

*Workers of all Countries, Unite!*

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

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## FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

While American imperialism, trampling underfoot the freedom and national independence of the peoples is endeavouring in the post-war period to realise its plans of world conquest, the working class is coming forward, as it did in the war against fascism, as the most resolute and consistent champion of democracy, for the freedom and national sovereignty of their countries. Under the leadership of the Communist Parties the working class is organising and rallying all the democratic and patriotic forces of the country, mobilising them for the struggle against the reactionary imperialist designs.

It is therefore not accidental that the imperialists and their agents in the camp of the right-wing Socialists are trying, above all, to bring about a split in the working class.

The Communist Parties, equipped with the Declaration of the September conference held in Poland, are waging a stubborn and courageous struggle against the splitting intrigues of the imperialists who hope thus to weaken the democratic camp, and have won new successes in the drive to unite the working class.

In Italy the movement for a people's front of struggle for peace, independence and freedom, begun on the initiative of the Communist and Socialist Parties is gaining momentum. The unity of action of the two workers' parties in Rumania, now about to merge forces, helped to transform the country into a sovereign People's Republic. The December congress of the Polish Socialist Party, which favoured the further consolidation and broadening of the united front, closed with an impressive joint demonstration by the Polish Socialist Party and Polish Workers' Party against the encroachments of the Anglo-American imperialists on the Western borders of Poland. In France the overwhelming majority of the working class, headed by the Communist Party, is energetically combating the intrigues of Blum and Jouhaux, who acting on the instructions of their

American masters, are trying to spilt the trade unions. With the active participation of the United Socialist Party of Germany the movement for an All-German People's Congress is spreading. This movement is directed against the Anglo-American plans to dismember and enslave Germany, plans which are zealously supported by Schumacher.

The process of unification of the working class has made greatest headway in the countries of the new democracy, This is but natural.

In the countries of the people's democracy the unity of the working class crystallised and became consolidated in the struggle against the inveterate enemies of people's power, who tried to inculcate hostility towards the Communists and the Soviet Union. The Arciszewskis, Petrescus, Peyers and Lulcheffs, who took an active part in the struggle of the fascist underground against the people's democracy, who organised espionage and subversive activities, have been thrown overboard with the energetic support of the Socialist workers themselves.

Complete unity of the working class has been effected in the popular fronts in Yugoslavia and more recently in Bulgaria. In the other countries Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia—the bloc of Communists and Socialists is the cornerstone uniting the working class forces.

A powerful trade union movement, based on unity and which constitutes a major factor for their development, has come to the fore in all the countries of the new democracy.

In consolidating its ranks the working class has established a lasting alliance with the peasantry and intelligentsia: it is leading the people, is rebuilding political and economic life on the principles of genuine democracy and national sovereignty.

On the basis of the growing unity of the working people, as reflected in the People's Front and the blocs of the democratic parties, the Communist Parties in these countries have been able, in the struggle against reaction to rally the people for the economic rehabilitation and development of their countries. This ensures a steady improvement in the standard of living of the people. The unity of the working class and all people consolidates the people's power, makes it possible successfully to defend sovereignty and independence against the inroads of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Facts show that a decisive and consistent struggle against the overt and covert enemies of unity strengthens the united front. New traditions of joint struggle and labour are taking root, cementing the militant cooperation of hundreds of thousands of Communist and Socialist workers, gradually eliminating the old traditions of mutual mistrust, which for years had been sown by the bourgeoisie and their agents—the right-wing Socialists. By defending the united front and ridding themselves of the negative traditions of social-democracy, the Socialist Parties are strengthening their ranks. This is borne out by the role and importance of the Socialist Parties of Poland

and Italy who although working under different conditions, are in practice exposing the legend of the Right Socialists that the united front allegedly weakens the Socialist Parties.

The pre-conditions for the complete eradication of the influence of the bourgeoisie and their reactionary ideology in the working class, are being developed in conditions of the people's power and the advance towards Socialism.

The example of Rumania shows that close cooperation between the worker's parties and their ideological rapprochement are leading to a merging of the worker's parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle of the democratic camp against the imperialists compels the Socialist Parties to define their attitude towards this struggle, aggravates the differences among them.

Bevin, Blum, Saragat and Schumacher are acting the role of American agents. They are trying to cover up their actual agreement with Schuman and de Gaulle in France, with Churchill in Britain, and de Gasperi in Italy by advancing the "theory" of the so-called third force.

The right-wing Socialists who swear that they do not want to adhere to either of the two forces have long since chosen the camp of imperialist reaction, have become its diligent salesmen.

There is nothing original about the third force "theory". It is a refrain of the notorious "lesser evil" theory, by means of which the right-wing social-democrats paved the path to power for Hitler, prepared and then justified Munich, the precursor of World War II.

The "theory" of the third force is but a thinly-disguised political trick, designed to facilitate the expansion of the American imperialists and their increasingly insolent interference in the home and foreign policy of the countries harnessed to the dollar by the Bevins and Blums. It is designed to "justify" the active participation of the right-wing Socialists in drawing up and carrying out new plans to plunder the people, to justify the split in the trade unions and the unbridled slander against the Soviet Union and the countries of the new democracy.

The real meaning of the "third force" was made clear by the French "Socialist" Moch when he gave the order to open fire on the French strikers. It is obvious to genuine democrats and patriots that there can be no successful struggle against the imperialists unless the "theory" and practice of the notorious "third force" are vigorously combated. The provocative splitting role for which this "theory" is a cloak, is becoming increasingly clear to the democratic elements in all countries. The leaders of the Socialist Parties of Italy and Poland—Nenni and Cirankiewicz—in their reports to the congresses of their Parties, pointed out that the theory of the "third force" can benefit only the imperialists and called upon all sincere Socialists to join forces with the Communists against the imperialist "benefactors".

The ideas contained in the Declaration of the nine Communist Parties and experience of united action are meeting with ever greater response among the working people among all those who treasure the honour and independence of their country. Despite the treacherous activity of the right-wing Socialists the French workers demonstrated their unity and organisation in the recent strike struggle. They are not allowing themselves to be diverted by the manoeuvres of the right-wing leaders. Numerous trade union and Labour Party branches in Britain have denounced the anti-Communist witch-hunt organised by Bevin and Morgan Phillips. In the USA there is a growing opposition by the trade unions to the support accorded the “Marshall Plan” by the corrupt trade union leaders and to their assiduous attempts to split the European trade union movement. The Communist Parties, who recognise that “the efforts of all democratic and anti-imperialists forces of Europe are needed in order to disrupt the plan of imperialist aggression”, are the genuine champions of the unity of the working class and of an democratic forces. The Communist Parties of all countries are fully conscious that it is the historic task of the Communists to head the resistance to the American plan to enslave Europe, to boldly expose all the accomplices of American imperialism, to secure the unity of the working class.

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## **FOR THE UNITY OF ALL FORCES OF DEMOCRACY, AGAINST IMPERIALISM!**

### **ALL FOR THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM**

A national conference of the People’s Union “Zveno”, recently held in Sofia, was addressed by Georgi Dimitroff. Dwelling on the changes in the social, political, economic and cultural life of Bulgaria, Comrade Dimitroff stated: “The essence of these radical changes is contained, above all, in the fact that, thanks to the people’s uprising of September 9, the bourgeoisie

were removed from State power, the administration of the State passed into the hands of the people themselves, represented by the People's Front and its main leading force—the working class.

“By introducing planning into the national economy and the nationalisation of private enterprise and the banks, we have completely removed the robber bourgeoisie from executive positions in the national economy, and especially in industry, The social development of our country is proceeding along the path of eliminating the capitalist system and of liberating the country from every vestige of imperialist dependence.

“Socialism corresponds to the vital interests of the people and is a historical necessity for all peoples. And our people will establish Socialism, irrespective of all obstacles. True, the process of building Socialism can be helped or hampered, accelerated or retarded, but under no circumstances can it be stopped. It will march onward until final victory.”

On the question of transforming the People's Front into a united people's social and political organisation. Comrade Dimitroff said: “The existence of different parties within the Front is fully justified also in a general united people's social and political organisation. These parties will bring into the Front more and more new members from among the strata with which they are more directly connected and where they enjoy influence.

“We shall continue to advance forward towards the final building of a people's Bulgaria, said Dimitroff, which will be a united national republic, national in form and socialist in content. We shall do this for the well-being of our people and the future of our children, for the sake of peace and fraternal cooperation with all freedom-loving nations.”

### **The Youth Railway in Bulgaria**

On January 5 the Pernic-Volujak Youth railway was opened in Bulgaria. This 40-kilometre line will facilitate communications between Sofia and southwestern Bulgaria and the transportation of coal from the Pernic coal fields.

The rail way line was built in a remarkably short space of time by some 40,000 young men and women.

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## RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR

At the recent meeting of the National Committee of the General Confederation of Labour the General Secretary of the CGT, Benoit Frachon summarised the results of the November-December strike in France. The resolution adopted by the meeting congratulates “the” three million French workers who, under the leadership of the CGT for four weeks courageously fought for their right to live.”

Recalling, that the Government was forced to abandon the decision to freeze wages until June 1, 1948 and had to make considerable concessions to the working class, the National Committee declares that “guaranteed purchasing power of wages stands as a lawful demand and under present conditions is the sole means of preventing the reactionary rulers from raising prices in the interests of the big capitalists.”

In its call to the working people of France the National Committee denounces the treacherous role of the splitters in the “Force Ouvriere” group who, on instructions from the Americans and, “with the support of the Government, the Socialist Party leaders, MRP and de Gaulle, descended to the level of strikebreakers”.

The call concludes: “The powerful CGT with its great fighting past, with its splendid work during the occupation and after the liberation, with its six million members, is the only trade union organisation which can offer serious resistance to the offensive of reaction, can win your demands and successfully combat poverty and slavery. The CGT is the bastion of democracy, the decisive force in the struggle for peace. Down with the splitters of the working class! Long live the unity of the working people, long live the CGT!”

Alain Le Leap, Secretary of the Civil Servants Trade Union, was unanimously elected General Secretary of the CGT (together with Benoit Frachon) in place of Leon Jouhaux.

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## THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of Hungary recently held its III. conference in Budapest, attended by some 1,000 Party functionaries, a large number of delegates from the different localities and representatives of the Social-Democratic Party.

The General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Rakosi, reporting on the political situation and the tasks of the Communist Party, stated that democracy in Hungary has emerged from the stage of bourgeois democracy and is developing along the lines of a people's democracy leading to socialism, Rakosi noted that the successful development of democracy contributed to a number of successes both in the sphere of domestic policy and in the sphere of economy. The consolidation of democracy has, for that matter, also helped to change the international situation of Hungary. "The strengthening of Hungarian democracy", stated Rakosi, "has made it possible for us, for the first time, to establish fraternal, friendly relations

with neighbouring peoples, to help each other preserve peace and heal the wounds of war”.

Denouncing the aggressive activities of American imperialism, Comrade Rakosi pointed out that after the defeat of German imperialism the freedom of the Hungarian people is now threatened by American imperialism, and stressed that the American imperialists and their accomplices, including the right-wing Social-Democrats who are playing an increasingly big role, must be tirelessly exposed.

When expressing gratitude to the great friend of the Hungarian people, Generalissimo Stalin and the Soviet Union for the assistance rendered Hungary, Comrade Rakosi noted that the Soviet union has time and again helped Hungary in her progress along the path of democracy.

Today, when imperialist plans for world domination are being projected, plans threatening the freedom and independence of peoples, every democrat, who loves his country and aspires to peace and progress, looks to the Soviet Union just as he did at the time of the struggle against fascist barbarity, when the free peoples of the Soviet Union were the bastion of progressive mankind.

After pointing out that increased productivity of labour and the tightening of labour discipline are powerful levers in consolidating democracy, Comrade Rakosi proceeded to outline the new tasks facing Hungarian democracy. Democracy, for which working-class unity is essential, must be further promoted and strengthened. The enemies of unity are striving to drive a wedge between the two workers' parties, to isolate the Communist Party and thus weaken democracy, as is being done by Bevin in Britain, by Blum in France.

In his concluding remarks Comrade Rakosi dwelt in detail on the tasks of the Communist Party, which is the largest and most democratic party in the country. The consolidation of the democratic order insistently calls, above all, for increased productivity of labour. The attitude to labour, to production which, in the main, is now an affair of the people, must be changed. The Party organisations in the factories are faced with the urgent tasks of organising socialist emulation, of increasing the productivity of labour, of inspiring people to heroic exploits in the sphere of construction, of inculcating in the masses a socialist approach to labour.

Comrade Stefan Kovac reported on the issue of the new membership cards, which he noted was an important measure toward strengthening the Communist Party ideologically and organisationally toward eliminating anti-popular, careerist elements.

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## INVESTMENTS IN POLISH NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Polish Government has submitted a Bill to the Seim concerning capital investments during 1948. The total sum of investments foreseen by the Bill amounts to 190 thousand million zloty, an increase of 20 per cent compared to 1947. Twenty per cent of the capital placed at the disposal of the Ministry of industry is allocated to the coal industry, 13 per cent to the iron and steel industry, 12 per cent to engineering and 11 per cent to the chemical industry. Over 13 thousand million zloty will be invested in light industry, 26 thousand million in agriculture while the sum at 15 thousand million zloty is assigned for the building of new houses, in the first instance for miners, iron and steel workers and the people of Warsaw.

The “Tribuna Wolnosti”, organ of the Polish Workers’ Party, commenting on this writes: “The investment plan for 1948 corresponds to the interests of the people. And the people, headed by the working class will see this plan through, just as they achieved the target fixed for the first year of the Three-Year Plan”.

