliance was the price demanded by the Italian capitalists—return of the former Italian colonies and the fleet; revision of the peace treaty, particularly the articles concerning the Italian armed forces, and so on. While the possibility of reaching an agreement with the Italian imperialists is not excluded, as history has shown before, it is being made much more complicated for them because of the insurmountable barrier presented by the resistance of the Italian people to military-imperialist blocs.

The real reason why the Italian rulers and their American masters have not so far been able to conclude a military alliance is the hatred of war which is so strong among our people. Because of the disastrous consequences of Mussolini's adventures and the resolute struggle for peace and national independence consistently waged by the Communist Party, this hatred of war has intensified.

Even before the general election last April, de Gasperi was forced to admit that the people of Ital—even those people who

supported his own Party—wanted peace. Subsequent events, particularly the heroic days of July, showed with absolute clarity that the Communist Party was able to mobilise the majority of Italy's working people for the struggle against any military venture planned by de Gasperi and Sforza. The unpopularity of the anti-national customs union with France and the stand taken by the Anglo American ruling circles over the former Italian colonies made things very difficult for the Christian Democrat rulers and their hangers on in the Republican and Saragat Parties.

Public opinion in Italy gradually became aware of the real aims of the Marshall Plan into whose orbit Italy had been drawn and came to understand the objects of the Western bloc into which her present rulers are steadily pushing her.

While the idea of the Western bloc was being discredited among our people, the talk about forming new blocs in the Near East, the Mediterranean and elsewhere became more insistent. The architects of these blocs proposed that the Italian people should keep "democratic" company with Franco and Tsaldaris, or with Turkish pashas and Arab emirs. Sforza has not yet made his choice between the two haystacks of the Western and Mediterranean blocs but this is not because Sforza—always grateful to receive a solitary straw from his American masters—is in any way doubtful about the quality of the hay. He is hesitating because neither police arrests nor the vicious nationalist and, anti-Soviet campaign in the Government press have succeeded in preparing the ground sufficiently well inside the country.

His indecision could not satisfy, Wall Street. Consequently pressure was brought to bear on him, in Parliament on September 26, Sforza spoke on the Foreign Office budget and clearly indicated that the de Gasperi Government intended to undertake political and military obligations for the Anglo-American imperialists and their satellites. De Gasperi and

Sforza offered the Anglo-Americans military bases in the former Italian colonies on condition that these colonies were returned to Italy.

This statement caused a loud protest from democratic opinion and alarmed even the politically backward sections of the people who, voted in the election for the de Gasperi and Saragat parties.

The protests and the alarm increased when it became known that Sforza intended to go to Paris and London to join in with the Western bloc and when it was reported that General Marras, Italian Chief-of-Staff, was in Western Germany negotiating with General Clay.

The de Gasperi Government was forced to make a number of denials, Sforza himself told the Parliamentary Foreign affairs Committee his speech merely expressed his personal opinion, that the question of a military alliance had not been discussed by the Council of Ministers and that no secret agreements had been signed or contemplated. At the same time a heated argument between Republicans and Saragat men started inside the Government. During this backstairs dispute the Republicans defended Sforza, claiming that there was no sense talking about neutrality and that firm support must be given to the "Western stand" which had already been taken. The Saragat men, taking the people's indignation into account, made efforts to present themselves as advocates of neutrality and opponents of any military alliance.

The broad people's movement and the campaign carried on by the Communist Party and all democrats and patriots against a military alliance exposed the attitude of the present "centrist" Italian Socialist Party leaders who had put forward a resolution which virtually lumped together both the forces of imperialism and the forces of the peace camp. This resolution which professed some kind of workers' policy hostile to any government, in reality, disguised by extremely revolutionary

and pacifist phrases, served to bring grist to the mill of the warmongers and to cause confusion in the ranks of the working class.

Many Socialist leaders from Nenni to Pertini as well as the Parliamentary Socialist Party group opposed this policy.

Today the reactionary press is declaring that the “centrist” leadership of the Socialist Party has been forced to abandon its former positions.

Communist and Socialist members of Parliament and of the Senate have vigorously opposed the Government policy of binding Italy to the imperialist plans for unleashing a new war.

The clear stand taken by them against any anti-Soviet venture made a big impression on the country.

For example, despite the ranting of the reactionaries, Socialist senator Giua declared in his speech in the Senate that the majority of the Italian people considered the Soviet Army to be a liberating army.