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## VI. CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The VI Congress of the Communist Party of Italy was held in Milan on January 4-10, attended by 782 delegates, representing 2,283,048 members. Present at the congress were delegations from 11 countries, including France, Britain, Poland, Yugoslavia, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, and delegations from the Communist Party of the Liberated Territory of Trieste and the Swiss Workers’ Party. The US Department of State refused a visa to Italy to the delegates of the Communist Party of the

United States and the Italian Government prohibited the delegates of the Spanish Communist Party' to enter the country.

A message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was received with a storm of applause. A warm welcome was also accorded Maurice Thorez, Harry Pollitt, Endrihowski of the Polish Workers' Party, and other foreign delegates who conveyed greetings to the congress on behalf of their respective Parties. The Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, Basso, likewise received a warm welcome. The main items on the agenda of the congress were:

1. The struggle of the Communists and the Italian people for peace and democracy. (Reporter: Comrade Togliatti).
2. Experience of work of the Party organisations in Lombardy, Tuscany and Campania.
3. Elections to the executive organs.

In his report on the first item Comrade Togliatti described the changed conditions in the struggle for democracy in Italy between the V (January 1946) and VI congresses of the Party. Togliatti pointed out that the national independence and freedom of the Italian people are today threatened by American imperialism and its Italian mercenaries, united around the Christian Democratic Party and the de Gasperi Government. The cardinal task of the Party in these conditions is to guide the mass movement for the creation of a wide people's democratic front of struggle for peace, for work and national independence, which could lead the country to fundamental social reforms. (Abridged text of Togliatti's report is published in this issue).

During the three days' debate on Togliatti's report, a number of comrades dealt with the tasks and forms of struggle for the establishment of a people's democratic front, and with the question of combining the movement for a front with Parliamentary methods of struggle.

Congress then heard reports by the secretaries of the regional Party organisations of Lombardy (Giancarlo Paletta), Tuscany (Arturo Colombi) and Campania (Giogio Amendola). They reported on the results of two-years' Party activities in the important regions of the North, Centre and South.

On January 8 and 9 the commissions were in session (political, organisational, trade union, women and election campaign commission). In the commissions the delegates from the localities exchanged opinions and drafted resolutions on various questions of Party work, which were submitted for approval to the closing session of the congress on January 10. The closing session elected the new Executive Committee of the Party, composed of 72 members and 15 alternate members, and the new Central Control Commission of 13 members.

At the final session Togliatti delivered a brief speech summarising the work

of the congress, noting that it had been a congress of struggle for peace, national independence and the unity of the democratic forces.

“The Communists once again affirmed their determination”, stated Togliatti, “to strengthen cooperation with the Italian Socialist Party, to strengthen the unity of the working class—the bastion of democracy and the democratic transformation of our country.

“The proposal of the congress to the Initiative Committee of the People’s Democratic Front to elaborate a concrete programme of action, and to take all the necessary measures to make the Front a vital factor in the life of the country and, above all, in the election struggle, is a major contribution by the Communists to the cause of harmony among the working people”.

After two years of hard struggle”, concluded Comrade Togliatti, “the Party has grown in stature and is bigger numerically; its fighting spirit today is greater than ever. While conscious of our strength success has not turned our heads. In accordance with the decisions of the congress we shall work harder and better for the wellbeing of our country, of the working class, for the liberation of the forces of labour, for the independence of Italy, for freedom, for Socialism!”

On January 11 at a meeting of the new Executive Committee, Comrade Palmiro Togliatti was re-elected General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Luigi Longo Deputy General Secretary and Comrades Pietro Secchia, Maure Sconccimarro and Agostino Novella members of the Secretariat.

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## **PALMIRO TOGLIATTI. THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE ITALIAN PEOPLE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY**

Report to the VI Congress of the Communist  
Party of Italy\*

\*\* Abridged stenogram.

I think that our country is impatiently looking forward to the discussion and decisions of the VI Congress of the Communist Party. And this is understandable for the congress has convened in a situation which is of serious political import to us, and what is all important, that leading political and social forces have rallied around the banner of our Party.

Today we Communists, together with the working class and the people of Italy, are facing a very difficult situation, a situation which differs radically from the time of the V congress of the Party, that is, at the beginning of 1945. Two years have elapsed since then and we must now review the results not only of our work for this period, but also that accomplished by the democratic forces as a whole.

In, January 1946 the so-called transition regime existed in Italy. We had not yet rid ourselves of the monarchy. And only in the subsequent months did we realise how difficult it was to complete this job. Nevertheless, the Communists, jointly with the other democratic forces, won a resounding victory, which transformed the country into a Republic and gave it a new constitution. True, there are many gaps and weak spots in this constitution. Even so it is an imposing charter, which obliges all Italians to complete the national rehabilitation begun when the Republican order was established.

In January 1946 our country was still occupied by foreign troops. Today, in keeping with the Peace Treaty, which inevitably contains onerous conditions, we are again a free people. True, we have other forms of foreign interference, but the responsibility for this rests with the leaders of certain parties, who have entered into the service of foreigners. Because of them we failed to gain admittance to UNO.

At the beginning of 1946 Italy experienced a most difficult period of economic decline. Today, thanks mainly to the efforts of workers by hand and brain and of the peasantry, considerable headway has been made in the sphere of economic reconstruction. Last September the monthly output averaged 70 per cent of the 1939 figure. Naturally, this figure does not tell the full story, it calls for comment since production has developed unevenly in conditions of chaos and capitalist anarchy.

Although production has not yet reached the 1939 level, some industries, are already betraying symptoms of a crisis, which threaten to decrease output. But this is not the crux of the matter. What is all important is that acute economic and social contradictions are apparent in industry. And responsible for this are those people who are obstructing the rehabilitation of our industry and economic life. This, in turn, has aggravated class contradictions. Despite the increase in output compared to 1946, poverty among the people has, if anything, increased.

The number of unemployed has reached a new high and there are no signs

of any improvement in the conditions of the most impoverished section of the population in the big industrial cities, countryside, and more especially in the most backward villages in the South and on the islands. Statistics on this question tell the story.

While the market price of agricultural produce was 36 times higher in 1946 than in 1938, wages of agricultural labourers were only 26 times higher. While in 1945 the wages of industrial workers were six times the pre-war figure, prices were 30 times higher. Last May nominal wages were 30 times pre-war figure but prices were 50 times higher. These figures show that the rehabilitation of the country as projected by the so-called policy of "healthy freedom for private enterprise" has aggravated class contradictions, has caused impoverishment and unemployment and has created a new gulf in the economic and social structure of the country. The wage increases in no way correspond to the increased output in industry and agriculture and consequently, to the increased profits of the manufacturers.

In fact the wage increases bear no relation at all to the increased prices, which determine the general level of subsistence of the worker, office employee, peasant.

To date the democratic movement, which first began a mere two years ago, can record serious successes. The trade unions and cooperatives embrace millions of members. The workers' parties have become stronger. The Communist Party has grown into a mass organisation with a membership of over two million men and women. Also the number of Party cadres and cadres in the trade union and cooperative movements has increased.

The democratic movement has to its credit such achievements as unity of the working class, and in the first place, a pact of unity of action with the fraternal Socialist Party. We salute the Socialist Party, which prevented a split in its ranks, and which reduced the splitters to a small group of renegades, without popular backing. Our work during the past two years shows many positive factors, but we must not lose sight of the negative aspects.

The main weakness of the Italian democratic movement is expressed in the slow recovery of the economic and social life of the country. We have not succeeded in making any substantial headway towards a democratic reorganisation of the economic structure of the country. The urgency of this



matter was recognised by all democrats in the parties represented in the National Liberation Committees, including many Liberals. At the time everybody realised that such reorganisation was essential to prevent the restoration of fascism and to secure a relatively peaceful solution of the acute social problems, and questions that arose in the course of the popular offensive. Our partisans fought for this programme of regeneration and it was supported by the National Liberation Committees.

The fact that the programme was not carried out constitutes a big weakness of Italian democracy, of the National Liberation Committees and of all the democratic parties, including our Party.

The specific conditions under which our country was liberated from fascism partly account for this. These conditions differed considerably from those in which the countries of the new democracy were liberated. The latter have made giant forward strides on the basis of democratic reforms.

This does not justify our shortcomings, but it should be borne in mind in any unbiased review of our activities.

## The Offensive of Reaction and the Answer of the Working People

It is possible that the Italian people were too naive at the time of the liberation, that some of them thought that a delayed rate of democratic development was necessary in the interests of peace. But the representatives of the capitalist powers seized on this weakness to retard the democratic development of our country, to hinder the birth of a new democratic regime, and to transform our country into a centre of intrigues against the countries of the people's democracy in Eastern Europe and against the Soviet Union.

This weakness is reflected in our Constitution, the first section of which points the way to profound economic, and social reforms, and proclaims the new rights of Man: the right to work, to rest, to education and social security, without indicating, however, how these rights are to be secured. Elsewhere, the conservative forces managed to introduce into the Constitution a number of points that retard progress towards fundamental changes.

The weakness of Italian democracy was reflected in the policy which, at a certain period ceased to be the policy of democratic unity and led to the formation of a government under pressure from reactionary forces and by direct interference of imperialist powers.

This was followed by the political and economic offensive of the conservative sections, supported by the present Government.

The egoistic reactionary circles were able to raise their heads because we failed to uproot them. They found fertile soil for their development because

we did not wage the struggle which could have destroyed the roots of the reactionary and fascist movement. The working class and the people had to defend themselves, and here it should be noted that during the past few months the workers peasants and middle classes have begun to realise that they must resist the offensive of the conservative and reactionary forces. The past few months were months of great economic and political struggle. True, this struggle was for the most part of a defensive nature, even when the agricultural labourers in the valley of the Po staged a big strike and won substantial improvements in their standard of living and labour contracts. This defensive struggle in which the Communists took a leading part, ended in a big victory for the working people.

The militant elements of the working class were successful in struggles of a purely political nature. They compelled the fascist groups to retreat, even if only temporarily, who thought that the time had come for terrorist acts against the organisations of the working people.

When speaking of successes in the political and economic spheres mention should be made of the fact the question of unemployment was sharply raised before the country and the Government. De Gasperi is speculating on creating a national unemployment fund. He presents himself as a benefactor, but it certainly is no credit to the Government that only in the middle of winter did it discover that there are two million unemployed families in Italy. The credit for this initiative belongs to the working people who made known their proposals through the General Confederation of Labour.

The workers, trade union committees and their leaders must be vigilant when collecting contributions to the unemployment fund, they must insist that the employers also contribute. The people must demand a share in the distribution of these funds. We must see to it that the money contributed by the Italian workers doesn't go to swell the election funds of the Christian Democratic Party.

Along with the victories gained in the recent great defensive struggles note should be taken also of other achievements.

The conviction that radical economic reforms are needed has taken deep root among the factory workers of the North, among the peasants and the working people of the South and on the islands, and among the middle classes. Popular initiative in the matter took organisational shape in the congress of the Joint Production Councils, in the democratic congress of the South, in the congress of the democratic municipalities, in the Agricultural Labourers' congress, and finally, at the public demonstration in the Rome "Planetarium" where the new front of the people's democratic forces, was formed, a front which is battling for bread, for work, for the freedom and independence of Italy.

The people are passing a critical period in their We know that serious

through history danger looms over Italian democracy, over the Italian people.

## American Imperialism Against the Independence of Italy

The attention of all democrats must be centred on the danger contained in the expansion of American imperialism.

The present upsurge, the result of the big struggles of the past few weeks and months, must serve as our starting point and foundation for organised action which will rescue the Italian people from the danger of imperialist bondage.

This danger threatens the peace in our country, threatens the independence of Italy and the freedom of the Italian people. It may seem strange that only two years after the end of a terrible war, which shook Europe and indeed the whole world, there should be talk about a threat to peace, about the danger of war; hanging over the destinies of nations, over Europe and the whole world. This may appear strange to the simple minded, but we, Marxists, are not at all surprised, for we know the source of the war danger.

War is an integral part of capitalist society which, as the teacher of French socialism, Jean Jaures said “carries war just as the cloud carries a thunder storm”. We know quite well how the danger of war arises, how it deepens and how the threat to peace becomes a reality. The threat of war becomes a reality due to the uneven development of capitalism. This uneven development gives birth to the imperialist strivings, to expansionist tendencies and plans for world domination by one imperialist power, or a group of powers. This is how the concrete danger to peace arises.

Such uneven development, both during and after the war, could be observed in the United States. This development shattered the framework of the old system of relations between the capitalist and imperialist powers. The Truman Doctrine is based on this. The main features of this doctrine are: the striving of the US to play the dominant role in the world; the idea of world domination and the desire to realise this, with all the consequences arising therefrom; operations on an international scale to implement the principle of “free enterprise”.

“Free enterprise,” means giving a free hand to the capitalist forces, to the vast monopoly organisations which, having taken the destiny of the USA into their hands, plan to control the destiny of Europe, which is experiencing economic, and consequently, political and social difficulties.

It should not be forgotten that there, are still European countries,

among them ours, where the roots of fascism and the national treachery of the ruling reactionary capitalist strata, have not yet been destroyed. We must not forget that there are countries in Europe, such as Spain, where an open fascist regime continues to prosper under the guardianship of the American and other imperialists. We must not forget that there is a country like Greece, where the people after making a major contribution towards winning their independence and freedom, have once again been hurled back under fascist tyranny, thanks to the intervention of the imperialist powers, first Britain, and then the USA.

Thus, on the one hand a bloc is created, composed of forces who are assiduously engaged in drawing up plans for world domination, and to that extent are acting against the independence and peace of the peoples. On the other are the forces of Socialism, who suffered heavily from the war, but who are conscious of their strength, and of the stability and firmness of the socialist regime. This country, which is consistently fighting for peace and for cooperation between peoples, is steadfastly carrying out a programme for the restoration of Europe and the world in conditions of peace and the cooperation of peoples—a programme which was blueprinted in the course of the war. Together with the Land of Socialism are the other nations of Europe, which have not yet built a socialist society, but have already set up the regime of the new democracy; where the foundations of fascism, the foundations of the old reactionary groups have been destroyed; where new unity has been effected between the popular forces who are sparing no efforts to build a new society along socialist lines. The existence of these countries acts as an irritant on the imperialist circles who have tried in every conceivable way to prevent the establishment of the new democracies, and would like to see them destroyed. They realise the enormous significance of these regimes for the new Europe, the example that they are to the peoples of Europe and the world, who are trying to find new ways to liberation, democracy and social justice.

## Be Vigilant with regard to the Warmongers

Inevitably, in such circumstances people are conscious of the danger of a new war. This feeling, which is steadily growing among the masses, must be taken into account. It is necessary to answer the question: is war near; is it possible to avoid war?

This depends on the relation of forces between those who are working for

war and those who are consistently fighting for peace. Long before World War I the leaders of the international Communist movement, after careful and thorough consideration of this question, came to the conclusion that the menace of war was growing in the capitalist world, but that peace could be saved if all those, who were opposed to war and who were striving for peace, joined forces and countered the instigators of war with a peace front. Unfortunately, the popular forces failed to achieve their aim, they managed to postpone the outbreak of war but failed to prevent it.

However, the situation today is different from that on the eve of World War II. First, the great Land of Socialism—the bulwark of peace has enormously strengthened its international prestige. Second, one should bear in mind the existence of the countries of the new democracies, whose people are consistently fighting for their independence and for peace. But the desire for peace is strong also in other countries of Europe where the democratic movements have not yet led to the establishment of new, democratic states. This is the desire of the masses who remember the horrors of the last war too well to be indifferent to the provocative role of the instigators of a new world war.

This shows that at present the forces of peace in the world arena are more numerous than the forces preparing a new war, that it is possible to ward off the menace of war to avoid war, provided that the nations anxious to maintain peace will not be intimidated by the warmongers, provided they are conscious of their strength and fight consistently for their independence and peace in Europe, and throughout the world. It is, therefore, essential, above all, consistently to expose the instigators of war.

The press repeatedly carries statements (crazy in my opinion), by representatives of American imperialism who advocate war against the land of Socialism, wiping out the Socialist capital with atom bombs, and who talk of a war with new weapons of large-scale destruction.

We must expose the warmongers, both outside and within the country. This must be done not only because we have a government which has sold itself to American imperialism, and which is selling the independence of Italy, but also because there is another active alien power in Italy—the Vatican, which deceives naive people by allegedly defending peace, but which always, in every critical international situation, supports the power pursuing a policy of imperialist expansion and warmongering. Last autumn, when international tension was at a peak, the Vatican displayed a curious vacillation. Hitherto, the official organ of the Vatican carried articles condemning war and calling for the unity of the peace forces, but some weeks later, and I wish to emphasise precisely at the moment of the greatest tension in the international situation, the Pope not only accepted the message of the President of the US but replied to it with a document that sanctioned the war directives of American imperialism.

That is why we must be particularly vigilant in our country, and create a broad popular front in defence of peace. This task, which is not an easy one for us, is the task not only of our propagandists, but of the Party as a whole. The peace front must be based on the wide unity of all those fully conscious of the threat from imperialism.

It will be appreciated that under such conditions the vanguard forces of democracy and of the working class, and particularly the Communist Parties organising these forces in the larger countries of Europe, in the countries of the new democracy, and in France and Italy, which today constitute the direct object of the offensive of American imperialism, realise the need for contact in order to coordinate their forces to defend the independence of all the European people, and peace in Europe and throughout the world. Such was the purpose of the conference of the nine Communist Parties in Poland, concerning which you all know. There are present at our congress representatives of some of the Parties, which took part in the Polish Conference. I salute these comrades, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, our French comrades and the comrades from the countries of the new democracy (applause).

Comrades, representatives of the fraternal Parties. We have known each other for a long time; we are veterans of many struggles. There is nothing in the recollection of our common past, of our common work, and struggle, when we were united in the great proletarian organisation—in the Communist International,—of which we need feel ashamed. On the contrary, we are proud of our past. When we decided jointly to dissolve the Communist International we were aware that this organisational form no longer corresponded to the conditions in which the struggle of the working class and of the people for freedom, independence and liberation, was developing.

We know that the paths of the democratic movements in the different countries cannot be the same, since capitalism did not develop in the same way in each country: there is a difference in the hangovers of the feudal past, in the organisational forms of the working class and of the democratic forces, and there is a difference of traditions, which should be utilised or cast off, in accordance with circumstances.

The Italian Communists clearly realise that solidarity on the part of the working people of Europe is of paramount importance for the purpose of resisting and destroying the common enemy.

We believe that our voluntary and fraternal cooperation, enunciated at the conference in Poland, and which has now a consultative character, is a great event for all the peoples of Europe if they wish to avoid a new war and to retain the freedom they have won.

We know what the danger to peace means for Italy. If there is one country in Europe which needs peace, and a people for whom the threat to

peace endangers their very existence, then Italy and the Italians are that country and that people.

Consequently, the call of the Communist Party congress is addressed not only to the workers and to the progressive democrats but to all Italians who cherish the destiny of Italy. We must at all costs prevent our Government from turning Italy into a tool of any imperialist government and its policy of war.

We must demand that the Government, guiding the fortunes of the Italian Republic, shall pursue a policy of peace.

The threat to peace is closely linked with the danger to Italy's independence. This danger is the more acute because our country, let us admit it, is weak politically and economically, and its status as a free nation has not been completely regained.

The matter of our independence calls for special consideration. This question is connected with the problem of the so-called American aid, the need and inevitability of which independence. This danger is the more acute because our country, let us admit it, is weak politically and economically, and its status as a free nation has not been completely regained.

The matter of our independence calls for special consideration.

This question is connected with the problem of the so-called American aid, the need and inevitability of which for our economic rehabilitation we hear so much. This necessity requires, it would seem, a definite policy, the policy now being pursued by the de Gasperi Government.

Far be it from us to deny that Italy is in need of help from the country, which today is economically the most powerful. But we would remind those who talk so much about American aid, and we would also like to remind the representatives of the American people that America has certain obligations towards the European countries. We do not forget that the war was won by all the European nations, and in particular, by the great democratic nations; but we remember also that the US profited from the elimination of German imperialism, an elimination which was secured by the decisive participation of the Land of Socialism—the Soviet Union—and by the struggle of the European peoples who rose in defence of their independence and freedom. Let the US remember these things just as we remember them.

The losses suffered by the US in the war are nothing compared to the losses of the Soviet Union, or even of Italy or France, which were plundered by the Hitler invaders, or the losses of the countries of the new democracy in Central and East Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia.

We are grateful for the aid offered us, but we believe that we have the right to consider the conditions of this aid. On what terms is the aid given, and what is expected of us in return.

Concerning the free “gifts” which Italy receives from the US partly in the

form of raw materials, it should be stated that it is not a matter of gifts in the real sense of the term. Were it so the Italian Government would find no difficulty answering the following questions: if the grain is a gift why has the price of bread gone up? If it is true, as is printed on the demand notes for gas payment, that the gas is produced from coal received from the US free of charge, why has the charge to consumer been increased, instead of decreased? Clearly, there is something wrong here.

Actually these "gifts" are accompanied by the accumulation of a special lira fund, which, since it was created by the Italian Government, should come under scrutiny and supervision. Who should exercise this supervision? And in considering this question we come to the essence not only of the system of gifts, made by A USA (American organisation for rendering assistance to Italy, set up after the winding up of UNRRA), but also the manner in which the Marshall Plan is realised. As a matter of fact the Marshall Plan envisages the delivery of US goods in exchange for the currency of the given country, which is accumulated by the Government of the given country in the form of a special fund.

This raises a number of questions. First, delivery and distribution of raw materials and of goods are effected in accordance with the plan elaborated by the American Government. Second, the administration of this special fund has strings attached and is controlled by the American Government. At present the Italian people have no control, whatsoever over the administration of this fund.

There is no guarantee, for example, that this special fund will not be administered in such a way as to become an election fund for the Christian Democratic Party.

To avoid such misgivings it is essential to secure at least Parliamentary control of the fund.

The so-called gift system leads to direct interference by the foreign power in our economy.

I think that nobody in Italy, having at heart the destiny, future and independence of our country, would give his consent to such interference. The Marshall Plan envisages a solution of the German problem contrary to the obligations entered into at Yalta and Potsdam. These obligations provide for building up a united democratic Germany. American policy, however, strives to divide Germany into two states, to create a West German state under US control, enjoying maximum American aid with the aim of restoring the heavy war industry there.

Such a solution of the problem is not in the interests of Italy. Germany must be restored as a united country, for only then can Italy renew her trade with Central Europe. We are interested also in the stamping out of any possibility of the revival of fascism in Germany. The splitting of Germany into two aims at preserving those forces and organisations which formed the base of



German fascism.

We send greetings to the glorious Greek partisans, who are battling for the independence of their country. We greet them not only as Communists, not only because among them are our comrades in ideas, but also because we know that throughout the last century the cause of freedom and independence of Greece was closely linked with the struggle for the unity and independence of our own country.

We wish the Greek people, and the democratic government formed by General Markos every success, for we know that their victory will be also the victory of the cause of the independence of the Italian people.

At present American imperialism is striving to create in South and Central Europe, and also in the Mediterranean a bloc of Catholic countries, which would include France, Franco Spain, Italy, Austria, and fascist Greece. This bloc is visualised as a permanent threat to the countries of the new democracies and to the USSR.

If we wish to secure for the Italian people an open road for contact with all the peoples of Europe, an open road for contact with the whole world, then our national policy must aim at preventing the establishment in Europe of a new bloc of reactionary states, especially the establishment under American imperialist auspices of a bloc of the reactionary Catholic states, which would mean the end of sovereignty and independence for our country.

We need trade relations with all Europe, and particularly with Eastern Europe, since from these countries we could get raw materials and food in exchange for our industrial goods, and thus improve our economic base.

Unfortunately, the present Government shows no sign of any such desire.

True, some weeks ago we signed a trade agreement with Yugoslavia.

However, the conclusion of this agreement took a long time. After the agreement was initialled by our commission in Belgrade, it did not go into effect for several months, but was sent to all the ministries for consideration, as to how and when this agreement could be put into practice.

The de Gasperi Government follows an entirely different line when obeying the behests of American imperialism. In such cases it hastens to dispatch ministers to Washington or New York, prepares documents, sanctions them sometimes without first submitting them to the Parliamentary commission.

However, when it is a matter of political action, which really corresponds to the interests of our economy, or when it concerns the interests of the countries of the new democracy, then the de Gasperi government acts in a different way altogether. This situation merely reflects the influence and the political and economic control of the US in our country, about which I spoke earlier.

It is obvious that Italy's trade with the Eastern countries irks those who aim at mobilising the whole of Western Europe for the struggle against these countries. It is quite possible that this trade is not to the liking of those

economic circles in the US who are hostile to the rehabilitation of our iron and steel industry, the basis of our industry in the North. This evidently explains also the reluctance to supply our industry with means for overcoming the crisis, for starting out on full-scale production, for the return of the markets, which Italy is able to satisfy. The question boils down to the fact that Italy needs trade relations with the world, and it is impossible to think of our economy developing as an appendage of American economy, or even of France or Great Britain.

## The Need for a Policy of Friendship with All Peoples

It is now clear that the interim aid and policy of “gifts” a la the “Marshall Plan” are nothing other than a device to prevent Italian economy from developing independently. This is being recognised not only by the representatives of the most progressive democratic thought, the Socialists and Communists, but also by those leading representatives of the industrial world, who are still capable of reasoning soberly and independently. It is said that American aid does not depend on any political conditions. But here we ask the members of the present Government to agree among themselves for, on the one hand, de Gasperi proclaims that there are no political strings entailed while, on the other, Paccardi frankly declared in his paper that American aid was dependent on the removal of the Communists from the Government.

Such are the facts. Consequently, we have the right to say that when our Foreign Minister pretends to be naive, and when de Gasperi denies certain facts, both of them are simply lying. And I think that both know that they are lying. But the situation in Italy is of grave concern to us today, especially after the statement made by Marshall two weeks after the last contingent of American troops had left the country. According to this statement the US Government unilaterally takes upon itself the right to safeguard the independence of our country. And in the Constituent Assembly we were compelled to listen to the Foreign Minister shamefully defend this declaration, which is a blow to the honour and dignity of Italy. The independence of Italy will be safeguarded by us Italians, who remain united and vigilant towards foreign intervention and the agents of American imperialism trying to penetrate into our ranks. If any other kind of guarantee or protection is needed it can only be of a collective or international character, otherwise Italy may become a semi-colony of a foreign imperialist power.

This is the spirit in which we should view the recent statement circulated by an American agent to the effect that the presence, or more correctly, the dispatch of American marines to Mediterranean ports, or, to be more exact, to Italian territorial waters, will be effected as a means of protecting our country against the danger of Communism. I don't know who is responsible for the statement, but I regard it as the raving of a lunatic.

The Italian people are not at all unfriendly towards the American people; on the contrary our people admire the rich traditions of the American people, and especially the traditions of their struggle for independence.

It is our wish that Italy should pursue a policy of friendship with all peoples; we reject any policy that would split Europe into two parts; we reject any bloc that specialises in intrigues in an attempt to isolate the Land of Socialism, the peoples of the Soviet Union from all other countries, to prevent the fraternal cooperation of all the peoples of Europe in building a new society. We do not reject the aid of peoples richer than we are; indeed we appreciate their generosity, but we shall not agree to any conditions which in one form or another, directly or indirectly, would be detrimental to our independence.

## The Main Danger Threatening Democratic Liberties

We Italians want to decide in our own way the destiny of our country. We want to be friends with all neighbouring peoples. In particular we abhor the daily attempts being made to incite hostility between us and the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. (Here Comrade Togliatti, amid a storm of applause conveyed the greetings of the congress to the Yugoslav people, to the Yugoslav Communists and Marshal Tito.)