The resistance on the part of the mass of the people forced Marshall and his advisers who had recently been in Rome to be very cautious.

In their desire to mislead Italian opinion, the policy of the American imperialists is now to turn the entire system of the Marshall Plan into a military alliance under the guise of “political agreements supplementing the existing economic ones”.

The working people and democrats of Italy are not allowing themselves to be lulled by the manoeuvre of the American agents now in power in the country. The struggle for peace in Italy is growing and continually widening in scope.

On October 9, the leadership of the Communist Party called on the Italian people to struggle resolutely against the instigators of a new war.

On October 31, a meeting of Italy’s most prominent cultural figures was held in Rome to discuss the results of the

World Cultural Congress at Wroclaw. The meeting called on the Italian workers in culture and art to fight for peace. "The forces of war", the meeting declared, "should know that culture is not with them. Together with the Italian people we serve the cause of peace".

Apart from this, on the initiative of the Union of Italian Women three million signatures of women have been collected throughout the country for a petition to the United Nations in support of the Soviet Union's proposal for disarmament and the banning of the atom bomb, in support of peace and security of the peoples.

One of the immediate and urgent tasks facing the Italian champions of peace is to get rid of the war psychosis which the agents of Wall Street have whipped up, particularly over the so-called "Berlin question". They have also to clarify the situation for all the opponents of war by continually exposing the instigators of war and by explaining to the broad masses of the people the consistent policy of peace and disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

On the initiative of the Communist Party, the peace campaign was closely linked up with the campaign for friendship with the Soviet Union.

During the celebration meeting and demonstrations held in connection with the anniversary of the October Revolution in Milan, Turin, Bologna, Genoa, Florence, Naples and other towns, millions of working people unanimously expressed their ardent desire to fight for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union—the leading force in the struggle for peace.

The struggle for peace is taking an increasingly important position within the framework of the great struggle led by the Communist Party to unite all democratic forces in Italy against the present government which is bringing slavery and impoverishment.

Participation in this struggle will undoubtedly help

thousands of working men and women who are still influenced by the Christian Democrat party to find their proper orientation in the fight for a better future.

POLITICAL NOTES

Instigators of New War Exposed

Comrade Stalin's answers to the questions of the Pravda correspondent in which he mentioned the example of violation by the representatives of the Western powers of the agreement reached on the Berlin question, thus completely exposing the aims and methods of the inspirers of aggression in Britain and America, created a powerful impression among broad sections of the people throughout the world.

By pointing out that the warmongers dread above all agreement and cooperation with the Soviet Union since a policy of agreement with the Soviet Union would undermine the position of these gentlemen and render their aggressive policy futile, Comrade Stalin acquainted millions of people with the truth about the real situation, an act which will enormously influence the further development of the struggle for peace.. The reaction to Comrade Stalin's answers in the United States, Britain and other capitalist countries indicates that the warmongers have been unmasked, and their criminal policy exposed.

Faced with Comrade Stalin's statements, the badly-rattled reactionary press of the imperialist camp could do nothing—the usual anti-Soviet diatribes expected—but engage in verbose denials of the aggressive policies of their governments.

Nor could they deny Comrade Stalin's statement to the effect that at Moscow and again in Paris, agreement had been reached on the Berlin issue and that afterwards this agreement, was treacherously violated by the American and British Governments. Indeed, a number of the papers actually confirmed Comrade Stalin's statement. Among the working

people of the capitalist countries and particularly in the new democracies, Comrade Stalin's answers were received with deep satisfaction and were highly appraised.

Not only did Comrade Stalin expose those who are inspiring aggression. His answers reinforced the profound belief in the hearts of millions of ordinary people in the West who are alarmed at the aggressive policy of the imperialist circles, and convincingly showed that the policy of the instigators of a new war could only end in dismal failure.

The Soviet Union once again appeared before the whole world as a consistent and steadfast champion of peace. The mobilising words of Comrade Stalin will convince broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries of the need to strengthen the ranks of those who, together with the Soviet Union, are combating the instigators of a new war and will inspire the peoples to fight with renewed vigour in the cause of peace.

The U.S. Elections

The elections in the United States November 2 decided the re-election of Truman and gave the Democrats a majority in Congress.

Dewey and the Republican Party, who advanced an openly reactionary and more aggressive programme, suffered defeat.

As is known, the policy of the Democratic Party was hardly distinguishable from that of the Republicans. Both are linked by close bonds to Wall Street, both champion the interests of American monopoly capital.

But the leaders of the Republican Party—Dewey, Dulles, Vandenberg, Taft and other ardent supporters of the schemes and designs of the big trusts, are heading the onslaught of the imperialist circles against the peoples, against peace and

security.

Aware of the growing discontent of the American people with the “bipartisan” of imperialistic policy of the Government, Truman and his associates declared in the course of the campaign that the Republican leaders were responsible for the anti-people’s policy which both parties had hitherto pursued. Giving the impression that he had an “independent” policy of his own, swearing loyalty to the Roosevelt tradition, and declaring himself an opponent of Wall Street, champion of democratic liberties, a supporter of strengthening peace and of easing the tension in the international situation Truman utilised the electoral programme and slogans of Henry Wallace’s Progressive Party which reflected the peace-loving, democratic aspirations of wide sections of the American people.

He promised to repeal the Taft-Hartley law, which deprives the trade unions of the right to strike. In this way, Truman reached agreement with the leaders of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations who supported him against Dewey.

The reactionary press in the U.S. which sensationalised Truman’s re-election as a big surprise sought, in the usual trickster fashion, to deflect the attention of public opinion from the fact that the electors voted above all against Dewey and all reaction, against the criminal policy of obscurantism and warmongering, for peace, and cooperation.

Every one knows the situation that preceded the U.S. elections; the reactionary witch hunt, the fascist crusade against the Communist Party, trade unions, the working class and progressive intelligentsia; the intensified Jim Crow; aggressive attacks against the Soviet Union and the new democracies; the war scare, and war: hysteria. These and many other things made the swing of the American electorate particularly important.

In this situation, a very important factor in the struggle for

peace; and democracy was Wallace's' Progressive Party, the strength and significance of which is not to be judged merely from election results.

The Progressive Party did not have enough time to entrench itself. It had hardly any press nor organisational apparatus at its disposal. But immediately it became the target of the concentrated fire of all reactionary and Government bodies. Numerous restrictions denying the vote to many sections of the electorate, were used against the Progressive Party. All types of pressure, trickery and forgeries so characteristic of American elections were brought into action. It was no accident, that this time several million fewer voters went to the polls than in the previous election.

A campaign of blackmail, intimidation and terror swept the country.

There is therefore no doubt that the number of the Progressive Party followers is considerably greater than the number of votes the Party polled. The programme and deeds of the Progressive Party have served as the platform and a rallying point not only for its own supporters but also for millions of other Americans who are eager to maintain peace and to frustrate the criminal plans of the financial magnates.

As the elections show, there are many such people in the United States. This creates wide possibilities for the future of the Progressive Party.

Smashing Victory of Chinese Peoples Army

The situation now developing in China affords striking evidence of the growth and successes of the camp of democracy and peace in its struggle against imperialism.

The liberation of Mukden by the People's Army is of enormous significance alike for the liberation struggle in China and for the struggle of the other countries against aggressive American imperialism.

With the capture of Mukden, the whole of Manchuria—a land rich in natural resources (coal, iron ore and other minerals), the most industrialised part of China has passed into the hands of the People's Government.

The Chiang Kai-shek armies have suffered a crushing defeat which may prove decisive for the victory of the democratic forces of China. Official reports from Nanking say that Chiang Kai-shek's losses during the offensive of the People's troops amount to five armies and the greater part of American equipment.

Developing their offensive in North and Central China after the capture of Mukden, the troops of the People's Army inflicted further heavy losses on the enemy and are now directly threatening the capital, Nanking, and a number of other cities (Peking, Hankow and Shanghai).

The victorious sweep of the People's Army has produced a crisis in the Chiang Kai-shek Government. Day by day Chiang's influence in the country is dwindling.

The American and British imperialists are taking feverish measures to prop up the rotten and corrupt regime of their clients in China which, under the pressure of the people's movement, is tottering.

But American dollars and American guns will not prevent the complete disintegration of the Kuomintang regime. The fact that at a number of points entire regiments and even divisions came over to the side of the People's Army is eloquent testimony of the disintegration of the enemy's ranks.

It goes without saying that the struggle for the liberation of China is far from finished. This struggle is now entering upon the decisive and most difficult phase. But one thing is certain.