It is necessary to establish friendly relations and bonds of fraternal cooperation with the people of France and the French Republic. Regarding the so-called plans for closer economic relations between Italy and France the peoples of the two countries should be allowed freely to consider these problems, without the interference of the foreign imperialist powers, which are trying to destroy the independence of Italy and France.

Of course, we want our country to be admitted to UNO. But we know that before this can be done Italy must cease to be a tool in the eyes of the world, of the expansionist and military policy of American imperialism.

But it's not only our independence that's threatened, our liberty won at the cost of much sacrifice is menaced.

We Communists are usually asked:

“Do you agree to respect the Constitution? Will you wage your struggle on

legal grounds, or do you intend to go beyond the law and violate the charter which pledges all Italian democrats to observe certain constitutional norms?"

We have only one answer to this: hitherto it has been the representatives of the privileged section of our country who have demonstrated that they are ready at any moment to violate all constitutional norms in order to maintain their privileges, in order to hold up the onward march of the people.

The march on Rome in 1921 and 1922 and the subsequent fascist tyranny was not organised by the people, by the workers, by the Socialists or Communists. It was the work of the reactionary class, the privileged strata in our country, supported by leading circles of the Church, monarchy and army. It is precisely from this direction that danger threatens.

Naturally, the reactionary forces have learned from experience; for instance, it is obvious that it is now well-nigh impossible to renew a fascist movement in the country along the lines of 1921-22. Reaction, therefore, is looking for other forms, is thinking of using the State apparatus in combination with terrorist and provocative groups to endanger our democratic gains and to hurl us backward.

This danger exists and it is all the more serious in view of the existence of a political force in the country, which recently has taken up a totalitarian position. I am referring to the Vatican and the policy now being pursued by leading Roman Catholic circles who have issued the challenge: "For or against Christ!"

This challenge was made, on political grounds for the purpose of initiating a political struggle in favour of the side allegedly following Christ. This side is supposedly represented by the Christian Democrats and the "Acione Cattolica". All who are against Christ are excommunicated and only those who are for Christ, that is, politically speaking, those who support the Christian Democrats, the "Acione Cattolica" and organisations, tolerated more or less by the Christian Democrats, have the right to legal existence. This challenge was accompanied by frantic appeals issued by the Catholic dignitaries to wage a desperate and resolute struggle.

We would like to submit these facts to the attention of at least those honest Catholics, who are perturbed about the future of society, about the problems facing mankind today. The problem is that the capitalist system must be abolished, that a profound revolution is maturing, which must give rise to a new system of society, to socialism. Dying capitalism must be abolished so that mankind can guide its destiny and build life on a new, higher plane than hitherto.

What is the position of the Catholic world in this struggle? What is the position of the Catholic hierarchy? These two forces do not hold the same outlook. The honest Catholic worker, interested in social questions, feels and recognises, as we do, that it is necessary to build a new society in order

to avoid once again slipping into the past through new wars and crises. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, on the other hand, is no longer capable of realising this, for it is forging ever closer bonds with the leading elements of declining, capitalist society, has become not only an appendage, but part of big capital. This is particularly true of our country where we daily learn of the Vatican buying up shares in various industrial companies.

The Vatican, which has penetrated into the apparatus and system of capitalist society, is inevitably siding with those against whom the working people and all free and honest men are taking action.

Taking into account the openly totalitarian position of the Catholic hierarchy and the links between the Church dignitaries and the leading forces of American imperialism, our Party must not change its attitude with regard to religious questions. From the very outset we declared that we have no intention of interfering with the religious world in our country, and for this reason we voted for Article VII of the Constitution.

On the other hand, we say to the Catholics and to all believers that unity of the democratic movement, of the working people, of the progressive forces is imperative if we wish to see our country liberated from serfdom, from capitalist anarchy, if we want to regenerate our economic and social life.

When we vigorously expose the policy of the Church hierarchy, which we consider harmful to the political and social progress of our country, WE' do so in the hope that the Catholic workers will understand us, understand the necessity of unity between us and the forces of democracy, whose sole aim is the political, economic and social recovery of Italy in the interests of all, and above all, in the interests of the people who live by their labour.

This question, of course, is directly connected with the policy of the Christian-Democrats, who have traversed a long path during the past two years. On the eve of the election campaign they announced their programme which coincided, in the main, with the statements of the Communist and Socialist Parties. These statements spoke of reforms in State structure, industry and agriculture.

The Communists considered it possible to cooperate with this party in the Government on the basis of this programme. Unfortunately we soon discovered that their programme statements were not followed by deeds, by measures to carry out the plan for economic and social recovery. When we discussed the details of the Government programme, the Christian-Democrats practically disavowed their initial statements.

The Communists insisted that obligations, undertaken on behalf of the people, be honoured. Later, de Gasperi travelled to the US, either to receive his instructions or for other reasons. The result of his visit was a crisis and the formation of a government without the Left parties.

Thus began the consistent policy of splitting the forces of democracy, a policy which was steadily intensified until the congress of the Social-

Democrats in Naples. The keynote of the congress was that the Socialist Party should annul its unity agreement with the Communists, that the Communist Party be declared illegal—the Party which not simply by words, but by its blood and sacrifice made the biggest contribution of all to setting up the democratic order in Italy.

The desire to ban us is the fantasy of the lunatic fringe. It would mean the annihilation of the democratic traditions of the Italian people.

Thus, the Christian-Democratic Party defined its position as the leading party of the conservative forces. The policy of division and dissension is apparent in all its activities. Three yellow newspapers which indulge in the most vile slander are published in Rome. They are directly financed by the Christian-Democratic Secretary of State in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. We were astounded to read in one of these rags praise for the Pope's latest encyclical which appeared alongside a tirade of anti-working class vituperation.

During the election campaign in Rome, when the Christian-Democrats failed to secure victory thanks to the splendid resistance and counter-offensive of the population of the capital, they used the votes of the fascists to capture the municipality and to install a Catholic mayor in Rome. So far I have been speaking of the Christian-Democratic Party, and I beg to be excused by the workers in this party who are disgusted with the reactionary policy of their leaders; I know that they comprise the mass, that although they are striving for a democratic policy, their strivings are not meeting with the corresponding political action by the leaders. The so-called Christian-Democratic Left have so far shown themselves to be nothing more than a refined society of Jesuits.

With regard to the situation in the General Confederation of Labour it should be noted that trade union unity is threatened by the splitting policy of the Vatican and the Christian-Democratic Party. Despite all the past and present weaknesses in trade union unity, it continues to be a decisive weapon of struggle in the hands of the working class and the people.

The existence of united trade unions made up of all categories of workers, immeasurably enhances the chances of victory of the working class and people in the struggle against the employers. That is the real reason why the numerous strikes which followed the war were of short duration,—the employers were compelled to capitulate before the solid front of the working masses.

That is precisely why the anti-democratic forces, the privileged section, the big industrialists in the "Confindustria" (Federation of Industrialists) and the landlords in the "Confida" (Federation of Agrarians), would like to destroy trade union unity, why they are issuing the corresponding orders, which are obeyed by the Christian-Democrats in the trade unions.

At the recent session of the Executive Committee of the CGT the Christian-

Democrats demanded that politics be banned in the trade unions. Why shouldn't there be politics in the trade unions? It is no secret that the secretary of the "Confindustria". Signor Costa exacts a tribute of thousands of millions of lira from each industrialist and that the money is used by the "Confindustria" to finance reactionary newspapers and political parties serving the interests of the industrialists, and above all the campaigns of the Christian-Democrats. When this is done by "Confindustria" it is permissible. But the members of the Confederation of Labour are asked to make the trade unions non-political.

Actually, another problem should be raised: the members of the Joint Production Councils and factory trade union committees should insist on getting from the Councils, of the employers an account of all monies contributed to "Confindustria" for reactionary campaigns and that the money be allocated to all the "non-political" parties, which are waging a struggle in the interests of the workers, the people and the nation as a whole. The allegation that the Communists and Socialists jointly compelled reluctant workers to take strike action, is nothing but a blind.

Actually, all the big strikes, starting with the strike of the agricultural labourers and ending with the strikes in Rome, were enthusiastically supported by all the workers. Together with the Communist and Socialist agricultural workers, Catholic workers took part in the strike, which was denounced by the Christian Democrats and the US Department of State. The strike ended in a smashing victory. All but a few thousand workers took part in the strike in Rome, which was a splendid demonstration of unity on the part of the workers of the capital.

Trade union unity cannot be separated from trade union discipline. There can be no such thing in the trade union as part of its leaders obeying orders given by the democratically- elected organs, and another part taking orders from the employer. Trade union membership demands discipline. The workers closely followed the discussion at the session of the CGT Executive Committee and expressed their satisfaction at the agreement reached, even though it is but a provisional agreement. However, a detailed study of the agreement, and above all of the fact that one clause gives part of the trade union membership the right to abstain not only from definite action, but also from the decisive struggle of the working class, the success of which calls for unity, of action, compels us to ask: haven't our leading comrades in the CGT paid too high a price to preserve unity?

At any rate we raise this subject for discussion by the congress and its commissions.

With regard to the relations between the different parties it may be said that practically all the parties of the Right and of the centre are experiencing a crisis. This is the outcome of the conservative policy of the Christian-Democrats, a policy which deprives the Right and centrist groups of a basis

and opportunity for development, since the Christian-Democrats are displacing them by coming to an agreement with the more open fascist groups.

In the circumstances the Liberals tried to save the remnants of their party by resurrecting their moth-eaten traditions, which it would have been better to have kept in the dark, namely the pro-fascist position of their party during 1922-23. At their recent congress they went so far as to give themselves credit for their contribution to the fascist “march on Rome”, to the victory of fascism, and the destruction of democratic order. Even so, they failed to build up a new base for their party, it has taken another step further towards its disintegration and eventual disappearance.

The same thing happened to Giannini, the founder of the “Fronte Dell Uomo Qualunque”, who appeared on the political scene as the Southern Pu1ccinella (“Punch”), and who ended up the way all Pulccinellas end, by getting kicked on all sides. When he had sobered up and decided to go in for politics alongside or in competition with the representatives of other more or less serious political trends, the reactionary bourgeoisie, who until then had used his services, discarded him.

Until now the reactionary and conservative forces have found organisational anchorage in the Christian Democratic Party, in the “Acion Cattolica” and in the Church hierarchy, under the patronage of imperialism. Thus, the Christian Democratic Party, has become a party of conservatives, an American party, a party which wants to restrict and destroy the independence of our country. That is why the democrats must direct the fire of their struggle against this party.

## Is There a “Third Force”?

The two parties—the Republican and Saragat parties— which represent themselves as the advocates of the so-called third force, are by no means a united force. On the contrary, they differ sharply from each other. Although there are members of the Republican Party who cherish democracy and the independence of the country, they nevertheless entered the Government, set up on the orders of American imperialism. Saragat’s party has a very small following, but it contains people who are opposed to the Communist mostly because of prejudices dating back to 1919-21, when the Communists withdrew from the Italian Socialist Party. I am referring to the older people who are organically incapable of understanding the essence of the new problems and the new tasks of the political struggle in our country. Those who actually lead the Saragat party are people who pleaded for dollars to find their political bearings, which they found once they received the dollars.



These people are viewed by the country as the hired agents of American imperialism, and it is in this role that they are taking part in the Government. They cannot be called a "third force", cannot be separated from the Christian Democratic Party, from the leading reactionary circles in the country, who are operating under the auspices of American imperialism, in whose service they are.

By combating these people the Communists will save Italian democracy. They must call again upon the broad masses and organise them in a united front, which will answer the needs of the democratic struggle and life of the people.

In the movement to form an alliance of struggle of the working people and to save democracy the Socialist Party, played its part. This movement is not the creation of our Party nor of the Socialist Party, or of the two parties taken together. Our activities as the vanguard unit which organises the masses, did not proceed beyond the framework of the movement that arose among the working people when they were faced with the task of solving the economic structure of our country and felt the need of an organisation capable of solving this task. Hence, all criticism of this great new movement, today developing in the country, is unfounded.

## Conclusion of Comrade Palmiro Togliatti's Report

We are told that the new movement runs counter to democratic methods. But democracy does not at all signify intrigues in the lobbies of the Montecitorio (Parliament. Ed.) The people have the right to organise in order to rescue control over production. And the people of the South and the peasants have the same right to settle their problems.

Our method is absolutely democratic.

Let the people who accuse us of ignoring the democratic method, of violating the law, of using force, remember that we have not forgotten our experience of the past. We will not be caught off guard by fascist methods a second time; we know the fascist game and we can see through the plots being hatched by the reactionary circles in Italy to take the democratic forces by surprise, to provoke them into a hopeless position in order to rout them. Reaction will lose: the situation in Italy today is not what it was in 1922-23; today the active forces who took part in the liberation of country, who won national renown fighting in the army and partisan detachments for the freedom of Italy, constitute the progressive forces who in their majority are members of the Communist and Socialist parties, that is, of the parties which under no circumstances will allow the rebirth of the fascist

movement, or our' country to be placed under the yoke of a new tyranny. We are not threatening. Before us stretches the great path of democracy. But let those who are dreaming of blocking this path with the aid of provocations, terror, discord and confusion among the people, remember that we are not blind to the danger. We shall observe the methods of democratic struggle, but we shall not allow ourselves to be taken unawares by provocations and reactionary plans.

## For the Unify of the Democratic Forces

We have behind us the experience of guerrilla warfare; tens of thousands of people, who know how to wield arms in defence of the freedom and independence of the country, have the same experience and should it be necessary to defend and win freedom, these people will carry out their duty to democracy and their native land.

Concerning the democratic front I reject the criticism of the method applied in organising this front.