Neither the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek Government and its numerous armies, neither the Marshallisation of China, nor American dollars and up-to-date military equipment can prevent the victorious liberation struggle of the Chinese people from spreading and developing.

It is likewise clear that it is not only the reactionary, treacherous Chiang Kai-shek clique that has been defeated in China. Together with Chiang Kai-shek's army that is justly called the army of the U.S., State Department, also American imperialism has been defeated. The latest events in China testify that American dollars and guns are powerless when faced with the will of a people heroically fighting for liberty, democracy and national independence.

Jan Marek

BOOK REVIEW

Facts About the Treacherous Policy of the Austrian Marshall Socialists. B. Pagiryev

“I Cannot Keep Silent” is the title of the book written by an Austrian Member of Parliament and a former member of the Central Secretariat of the Socialist Party of Austria, Erwin Scharf*). The sub-title of the book, which first appeared in Vienna last month, makes it clear that Scharf’s aim is to show the “results of three years activity of the leadership of the Austrian Socialist Party, as seen from the inside”.

Erwin Scharf had to publish the book himself. He had been deprived of the right to vote in the Socialist Party Board at the Party Congress in 1946, removed from the Central Secretariat at the Party congress a year later and finally prohibited by a Party court from the right “to make reports in the course of a year, to convene or be represented at meetings and conferences” of regional organisations of the Austrian Socialist Party.

What was the fault of Erwin Scharf? Why were such draconic measures taken against him? All he had tried to do was to “tell the truth to the followers of the Austrian Socialist Party”. He had called upon them to “consider how once again to lead our movement onto the Socialist path”.

This attempt cost him dear. After his book; “I Cannot Keep Silent”, appeared, the Austrian Socialist Party hastily held a

* *Nationalrat Erwin Scharf. Ich darf nicht schweigen. Drei jahre Politik des Parteivorstandes der SPO—von innen gesehen. Herausgegeben von Nationalrat Erwin Scharf.*

Party trial and expelled him. He was also forced to resign from Parliament.

However, the Socialist Party leadership could take no exception to the actual documents and facts published by Erwin Scharf. And, these facts give a damning description of the leaders of the Socialist Party, of Austria who, hand in glove with the Austrian capitalists, became the open exponents of the country's Marshallisation.

The author shows how in the first days after the war the Austrian Socialists, instead of taking advantage of the weakened positions of capitalism in Austria to fight for the cause of the working class, "directed their main forces against the Communist Party". He writes that even before 1934, the right-wing of the Party—Renner, Helmer and Scharf—calculated on long co-operation with the party of the Austrian bourgeoisie, the so-called Austrian People's Party, on defending the interests of the manufacturers and big landlords in the Austrian People's Party, instead of trying to win the mass of the peasants away from its influence.

When they came to power the Right Socialists exerted every effort to put their treacherous policy into effect, while at the same time disguising its essentials with all kinds of demagogic devices. Scharf quotes Renner's letter, dated October 1945, in which the Chancellor suggests that the very thought of the class struggle of the proletariat should be forgotten.

Those who were regarded as "Left" Socialists in Austria present a no pleasanter picture. The author writes that during their long stay in Britain, Oscar Pollak and Karl Czernets became mixed up with the Labour party and became the exponents of its policy in Austria. On his return from Britain on the eve of the 1945 elections, Pollak told the Party leadership of an official talk he had had at the British Foreign Office and told them it was the wish of the Foreign Office that

“it was not advisable to follow the Popular Front policy, as was being done in the countries of South-Eastern Europe. “A coalition between the Socialist Party and People’s Party of Austria would be desirable.

These “wishes” were carried out and later, in April 1946, Scharf once again brought new directives from Britain, this time from Bevin himself.

A “coalition”, between the Socialist Party and People’s Party of Austria was another of the principal tacit conditions on which the Americans agreed to give the Austrian capitalists dollar “aid”. This condition was accepted gladly not only by industrialists and bankers but also by those who considered themselves to be the leaders of the Austrian working-class movement. In his book Scharf gives the detailed programme of a closed meeting held to discuss an agreement, with the People’s Party.

One of the points in this programme reads: “Line of behaviour within the framework of party co-operation; agreed action between the parties, this also to refer to oral propaganda and the press; all personal attacks to cease”.

Thus, this programme actually provided for a united front between the “Socialist” Party of Austria and the party of the Austrian bourgeoisie!