It is said that the organisation of the front concerns only workers and the more progressive forces of the countryside. But in the Joint Production Councils the worker is in contact with the office employee, with the technical personnel and with the employer's representatives. The Council is, therefore, an alliance of all the forces engaged in production. The congress of the South was attended not only by representatives of the countryside, but also by representatives of the intelligentsia, of the urban and rural bourgeoisie, who are resolved to throw off the yoke, which has been weighing on the South for centuries.

The path outlined by the Communists and by all democrats, is the only correct path. Along this path alone will it be possible to solve all problems, coordinating the reconversion of industry with the reform in agriculture.

It is said that the creation of a labour front may give rise to serious social repercussions. On the contrary: only cooperation between the different economic and social groups will help avoid serious conflicts. This has been proved in practice: Since de Gasperi violated democratic unity by forming his unilateral reactionary Government, the life of the country has been disturbed by conflicts and strikes.

The method proposed by us is the only correct method that can be applied in the country, which needs the cooperation of all her citizens on a democratic basis in order to ensure recovery. The method suggested by us is the method of unity of the democratic forces.

In this connection let us consider, from the practical point of view, the question of the means the forces of the democratic front will apply at the elections, that is, the question of submitting joint or separate lists. I favour the joint list, although I admit that there may be objections to this.

The congress will discuss this question, which afterwards will be settled jointly with the Socialists, Communists and the democrats who support them.

The struggle for the unity of the democratic forces and for their welding into a new broad front, capable of embracing the mass of the population, remains a basic principle. It is clear that the Communist Party will not achieve its object unless all the other progressive democratic parties devote all their energies to this.

Note should be taken of the weaknesses in the activity of the Party when our representatives were expelled from the Government.

At the time many comrades were at a loss, for they began to doubt whether the aims for which the Communist Party had fought and is still fighting remain valid, namely the realisation of progressive democracy.

These comrades fail to understand that the slogan calling for the creation of a progressive democracy, that is, the creation of a new democratic popular regime, based on radical reforms in the economic structure of the country, and on the participation of the working class, the peasantry and the entire people in the political administration of the nation, was not something transient. This slogan corresponded, and corresponds now to the general strategic plan, which did not depend on our participation, on one condition or another, in the different governments; this slogan was an integral part of the strategic plan, which arose out of the development of the international situation in the given post-war period, out of the development of the situation within the country in keeping with the international state of affairs. (Here Comrade Togliatti, quoting from the works of Comrade Stalin, explained what determines the strategy of the Party, which corresponds to a definite historical situation, and changes only when the situation changes.)

The slogan of struggle for progressive democracy was proclaimed in different forms, corresponding to the conditions in the various countries of Europe, also by the various Communist Parties. This means that after World War II, all Communists were aware that we are experiencing an historical turning point. During this period our strategic aims differ from the aims we set ourselves at other historical periods. Naturally, each country has its own specific conditions, in view of which this main strategic plan is applied in accordance with the characteristic features and traditions of the given country, in accordance with its specific forms of organisation. Our country, too, has its definite peculiarities, which we have to consider.

This is what we wanted to make clear at the Florence conference of the Communist Party, when we stated that we must find an Italian way to the creation of a democracy of the new type, which opens the way to Socialism. This Italian way cannot be invented, cannot be charted on the basis of definite general principles—it is taking shape on the basis of daily concrete political struggle. Our way is still in the preparatory stage, and all we can

see for the present is its first beginnings: the existence of trade union unity, the unity between the Socialists and Communists, the existence of a Parliamentary regime and, on the other hand, the development of a broad mass movement based on the organisations, set up by the people themselves.

We must advance along this path. Our Party must be able to march forward without ever losing sight of its main strategic aim, bearing in mind that this aim remains in force throughout the historical period. The Party must be able to adapt its daily tactical activities to this aim.

Undoubtedly there are obstacles in the way. The greatest danger threatening us during the past two years was, and is now, the danger of opportunism.

We must know where to draw the line between the policy of unity and the policy of capitulation, and under no circumstances whatsoever can the Party decline to defend its programme and aims. Our very participation in the Government contained the dangerous beginnings of opportunism, which at certain times hampered the development of a number of our organisations, with the result that at the time of our withdrawal from the Government they lost their bearings. A consistent struggle must be waged against this danger. We must also avoid another danger—Maximalism and phrase mongering. Following the conference of representatives of the Nine Communist Parties some comrades instead of correcting certain aspects of their activity, confined themselves to making radical speeches. It is important not to lose sight of the distinguishing features, which we have added to the Party during the past period. Above all, we have built a party which has become a mass party, and, undoubtedly, we would be committing a mistake if we were to forget this feature. Therefore, the formula “not too many members, but good members” does not suit us. We must take measures to ensure a steady increase in the number of good Communists and leading cadres in the mass of 2,283,048 members.

Here credit is due to the Bologna Party organisation which on December 31 had already issued the 1943 membership cards.

A political party must always be able to pursue a policy of alliances, especially in Italy where there are so many political variations. We must learn to know our allies and how to approach them. When I mentioned the Christian Democratic Party and the Catholic Church, I pointed out that even in those groups there are masses to whom we must draw closer and make contact. An ability to find allies has been one of the distinguishing features of the Communist Party of Italy and of its political activities since the liberation. We must not reject this ability. On the contrary, we must perfect it in the new situation if we want to achieve the progressive aims we have set ourselves.

The party, which aims to make a constructive contribution to the cause of democracy, must not confine itself merely to formulating slogans or to

participation in Parliamentary life and drafting legislation. It must make a positive contribution to the establishment of a democratic regime, that is, to the concrete solution of building up the new democracy through all conceivable forms of struggle, primarily through the struggle of the people. Should we lose sight of the constructive character of our Party, all our activities may be reduced to purely demonstrative actions.

For more than twenty years we have been building our Party as a militant party, as a party of struggle. This feature should under no circumstances be forgotten if we mean to carry out our objects. Remember that it is not enough to speak correctly, or to compel the enemy or sympathiser to acknowledge our integrity. We must be able to organise mass movements around the initiative of the Party, which can advance the front of democracy. Had the Party not been able to do this during the war of liberation there would have been no victorious uprising on April 25.

But the Communists were able to take the initiative even when they were numerically weak and alone and when hardly anybody listened to them; they were able to win over the masses by their example, their conviction and organisational work.

Certain shortcomings in Party work especially on the ideological front, call for criticism. A great share of the responsibility for this rests with those representatives of the Intelligentsia in the Party, who do not contribute sufficiently to its ideological development. The shortcomings of these comrades are expressed in the tendency to isolate themselves and in the form in which they often pose certain problems, a form which is unintelligible to the mass and which bears the imprint of decadent bourgeois culture. It is necessary to carry on steady educational work among the cadres not only in the Party schools, but also in the course of everyday concrete activities. Party cadres must practice criticism and self-criticism more extensively. This is important in eliminating shortcomings and educating Communists.

Special attention must be paid to the questions relating to the movement among the women and the youth. Statistical data go to show that the influence of the Party among the women and the youth is still insufficient, and this is explained to a great extent by the bureaucratic way in which this work is carried out.

Our congress is in session during the first days of 1948, but we are all thinking of the date 1848. This is understandable, for 1848 was a decisive year for Italy, which after a century of isolation and aloofness from the great currents of European thought and political life once again lined up with the great popular liberal, national and social movements in Europe. Therein lies the significance of the year 1848 to Italy: irrespective of the outcome of these movements, that year was decisive for the renaissance of our country. For Europe, and indeed for the whole world, 1848 was the year when for the

first time in history the working class appeared with its own programme, with its demands, when it took to arms and fought on the barricades for its demands.

(Quoting Engels' preface to the Italian edition of the "Communist Manifesto" in connection with this, Comrade Togliatti notes that 1848 marks the beginning in concrete form, of the struggle for the independence and unity of Italy.)

Today we are once again fighting for the unity and independence of our country, but what a difference in the conditions of this struggle compared to those times! Today, the working class in Italy is a mighty, organised militant force, which is headed by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, which have taken upon themselves the task of guiding all the forces of democracy along the path leading to the creation of a new society.

1848 was the year of the "Communist Manifesto" on the pages of which the working people today can read the directives needed to understand the most complex problems, which the development of the contemporary world raises before mankind.

Marxism-Leninism contain the principles which enable one to understand history of human development, why the problems of building a new society are raised in one form and not another. In the "Communist Manifesto" we find the sources of the greatest streams of thought and action in modern history, the culminating point of which is the Great October Socialist Revolution, carried out by the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, the party which was educated by Lenin and Stalin in the spirit of the teachings of Marx and Engels, in the spirit of the "Communist Manifesto". This great party was able, for the first time in history, to lead the working class to the conquest of power, to transform it into a leading class, to lay the foundations of the new Socialist society.

I can think of no better way of concluding this session of our congress than by addressing ourselves, with respect and gratitude, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders, who were able to make a decisive contribution to the historical development of mankind because they, remained faithful to the principles of Marxism. Our Party, too, must be loyal to these principles if it wishes to go forward and develop as a great democratic revolutionary force. We must be loyal to the heritage of our Party, to its traditions. The comrades who founded our Party, Gramsci and the others, who together with him laid the first stones in its foundation and sacrificed their lives for it, have endowed the Party with a rich inheritance. We are confident that our VI Congress will mark a new stage in the development and consolidation of the Communist Party of Italy. This is our gift to the Italian people at the beginning of the new year, 1948. The people of Italy know that the Communist Party is the party which will do everything necessary to defend the gains of freedom, to advance the cause

of democracy, to radically transform the life of our country and open to the people of Italy the road to a free and happy future, to the new Socialist society.

*(pages 2, 3, 4)*

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# ABOUT THE CREATION OF A UNITED WORKERS' PARTY IN RUMANIA. Anna Pauker

Next month at a unity congress of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties of Rumania to be held in Bucharest, the United Workers' Party will be established. This is an important event not only for the people of our country, but also for abroad. The friends of the Rumanian People's Republic are following the crystallisation of political and organisational unity of the working class in our country with keen interest and sympathy. As for our enemies in the imperialist camp they are not concealing their disappointment and displeasure. This proves, once again, how correct is the path taken by the working class of Rumania and that the existence of a united workers' party is a contribution to the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The Communist Party of Rumania has rich experience in the struggle for the unity of the working class. Following the split in 1920, when a big majority of the members of the Socialist Party favoured affiliation to the Communist International, the two parties developed along entirely different lines. From 1924 onwards the Communist Party was illegal. It emerged from the underground only after the overthrow of the Antonescu dictatorship in August 1944. Throughout the long period of underground life all Rumanian governments—openly fascist or so-called democratic—sought the physical extermination of the Communist Party, a policy which resulted in loud protests by world public opinion.

But despite this and the fact that the Social-Democrats enjoyed legal conditions, the Communist Party retained its role as the leading force of the Rumanian proletariat. The brutal terror notwithstanding the Party was able to organise the struggles of the working class, and particularly the general strikes of the railwaymen and oil workers in 1933.

The labour aristocracy constituted a tiny section and had a very narrow base in our country. The majority of the working class had rejected the policy of the reformist leadership of the Social-Democratic Party. The systematic policy of strikebreaking, servility before reactionary governments, the anti-Communist policy and campaigns of slander against the USSR—all this discredited the Social-Democratic Party in the eyes of the conscious workers.

Our Party exerted no little effort in trying to get a united front in that period so dark and sombre for the democratic and labour movement. Moreover, it did not lose sight of the fact that a section of the workers was still



influenced by the Social-Democrats.

When giving warning of the fascist danger threatening the country, and the danger of being drawn into an anti-Soviet war, the Communist Party pointed out that united working-class action was an absolute condition for successfully combating this danger.

The Social-Democratic leadership at the time rejected our repeated proposals for the creation of a united front. Despite the opposition of this leadership, however, in many cases unity was effected from below in joint struggle by the Communists and Social-Democrats. The fact that the working class of Rumania, nevertheless, failed to rally the working masses and the whole people in a struggle that would have barred the way to fascism and prevented the country from being involved in the anti-Soviet war, is explained primarily by the absence of united action between the Communist and Social-Democratic parties.

The policy of the Social-Democratic leadership at the time logically led the party to political bankruptcy. When King Carol II established his dictatorship, the chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, Grigorovich, unhesitatingly accepted an important Government post. And when the Royal dictatorship was followed by an open fascist dictatorship, a number of prominent Social-Democratic leaders hastened to assure the Hitler satrap, Antonescu, of their loyalty. The Social-Democratic Party began to disintegrate and for several years disappeared from the political scene. At the same time the Communist Party, despite the heavy losses caused by the terror, entered the period of the fascist regime as the only organised democratic force, and during World War II it was the sole organiser of the patriotic, anti-Hitler forces in the country.

A united workers' front could be realised only in the final stage of the war. Confronted with the militant action taken by the patriotic forces, headed by the Communist Party, and the decisive victories of the Soviet troops on the Rumanian front, the Social-Democratic Party began to reorganise itself. On May 1, 1944 a joint statement, issued by the two parties, announced the signing of a united front agreement.

After the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship the united workers' front became the driving force of the National-Democratic Front and later of the bloc of democratic parties. Thanks to the united front a united trade union movement was formed, which today embraces the overwhelming majority of the industrial and agricultural workers, and office employees.

Obviously the united front was not, and could not be, an idyll, for we have never worshipped "cooperation for the sake of cooperation", but as an agreement on a matter of principle. An incorrect conception prevailed not only in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party, but in the Communist Party, which threatened to sacrifice principles for the sake of overlooking mistakes in order not to spoil relations. Such an attitude could only be

harmful. Strict adherence to principle on questions of the united front was all the more important since the Social-Democratic Party had still to get rid of its ballast of the past.

The formation of the united front by no means meant that home and foreign reaction had given up the idea of using the Social-Democratic Party. On the contrary. After the overthrow of the Antonescu dictatorship reaction went all out in favour of social-democracy. A secret agreement on close cooperation was reached between Petrescu and the chieftains of the reactionary parties—Maniu and Bratianu who tried to transform the Social-Democratic Party into their reserve in the event of reaction being forced to make a strategic retreat. The right-wing Socialists abroad, especially in Britain and France, for their part made every effort to bring the Social-Democratic Party under the influence of imperialist circles, and to turn it into an obedient tool of their expansionist plans. The Social-Democratic Party found itself at the crossroads. It was faced with the alternative of either taking the old path of class collaboration with the capitalists and landlords or the path of close unity with the Communist Party and the organisation of the peasantry—the Agricultural Workers' Front. In other words the old path of reforms of the capitalist landlord regime, which meant suffering and oppression for the working masses, or the path of resolute action to replace pseudo-bourgeois democracy with a people's democracy, the capitalist-landlord regime with a higher social order.

The firm position of the Communist Party with regard to the mistakes, vacillation and deviation from democratic policy, the denouncement of the manoeuvres of Petrescu and his group, helped the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party and the membership to find the correct path and to lead the party along it. Petrescu was expelled from the Social-Democratic Party at its congress in March 1946. Before long it became apparent that the calculations of domestic and foreign reaction had suffered a fiasco. Petrescu failed to split the party—only an inconsiderable number of Social-Democrats followed him—and his attempts to set up an “independent” social-democratic party fell through.

The loss of one position after another as the regime of the new democracy developed and took root, forced the reactionary camp to seek for a point of support in the Social-Democratic Party, which the reactionaries in Rumania regarded as one of the weak links in the democratic front.

But when the attempt was made to isolate the Social-Democratic Party from the Communist Party and to turn the former into a kind of “third force” the sentiments of the membership showed a remarkable change. The anti-Communist and anti-democratic manoeuvres of the right-wing were vigorously rebuffed by the Social-Democratic workers in the different party organisations. Some of them suffered a crushing defeat: hardly any of the Right leaders got elected to the trade union organs.

All this was reflected in the stand taken by the central leadership of the Social-Democratic Party, in the struggle against the manoeuvres of the reactionaries and their agents. The fresh attempts of domestic and foreign reaction to use the Social-Democratic Party to undermine the democratic front from within, ended in the defeat of reaction and in the further consolidation of the united- workers' front.

The consolidation of the united workers' front would have been impossible had the front restricted itself to formal agreement between the central leaderships of the two parties. The agreement was based on steady cooperation between the rank and file organisations of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties. Despite mistakes made in some cases, the Communists were able in the majority of the Communist Party organisations to settle the minor disputes and to organise joint action by the Communists and Social-Democrats. This was achieved during the election campaign, in the struggle for the acceptance of the Communist Party proposals for improving the economic situation of the country, raising industrial output, for the monetary reform, against speculators and the black market, in the campaigns exposing the National Peasant conspirators and the reactionary Tatarescu group, etc.

Friendly relations between the Communists and Social-Democrats were established in the process of joint struggle and work. The unity of the working class grew stronger, mutual understanding increased, ideological and political questions were soon settled.

Thus the pre-condition for a united workers' party was created in the process of consolidating the united front in close working cooperation between the Communists and Social-Democrats.

The manifesto of the United Workers' Party, unanimously adopted at a joint meeting of the two Executive Committees, analysing the new alignment of forces in the international arena and within the country, points out: "The sharpening of the struggle between the reactionary imperialist forces, on the one hand, and the democratic forces, on the other, and also the sharpening of the class struggle arising from the measures for securing the monetary reform, restoring and planning economy in the interests of the working class and the people of town and country; and the struggle for the further development of Rumania along the path of democracy towards socialism, call for the restoration of the organisational and political unity of the working class through a united workers' party.

"The creation of a united workers' party is a vital matter also for the working class of Rumania because, with the new alignment of political forces' only complete unity of the working can secure an alliance with the peasantry, with the people of non-Rumanian nationality, with the progressive intelligentsia, can mobilise the wide masses to carry out the great historic tasks facing the people of Rumania."

The new successes of the people's democracy emphasise the need for a united workers' party. These successes strengthened the forces and enhanced the prestige of the democratic camp and its leading element—the working class headed by its vanguard, the Communist Party. The tasks facing Rumania in the sphere of the further development of the people's democracy, have increased the determination of the workers to secure complete unity. In these circumstances, the leadership of the Communist Party considered that the necessary preconditions were at hand for passing over to practical measures for establishing a united workers' party. The leadership of the Social-Democratic Party fully shared this opinion and agreed to the proposal of the Communist Party to start preparations for unification. At its congress in October last year the Social-Democratic Party approved the measures taken in this direction. Here it should be noted that the right-wing Socialists, the agents of Anglo-American imperialism, did everything in their power to prevent the decision to create a united workers' party. The congress was attended by representatives from a number of foreign Social-Democratic Parties. The Labour Party representatives and the representatives of the Socialist Parties of France and Austria, were particularly assiduous in their efforts to prevent a decision being taken in favour of a united workers' party. Despite all their efforts, however, the congress unanimously authorised the new Executive Committee to take the necessary measures for the creation of a united workers' party. Shortly after the congress the manifesto of the United Workers' Party, drafted by the Executive Committees of the two parties, was published.

The manifesto contains the following important points:

Rumania shall actively participate in the struggle against the imperialist and anti-democratic camp;

the ideological principles of the United Workers' Party shall be based on the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin;

the organisational structure of the United Workers' Party shall correspond to the principles of the parties of the new type;

vigorous denunciation of the treacherous policy of the rightwing Social-Democrats;

preparations for the creation of the United Workers' Party to be linked with the struggle for carrying out the practical political and economic tasks facing the democratic forces of Rumania;

mobilisation of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia for the further development and consolidation of the people's democracy in our country.

Rumania today is experiencing profound democratic changes. The abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic are a new, historic achievement of Rumanian democracy, which opens the way to further fundamental changes. The creation of the United Workers'

Party, while adding to the confidence of the Rumanian working class in their strength and in the complete victory of their cause, helps them to carry out their role as the leading force in the democratic camp with still greater success. Undoubtedly, the working class of Rumania will, as the result of the formation of the United Workers' Party, achieve new successes in strengthening the alliance with the peasantry, in consolidating all the democratic forces in the country. By uniting their forces the working class will be able successfully to fight for increased industrial output, for increased productivity of labour, for a steady improvement in the standard of living. Thus, the existence of the United Workers' Party will not only be a factor contributing to the political consolidation of the democratic regime, but also a factor of its economic consolidation and further development. The creation of the United Workers' Party is new proof of the growing forces of democratic Rumania, a new blow to the predatory imperialists. It is high time the imperialist circles of the US and Britain realised that the days when Rumania was a pawn in the hands of the imperialists and world reaction have gone, never to return. Present-day Rumania—the Rumania of the People's Republic—is a factor of democracy and peace, and its growing strength further consolidates the might of the entire anti-imperialist camp.

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# CALL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has addressed an appeal to its members in which, after summarising the successes of the Party, calls upon the membership to wage a more resolute struggle for the consolidation of the people's democratic republic, and to devote all energies to carrying out the great aim of building socialism. The EC of the Communist Party points out, that the nationalisation of the banks and heavy industry, the confiscation of the land formerly belonging to the Germans, Hungarians and traitors, and the handing over of this land to the Czech and Slovak people, have made it possible to do away with the political and economic power of the big financiers, industrialists and agrarians, have created the material base for the new people's democracy. The system of local committees has enabled the people to take part in governing the State.

"All this shows," states the CP, "that we followed a more correct path than was the case in 1918-20, when the State leadership remained in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, who ignored the demands of the people. This time it is the working class which is the driving force in our people's democratic revolution. The merit of the Communist Party is that it was the initiator and leading element in all these changes. The Party saw to it that the errors of 30 years ago were not repeated. Not only were great changes wrought. There also came to the fore the great vitality of the new people's democratic regime, which last year withstood its first serious trial.

Thanks to the consciousness of the peasantry and the friendly assistance of the Soviet Union, the serious consequences of the 1947 drought were surmounted, and the people secured with provisions. The calculations of the reactionaries, who speculated on famine, were frustrated. Although they seized upon the food shortage, they failed completely to undermine the authority of the Government. One of the main battles waged by the Communists against domestic and foreign reaction was won. The chaos which the Czech and Slovak reactionaries tried to bring about, was averted. Despite the sabotage by the reactionaries the 1947 output targets were reached. Nationalised industry has passed the State examination. "The fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan," states the call, "will make it possible to raise the standard of living. The Government has already taken a number of legislative measures in this field."

The EC of the Communist Party stresses that the standard of living would have been even higher were it not for the obstacles put in the way by the capitalist magnates sheltering in the non-nationalised industries (wholesale trade, building materials, food industry).

By their agricultural policy the Communists have won the confidence of the peasants, whose interests are always defended by the Party. Measures taken by the Government have improved the conditions of the handicraftsmen.

“In 1947”, continues the call, “foreign reaction brought heavy pressure to bear on our Republic. A campaign of slander was waged against us when the conspiracy in Slovakia was crushed, while the conspirators were accorded every sympathy and direct help. We were refused a dollar loan and threatened with economic pressure. Foreign reaction launched its drive not only against us, but also against all the forces of democracy and Socialism, and particularly against the Soviet Union and the countries of the new democracy, which are barring the way to the imperialist plans to enslave Europe. Threats by the imperialist circles, atom bomb intimidation, and economic boycott, all of which is nothing but blackmail, are being resorted to in order to compel us, and the other democratic States, which have freed themselves from dependence on foreign capital and are building a new life, to relinquish our democratic gains. They want to divert us from the path leading to socialism and to allow foreign circles to meddle in our internal affairs, as they are doing in Greece, Italy, France and elsewhere.

“Our Government acted correctly when it refused to be a party to the ‘Marshall Plan’, which is a plan to restore German heavy industry in the Rhine area, as a military-economic base against the Slav countries. Had we accepted this plan it would have meant subordination to dollar dictatorship, which in turn would have meant sacrificing the sovereignty of our country.” Touching on the question of foreign policy the Executive Committee states: “The alliance with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of the security and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, for the Soviet peace policy is a policy designed to prevent any possibility of a rebirth of German imperialism, a policy of cooperation with the smaller nations on the basis of complete equality.” Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other Slav states of the people’s democracy is proceeding successfully. A number of treaties, economic and cultural agreements have been signed. In its call the Executive Committee states that “it is the task of the Communists vigorously to defend, together with all honest Czechs and Slovaks, the sovereignty and independence of the Republic, to prevent interference by foreign reaction in our internal affairs, to still further strengthen the alliance with the Soviet Union and with all Slav and democratic countries.”

There are many reactionary elements in the National Socialist and Catholic parties, the EC emphasises, who are trying to weaken the National Front, to obstruct the work of Parliament and the Government and in this way to

frustrate the plan for the rehabilitation of the country, and undermine the people's democratic regime.

“The Communists stand for the maintenance and consolidation of the National Front. They do not regard the National Front as a coalition of political parties in which, behind the scene, deals are negotiated and the interests of the people traded. This is what the reactionaries want, who are disputing the right of the various public organisations to take part in the National Front. For us the National Front is not a gathering of leaders of the political parties, it is all alliance of workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and intellectuals, an alliance which must become firmer day by day.”

“The 30th anniversary of the Republic,” concludes the call, “will be a year of great decisions: a general election will be held, many questions concerning the further development of the Republic will be solved... All honest patriots must do their best to see that the election once again sanctions the path chosen by our people.”

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# IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. E. KOLMAN

The membership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia now exceeds 1¼ million. It is a great mass party whose ranks are increasing steadily. The more frenzied international and homebred reaction becomes, and the greater the efforts required by the Communists to overcome the political and economic difficulties, the greater the support of the working people for their party. More and more workers, peasants and intellectuals are joining its ranks.

Since the liberation of the country the Executive Committee of the Party has devoted special attention to the ideological and political training of the members. A big obstacle is the lack of trained teachers and lecturers well grounded in Marxism. Many of our best Marxist teachers were murdered by the Nazis. Others are burdened with work in State, economic and other organisations. So that the Party has simultaneously to train propagandists and carry on its political-educational work among the people. At the same time the Party must ensure the ideological equipment of the Party members active in the cooperatives and trade unions. For this purpose the Party has established a broad and diversified system of training.

Firstly, there is the central Party school. The students attending this school are carefully selected by the Secretariat of the Executive Committee from among the Party functionaries. At first the course ran for six months, now it is a three-month term. We are now planning to extend the course to one year. So far this central school has trained 200 leading workers in the district Party committees. The subjects taught include dialectical and historical materialism, Czech history, political economy, the history of the USSR, Party structure.

The lecture method is favoured in this school and is coupled with independent work by the students. Together with the central Party school, there are district schools, which have graduated some 3,000 students.

The district schools have the job of training the comrades active in local committees and branches. Studies are conducted in the evenings, twice weekly, and cover such subjects as the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, history and State structure of the USSR, questions of the Party structure, etc. Due to lack of teachers the district schools often work

with big intermissions.

At one period branch study circles and evening schools led a very irregular existence—functioning only from time to time. Now, however a decision of the Executive Committee obliges all branches to set aside a special day once a month for Party training. At these meetings the branch members discuss such questions as: the elements of Communism, the USSR and what it means to us, the Two-Year Plan, the agricultural policy of the Communist Party, our path to Socialism, the role of the Party, what a Communist should be, etc.

In addition to the permanent network of Party schools there are numerous short-term courses for journalists, economists, students, librarians, and for trade union and cooperative functionaries. Summer schools, too, are very popular.

As stated earlier, the drawback in the matter of Party training lies in the shortage of skilled teachers. Some teachers restrict themselves to a dry exposition of general theoretical principles and fail to link theory to the concrete tasks of the current practical struggle and activities of the Party; their teachings is often confined to re-stating well-known formulas. Others turn propaganda into a repetition of materials published in the newspapers, and fail to make the necessary theoretical generalisations and conclusions.