As a step to putting this coalition into action the Austrian Socialist Party proceeded to defend, openly and covertly, the survivals of the old Austrian fascism and the new neo-Nazis. Fascists are flourishing under the auspices of the Socialist Helmer, and not only in underground organisations. Persons who under the Nazis were concentration camp commandants or who helped to smash the workers’ organisations in 1934 are being appointed to leading positions in the police force. Scharf cites facts and names. He describes how the same system of selecting personnel which led to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Austria is being revived in higher educational

institutions and in the municipalities.

The case of Raffelsberger who was arrested as early as March 1947, but has not yet come up for trial, disclosed that agreement between the top leadership of the Socialist Party and People's Party is based not only on political sympathies but also on joint complicity in the crimes of Austrian fascism, past and present. The Raffelsberger case shows the close link between the leadership of the Socialist Party and the fascist underground. Scharf quotes Raffelsberger's testimony about his contacts with high officials in all provinces of the country, and especially with Koref, burgomaster of Linz and with Hartmann, adviser to the government of Upper Carinthia. According to this testimony Raffelsberger exchanged correspondence with Renner, which resulted in Scharf advising him through Hartmann not to compromise himself since he "would be drawn into work within the year".

Incidentally, Raffelsberger discloses that his services were used before the year was up. Koref, for instance, asked him to find a provincial leader of the Socialist youth—"a leader of the Hitler youth who had been at the front".

This fascist bandit not only found leading personnel for the "Socialist" Party but also acted as a propagandist for its ideas. Many points of the programme advanced by Raffelsberger writes the author, are strongly reminiscent of the views developed by the present leaders of the Austrian Socialist Party in their speeches and articles. Such ideas of Raffelsberger as "averting the Slav menace by including one of the Great Western Powers in the sphere of influence", "realisation of the Pan-German idea within the framework of a United States of Europe under Britain" differ very little from the attitude of Pollak or Paller.

The crowning point in the post-war domestic policy of the Socialist Party leaders is their direct rapprochement with neo-fascism. In foreign policy they highlighted their activity by

taking the path trodden by the Austrian bourgeoisie way back in the years after the First World War. Then the Austrian bourgeoisie followed the path of subordinating Austria's national economy to foreign capital. Control of the country's banks and enterprises passed into foreign hands and the Austrian capitalists zealously carried out the role of the trusted men of British, French, American and Italian capital.

Today the Austrian "Socialists" have, on the instructions of the American monopolies, taken over this role. Scharf shows how, in preparation for Austria's Marshallisation, the Socialist Party leaders refused the workers' demand for higher wages and allowed the black and "grey" markets to develop. All this was done under the pretext of making sacrifices for the rebirth of Austria.

Scharf puts the question: Why is it that this policy of the Right Socialist leaders has not yet led to an open revolt in the Socialist Party of Austria? In answer he details facts showing how the leadership of the Austrian Socialist Party has taken the voting rights away from all members opposed to the demagogic devices which camouflaged measures that were nothing less than out and out reaction, how the police are used to spy on Party members. However, he says that "disillusionment and distrust at the official Party line" are growing among the membership.

Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that a departure from fundamental class positions and the betrayal of the class interests of the proletariat leads to betrayal of the interests of the nation as a whole. The post-war history of the Austrian Marshall Socialists vividly illustrates this thesis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Notes should be taken of the inconsistency of Erwin

Scharf's views, of his halfway policy.

He opposes the "anti-Soviet position of the Austrian Socialist Party leadership" but at the same time he is for the "neutrality" of the Austrian working class toward the imperialist United States and the Socialist Soviet Union.

The inconsistency of the author of "I Cannot Keep Silent" is also reflected in his criticism of the Austrian Social Democrat leaders who have won for themselves the reputation of being the most opportunist party in the European working-class movement. He regards the "legacy of Victor Adler and Otto Bauer" as the "zenith" of revolutionary thought. He considers the work of the Austrian Socialist Party before and during the war to be a "model" of revolutionary activity.

Here the author keeps silent about the fact that by its treacherous policy the leadership of the Socialist Party prepared the ground for the defeat of the Austrian worker's front in 193, that the leadership of this Party worked hand in glove with those who brought German troops to Austria and gave Hitler a free hand for war in Europe.

But in spite of a number of fundamental shortcomings, Erwin Scharf's book is a striking indictment which discloses the treacherous policy of the Austrian Marshall Socialists.

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