Marxism-Leninism can serve as a sharp weapon of political struggle only if presented as a living science, deriving its vitality from the experience of social development, if it reflects the current changes and thus enables people to understand the present and foresee the future. To take an example: the teacher cannot confine himself to a mere re-statement of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism on the question of State; it is necessary to explain the essence and the role of the State in the given country, what should be the attitude of the working people towards this State and their participation in its structure. At the same time it is necessary to expose the machinations of reaction, to show that its undermining activity is treachery and treason to one's native land.

To help eliminate the shortcomings in the Party's educational work, the propaganda department of the Executive Committee issues for teachers special material dealing with particularly difficult problems.

Students and teachers have at their disposal translations of the Marxist-Leninist classics. Last year the "Svoboda" Publishing House issued 271,000 copies of Marxist literature, not to mention 250,00 copies of the "Short History of the Communist Party of the USSR". Comrade Stalin's "The Great Patriotic War" appeared in 100,000 copies, a biography of Stalin in 85,000 copies. A collection of articles and speeches by Gottwald was published in an edition of 70,000 copies. A Guide to political studies for Party branches is being issued in 20,000 copies.

To assist the Party educational network popular political booklets have

been issued. Most important in spreading Marxist-Leninist teachings are the Party libraries, which now total 5,000 in Czechoslovakia.

The demand on the part of the progressive Czechoslovak intelligentsia and the need to extend Marxist-Leninist teachings resulted in the setting up early in 1947 of a Socialist Academy. Research work in the Academy is carried out in 8 sections: philosophy, history, political economy, natural science, theory of Socialism, jurisprudence, literature and art. Professors and lecturers from Prague University, writers, artists and students are taking part in the work of the Academy. Papers are read and discussed according to a programme agreed upon beforehand. The work is of considerable importance, since it enables the people to approach the problems of their particular branch of science from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism and to prepare themselves for the struggle against reaction, still existing in the higher seats of learning.

The research department of political economy is engaged in important and fruitful work, which is of great significance for the country's economic planning. At present a post-graduate course to prepare highly trained Marxist scientists is being organised, by the Socialist Academy.

Under Academy auspices classes are held in the working-class districts of the capital. An average of 700 people attend these classes and sometimes, as was the case with the lecture "The USSR is the Leading Force in World Progress", 2,000 people turn up.

We are faced with serious tasks in the sphere of ideological-political training—tasks which can be solved only by the efforts of the entire Party. Of great significance in this respect is the decision of the recent plenum of the Executive Committee, which draws the attention of all Party organisations to the paramount importance of the ideological-political education of Communists. The plenum decision will greatly help to improve the organisation, as well as the content of ideological-political education of Communists, and thus equip the Party for the further struggle for Socialism.

## THE YOUTH OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY. RATO DUGONIĆ

The “People’s Youth of Yugoslavia,” which is a unified organisation of the young people of our country numbers over 1 million members who regularly pay their dues and take part in the work of the organisation. This does not include pioneers and youth in the army or those young people not registered in the organisation but who take part in its work. Only an inconsiderable part of the young people remain outside the “People’s Youth” organisation. The “People’s Youth” is a stable body with a clear ideology, it is not an alliance of different youth organisations, as is sometimes incorrectly believed by our comrades abroad.

The unity of the young people of Yugoslavia was cemented during the war of liberation, in severe battles against the invaders and the traitors, and in the struggle for the new social order in Yugoslavia.

Although numerous attempts were made, the bourgeois parties in pre-war Yugoslavia failed to create youth organisations embracing the majority of the young people. In those days the national, religious and other youth organisations did not have a popular character.

The initiative in creating a democratic youth organisation belongs to the Communist Party. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia always included the demands of the youth in the general programme of struggle of our peoples. This fact was of great importance for the correct development of the youth movement both before and after the war, for the youth knew that they could achieve their demands only by supporting the struggle of the working people.

When building the united anti-fascist youth movement, the Communist Party encountered the resistance of the majority of the former youth leaders who followed an anti-democratic line and who acted as puppets of the capitalist parties.

It is quite understandable that this attitude completely discredited these leaders in the eyes of their members.

of the youth organisations, the Communist Party relied on the united youth organisation—the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia (SKOU). Despite the difficult conditions of underground work the SKOU had 35,000 members in the Spring of 1941. Strengthening the SKOU ideologically and organisationally, the Communist Party always guided it along the lines of securing unity, and thanks to the correct implementation of this policy the SKOU actually became the centre of the united youth movement. Its

members learned to work with the youth, explained the programme of the People's Front and rallied them for this programme.

Thus, at the time of the occupation our youth had already acquired traditions of anti-fascist struggle. The student demands for the autonomy of the university, the strikes of apprentices in many enterprises, the strikes in a number of higher schools against the fascisation of studies—all those actions were components of the struggle' which our people waged under the leadership of the Communist Party against the fascist menace. Even in those days our youth maintained contacts with the antifascist youth movements abroad.

During the liberation war they formed their own organisations based on the programme of struggle against the invader. In 1941 youth leagues of the People's Liberation, which came into being throughout Yugoslavia, united all the young people willing to fight against the invader. The Young Communist League was the heart and soul of these leagues.

The youth organisations at once became ardent supporters of the People's Front. Tens of thousands of young men and women joined the People's Liberation Army. In 1942 the first labour brigades were formed on the liberated territory to assist the People's Liberation Committees, and large-scale work in the field of cultural and political education of our youth started.

Addressing the first youth congress in Bijac in December 1942, Comrade Tito described the role of the youth in the liberation struggle in these words: "From the moment of the enslavement of our country and the attack on the fraternal Soviet Union, when the Communist Party called upon the people to defend their lives and our country, the young people were the first to volunteer for the small partisan units, which gradually grew into the forces which now constitute the Liberation Army. We may proudly state that 70-75 per cent of the fighters in the People's Liberation Army are representatives of the new generation of our peoples."

The congress marked a big step towards the further consolidation of the unity among the youth. The youth leaders of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina formed a United League of the Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia— USAOI— and adopted a unified programme and organisational principles.

Every day of fighting against difficulties and hardships reinforced the ranks of our youth, strengthened them not only in the struggle against the invaders but also in building a new, people's Yugoslavia, the foundations of which were laid at the Second Congress of the Anti-Fascist Assembly at Jajice in 1943.

In the course of the sharp political struggle that developed after the war the youth demonstrated their wholehearted support of the People's Front. During the elections to the Constituent Assembly, 98 per cent of the young

voters voted for the candidates of the People's Front.

At the Third Youth Congress in May 1946 a united youth organisation, the "People's Youth of Yugoslavia", was formed and the rules and programme of the organisation adopted.

How did the former youth organisations fare and what part did they play in the formation of the united youth organisation?

The Young Communist League was the only big organisation which joined the United League of the Anti-Fascist Youth en masse. In Slovenia, together with the Young Communist League; the whole of the Peasant Youth Union entered the United League. The majority of the former youth leaders revealed their true colours during the war. They followed the example of the leaders of the bourgeois political parties, and either fled abroad or tried to put their organisations at the disposal of the invaders. The vast majority of the rank and file of these organisations joined the struggle against the invaders and their mercenaries and therefore against their treacherous leaders. Such was the case, for example, in the Catholic youth organisations, in the "Domotoi" and "Krizari" unions, etc. Immediately after the war some parties tried to revive their youth organisations under false democratic labels. But they suffered failure, for the young people realised that those organisations would be ranged against the new Yugoslavia.

The harmony of the "People's Youth is reflected in the unified programme for which it is working, and on the basis of which it is educating its members. This means that the "People's Youth" is educating its members in the spirit of certain economic, political and cultural ideas accepted by the People's Front, in the spirit of love and loyalty to their country, in the spirit of the struggle for Socialism.

The "People's Youth" grew as a progressive organisation not by means of recruiting to the Young Communist League, which before the war was the only revolutionary youth organisation. The "People's Youth" as a new organisation, with a broad political platform, made it possible for the youth from different social strata to take a direct part in the struggle, first against the invaders and now in the struggle for the building of a new Yugoslavia. The task of the "People's Youth" is to help the youth to an understanding of the scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The leading organs of the "People's Youth" are composed of young men and women who took part in the liberation struggle and who are now active in building Socialism. The main aim of the "People's Youth" at present is the struggle for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

Comrade Tito has praised the work of our youth in the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan. In his speech at the opening of the Youth Railway he addressed the young builders with the following words:

"You have given an example of how one should work. You, the builders of the railway and other big undertakings, the working men and women in the

factories and enterprises, are the transmitters of creative labour enthusiasm in the country, you are inspiring all honest people to new labour exploits.” Our factories now boast thousands of innovators, rationalizers and shock-brigade workers.

The recent Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the “People’s Youth” advanced new tasks in connection with the development of agricultural cooperatives, and the introduction of scientific methods of land cultivation, etc.

Most important is the job of helping to train specialists. The “People’s Youth” has always played a big role in training new personnel. During the war the organisation trained thousands of officers and people for the civil service.

In an interview with a correspondent of the Soviet newspaper, “Komsomolskaya Pravda” Comrade Tito said:

“We are endeavouring to place our youth, who played such a great part in the liberation struggle, in all the administrative bodies and in cultural institutions and organisations.”

We have many young deputies, both in the Council of the Union and in the local People’s Committees.

The “People’s Youth” is helping the Five-Year Plan by organising labour brigades which independently, or jointly with other People’s Front organisations are taking part in building different undertakings. Last year young people took part in building 59 major undertakings. Some 280,000 young men and women were engaged in this work for a period of two months.

If we count also the local construction jobs at which the youth contributed from one to two days labour, then the number of youth volunteers during 1947 reached the 1,000,000 mark.

In the course of seven months the youth built the 242 kilometre long Samac-Sarajevo railway, which with sidings and stations totals 320 kilometres. Over 200,000 young men and women helped build this railway, which opens the way to the natural riches of Bosnia.

However, the significance of this voluntary labour is not exhausted by the economic results. By their voluntary work the youth have demonstrated that for them labour is a matter of honour, and that they are beginning to regard labour in a new, socialist way. This voluntary work facilitated the political and cultural development of our youth. During the building of the Youth Railway, some 16,000 young men and women learned to read and write.

Apart from this, 9,000 young people went through training courses there. Over 1,000 lectures were delivered. One of the outstanding features of the labour initiative of the youth is that a large number of young men and women from the countryside were initiated into industrial trades.

During 1948 the “People’s Youth” will help in the construction of a number

of big undertakings (hydro-electric stations and factories) and In the house building programme sponsored by the cooperatives. The “People’s Youth” organisation will help the local People’s Front and the cooperatives to make sure that each village has its own cooperative club.

By helping to build up a democratic state, the “People’s Youth” is fighting for the consolidation of people’s democracy. It stands to reason that without a stable political and organisational unity the youth of our country would not be able to play the role they are playing now.

Our young people are closely linked with the progressive youth of the world. The fact that nearly 6,000 young men and women from 42 countries took part in building the Samac-Sarajevo railway indicates the sympathy of the democratic youth of the world for the new Yugoslavia and its youth.

Young people from all five continents came to Yugoslavia not only to see the youth railway, but to see the new Yugoslavia, and to help in its work. They realise that the consolidation of the new Yugoslavia means a strengthening of people’s democracy, a strengthening of the anti-imperialist front.

The “People’s youth of Yugoslavia” will in the future remain in the front ranks of the World Youth Federation which is fighting against imperialism for the wellbeing of the new generation.

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## **THE STRUGGLE OF THE FRENCH TRADE UNIONS AGAINST THE SPLITTERS OF THE WORKING CLASS. PIERRE HENTGÉS**

During the November and December strikes reaction and the Socialist



leaders fully exposed themselves as the enemies of the working class and brought their last reserves into play. These reserves were the splitting elements in the unions, who until then had shouted about the independence of trade unions. By adopting an attitude of hostility towards the strike movement they revealed themselves in their true colours as the agents of the right-wing Socialists and the anti-labour Government.

All the most criminal repressions, all the manoeuvres to break the strike, all the attempts to destroy the CGT were conceived by Leon Blum and the Socialist Party on the categorical orders of Washington. Behind the anti-labour policy of the apostles of the “third force” loomed the shadow of the pretender to the role of fascist dictator. Not without reason one of the RPF spokesmen informed the News Chronicle correspondent, William Forest, that: **“General de Gaulle will return to power as soon as the backbone of the CGT is broken”**.

Thus, the split in the French trade unions was prepared and effected by all the elements of the American party, from Leon Blum to de Gaulle. The Wall Street plutocrats have not forgiven the General Confederation of Labour its vigorous opposition to the “Marshall Plan”. At the November session of the National Council of the Confederation, Jouhaux openly advocated American “aid”, but he met with defeat. By a majority of 857 votes against 127 the National Committee adopted a resolution, which denounced the “Marshall Plan” as US interference in the domestic policy of France.

A split in the C.G.T. and its abolition is all the more important to the American imperialists since once this was accomplished it could then question unity in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In furtherance of their subversive schemes the American imperialists delegated Irving Brown to Europe. Nominally a representative of the American Federation of Labour in Europe, Brown is actually a zealous agent of the State Department and its expansionist policy.

Supplied with a million dollars, placed at his disposal by the AF of L, according to the organ of the Socialist Party, “Le Populaire”, Irving Brown has been carrying on splitting activities in Europe, and especially in France, Belgium and Germany, since 1946.

To ensure speedy success the American millionaires had their man also inside the rival organisation of the AF of L—the Congress of Industrial Organisation.

On November 12, 1947 the Secretary of the CIO, who is also a member of the Harriman committee for putting the “Marshall Plan” into effect James Carey, travelled to Europe to campaign for the American plan of expansion.

Leon Jouhaux, for his part, when visiting the USA last October, met Marshall and supported his plan for the “restoration” of Europe’s capitalist economy.

On December 4, John Foster Dulles, political adviser to the head of the State Department, travelled to Paris and at the very height of the strike interviewed Blum and Jouhaux.

Prompted by Dulles, the Socialist ministers adopted extraordinary laws, called up reserves, gave orders to use tear gas against the strikers, to open fire on the people. At the same time Jouhaux and his accomplices, the splitters in the "Force Ouvrier" group betrayed the workers by repeatedly calling upon the strikers to return to work.

The arbitrary violation of trade union discipline, and the revolt of the minority against the majority were the first steps in the extensive plan to split the forces of the working class, a plan which was conceived well in advance and secretly and patiently carried out.

In July 1946 the Socialist leaders, with the approval of Blum, began their splitting activities in the Post Office Workers' Federation, proclaiming the slogan: "At all costs wrest the leadership of the CGT from the Communists." In April 1947 the group that broke away from the Post Office Workers' Federation, and organised by the right-wing Socialists, received financial assistance to the tune of 300,000 francs from Irving Brown. Resorting to every kind of manoeuvre the traitors and splitters in the Socialist Party tried to break up the metro Workers' Union and Metal Workers' Union in the Paris district. But these manoeuvres met with little success.

During the recent strike the Government and capitalists delegated the splitters the task not only to demoralise the militant workers and break the strike, but to secure one of reaction's cherished aims, namely, to **divide the working class**.

Outwardly it appeared as if the split had been organised by Jouhaux and the "Force Ouvrier" group alone. Actually, however, the appropriate slogans had been supplied by the inveterate traitor Blum and all the right-wing Socialists.

Just before Christmas Blum wrote in "Le Populaire": "We must use all our influence in the working masses to support the liberation movement started by the 'Force Ouvrier' group".

On December 17 the National Council of the Socialist Party called for the creation of a "third force" On the 18th the "Force Ouvrier" group held a conference. By the 19th the split had been achieved. Leon Jouhaux and four other CGT secretaries withdrew from the General Confederation of Labour. The split in the French trade union movement, which aims at isolating the more progressive section of the working class, is part of the general preparations for war against democracy and the Soviet Union. The international significance of this split was apparent on the day it was actually effected. The ink had scarcely dried on Jouhaux's letter of resignation than the Secretariat of the CIO sent a telegram to Paris assuring

Jouhaux of their support in setting up a new organ in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

However, the “new organ”, that is, a new trade union body, has not yet been set up. The CIO were overhasty! But the telegram confirms that the split in the French trade union movement was hatched in the US.

We are confident that all attempts at splitting the General Confederation of Labour will meet with defeat.

The membership of the CGT knows that never since the unity congress in 1936 had the French trade union movement so many social gains to its credit. They also know that the split brought about by Jouhaux in September 1939, and the expulsion of the Communists from the CGT on orders from Daladier, who fought not against Hitler but against the French working class, initiated a period of hardship and oppression for the French people. The workers, anxious to defend the independence of their trade unions and of the country, are in their overwhelming majority, faithful to the CGT. Eight of the 13 members of the National Council and also a large majority of the industrial federations and trade union organisations in the Departments have declared for the CGT.

Some federations, for example, the miners, who were most active during the strike, have considerably increased their membership. There has been an increase in membership even in those federations where undermining activities were carried on for many months, as can be seen from the example of the Post Office Workers. Finally, recent elections to the factory committees, for example, at the Cail factory in Denain were distinguished by a big increase in the votes cast for the CGT nominations.

The financial and industrial magnates, headed by the Schuman-Meyer Government, are going ahead with their policy of raising prices; they are trying to wipe out the gains secured by the strikes and, leading French economy to destruction, are facilitating the transformation of France into a US colony.

Combating the anti-workers’ government and its lackeys, the working people of France realise that their salvation lies in a united trade union movement.

They are aware also of the crimes of their enemies. They see the evidence of these crimes in the refusal of Schuman-Meyer and Moch, supported by Blum, to guarantee the purchasing power of wages; in the fact that during the past two months the price of coal rose 107 per cent, gas—45 per cent, electricity—120 per cent, manufactured goods—40-60 per cent, while rents are up 18-19 per cent. They have evidence of this in the tax increases, which will reduce the already low wages still further, in the reactionary majority, composed of de Gaullists and Socialists, who have enacted laws similar to the Taft-Hartley law in the US, that is laws restricting trade union rights and the right to strike; in the fact that workers are jailed and State officials

dismissed and deprived of their livelihood. The working people now know their Mock, whose hands are stained with the blood of the strikers; they know their Blum, the inspirer of strikebreakers, Jouhaux the man in the French trade union movement in 1921 and in 1939.

The French workers will maintain their CGT, for thus will they guarantee their existence, compel reaction to retreat, and simultaneously serve the cause of democracy, peace and the independence of France.

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# FASCISTS IN BRITAIN UNDER LABOUR MINISTER'S PROTECTION (A LETTER FROM LONDON)

Hardly had the last echoes of the thunder of war rolled away than the British fascists, followers of Mosley, were released from the jails where they had been detained. Mosley himself had been released during the war by Herbert Morrison the Labour Home Secretary in the Coalition Government.

One of Mosley's former colleagues, William Joyce, better known as Lord Haw Haw, was hanged as a traitor in 1945. Joyce travelled to Germany shortly before the outbreak of war and became known as Lord Haw Haw while broadcasting for Goebbels. Even then, in 1945, while his former colleague was awaiting a traitor's death at the hangman's hands, Mosley insolently declared: My political opinions are in no way changed. A period of secret building-up followed the release of the British "Fuehrer".

But memories of the blitz and the V weapons, of Maidanek, Oswiescim, Buchenwald and the other death camps were too fresh in people's minds. Haw Haw was only one of the many former Mosley Fascists that had joined forces with Hitler. These traitors were now being tried and the court revelations did not redound to Mosley's credit. The "Fuehrer" was forced to bide his time. Eventually, an organisation emerged in London under the name: British League of Ex-Servicemen. Other groups with other names began to appear in the provinces.

With Mosley still backstage the so-called League of Ex-Servicemen went into action. Its members deliberately went into the East End of London where there is a considerable Jewish population. They engaged in the wildest anti-Semitic ravings, called for war on Communism, for a line-up with America against the USSR. In selecting the Jewish quarter the British fascists were playing an old Hitler game. They provoked disorders and the disorders brought them sensational press publicity.

For a moment Londoners were stunned at the ease with which the fascists, so soon after the war' and with a Labour Government sitting in Westminster, were able to renew their activities. Soon, they learned that the Fascists were contacting German prisoners-of-war, inviting them to their meetings and painting the swastika and slogans on walls in the vicinity of the camps.

Then the trade union branches and other organisations began to flood the Home Office with resolutions denouncing the freedom given to Fascists. Ede, the Home Secretary, was reminded time and again that during the war and at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences solemn pledges were given to secure the "utter destruction of Nazism and Fascism". To these appeals Ede replied with the humbug that "freedom of speech was sacred". Angry

workers who had fought Fascism in North Africa, Italy and on the beaches at Normandy described Ede's cant as license for the Fascist to go right ahead.

Whatever "complacency" there was in Whitehall there was certainly none now in the more humble areas North and South of the Thames.

Disillusioned by Government inaction, the people began to take matters into their own hands. Fascist meetings were broken up. The would-be "orators" were forced to flee from an enraged Hackney to the more imposing quiet of bourgeois Kensington. It was then that the "Socialist" Ede became Protector in Chief of the Fascists and the chief opponent of the anti-fascists. Swarms of policemen, foot, mounted and mobile were moved into Hackney to ensure freedom of speech for fascists. Throughout 1947 one could see in London each Sunday evening hundreds of policemen protecting a handful of fascists from the anti-Fascist crowds. When the shouting of the anti-Fascists drowned the ranting of the orators their police protectors would manhandle the interrupters out of the meeting in order to guarantee freedom of speech for the fascists. Many of the anti-fascists were arrested and charged with creating disorder and obstructing the police.

An ex-soldier arrested at one of these meetings was asked by the magistrate: You live in Holloway, why did you come to Hackney to this meeting, why didn't you stay at home? The lad replied: During the war the Government sent me thousands of miles to fight fascism and I'd consider myself a pretty poor specimen of manhood if I didn't take a twopenny bus ride to fight Fascism here at home. The logic of this reply did not prevent the lad from being sent to prison.

Encouraged and emboldened by the protection of hundreds of police the fascists became more and more insolent and provocative. Disorders increased and more anti-Fascists were arrested and either fined or sent to prison. Mosley, who all this time had been skulking in the shadows, and convinced from the experience of his supporters that Ede and the Labour Government would give him a free hand, decided the moment was now opportune for him to come into the open. London workers met him with volleys of bricks; London police dutifully protected him with batons.

Local working-class organisations took to the offensive against the Fascists. Members of Parliament, journalists and lawyers were invited to attend the meetings to hear what the Fascists were saying and to judge for themselves the attitude of the police. Powerful anti-Fascist demonstrations were organised by municipal councils, trade unions and local political bodies. There was no mistaking the anti-Fascist temper of the people. At these demonstrations they declared: "If the Government doesn't act we will. What did we fight the war for?" At the Trade Union Congress a resolution calling upon the Government to take action against the Fascists won unanimous support. The anti-Fascist feeling of the overwhelming mass of the people

forced the Parliamentary Labour Party to discuss the matter. Strangely enough the Secretary of the British Labour Party, the unoriginal Morgan Phillips who, imitating the Un-American Committee has now ordered a witch hunt against the Communists, appears not to have passed on to the Home Secretary the unmistakable feelings of the rank and file of the Labour Party concerning the fascists.

Ede has complained that on Monday mornings he has the “dreary job” of reading the police reports of disturbances at the Sunday evening meetings. It is known that on the other days of the week he or his secretaries have the job, dreary or otherwise, of reading countless resolutions condemning the attitude of his police officers and demanding the banning of the Fascist organisations. “Goodwill will prevail”, was his murmured admonition to a recent anti-Fascist deputation led by the Mayor of Stoke Newington. On Christmas Eve men of the Royal Air Force called at the Home Office with a message saying the time was long overdue for crushing the Fascist menace. The airmen were told that the Home Secretary “was looking into the law concerning racial hatred”. But exactly two years ago in January 1946, Ede informed the House of Commons that “the Government are giving the closest attention to the best method of dealing with Fascist activities”.

Judging from what has happened during the past two years, Ede’s “best method of dealing with fascist activities” would seem to be providing them with swarms of police to enable them hold meetings and to protect them from the wrath of the British people.

On the matter of the police and law in relation to the Fascists, Mr. D. N. Pritt, M. P. and eminent British jurist had this to say: “The way in which the police are administering it (the law) is quite astounding, and extremely helpful to the Fascists”, and Mr. Pritt adds: “... yet Mr. Ede defends this practice. And this from the Home Secretary of a Labour Government which came to power largely because we had learnt political consciousness in a war against Fascism”.

No wonder the benevolent Chuter Ede is gaining for himself the reputation of being the “Fascists’ K. C.” The British people are disgusted with the Labour Government because of its encouragement of and police protection for Mosley’s Fascists.

**Jan Marek**

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## MAO TSE-TUNG'S REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

At the recent session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which discussed the present situation in the country and the tasks of the Communist Party, the Chairman of the CP, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered a speech in which he said:

A turning point has been reached in the revolutionary war of the Chinese people. The People's Liberation Army of China has repelled the offensive of the 7 million strong reactionary army of the Kuomintang, the bloodhound of the USA, and has itself passed over to the offensive.

During the first year of the war, that is from July 1946 until June 1947, the People's Liberation Army repelled the offensive of Chiang Kai-shek on several sectors of the front, and forced him to go over to the defensive. During the first quarter of the second year of the war (July-September 1947) the People's Liberation Army launched an offensive on a national scale and frustrated the counter-revolutionary plans of the Kuomintang, plans which aimed to spread the war to the liberated areas and thus completely destroy them.

At present the war is being waged not on the territory of the liberated areas but mostly on territory controlled by the Kuomintang, where the main forces of the People's Liberation Army are now fighting.

Noting the powerful resistance offered by the Liberation Army to the forces of world imperialism and Kuomintang reaction, Mao Tse-tung stated that the Kuomintang troops have been drawn into a situation that spells disaster for them. The People's Liberation Army is marching to victory. Therein lies the turning point. This turning point leads to the annihilation of the 20-years



counter-revolutionary Kuomintang domination, to the destruction of the century-old domination of imperialism in China.

This is an outstanding event. Outstanding because it is taking place in a country with a population of 450 million. And since it has already begun it will inevitably develop along the path leading to the victory of the people.

This event is all the greater because it has come to pass in the East—in the part of the world with a population in excess of a billion. In other words where half of mankind is suffering under the yoke of imperialism.

Dwelling in detail on the relation of reactionary and democratic forces in China in July 1946, Mao Tse-tung stated: When the Kuomintang reactionaries launched their counterrevolutionary offensive throughout the country they calculated that they would need only from three to six months in which to destroy the People's Liberation Army. They reckoned on their 2,000,000 strong regular army, on the more than a million men in reserve, on the same number of troops in the rear and the personnel in the organisations in the rear—altogether over four million men. They were sure that these forces would be fit for offensive operations. The Kuomintang had large cities at its disposal, a population of over 300 million people; it had seized the munitions of the Japanese occupation army of one million men, it enjoyed the vast military and financial aid of the US government. Above all, the Kuomintang calculated that the People's Liberation Army was exhausted, as a result of eight years intensive warfare against the Japanese. Moreover, it was much weaker than the Kuomintang army numerically and in equipment.

The liberated regions of China counted a population of a little over 100 million. Reactionary feudal forces still remained in the rear. The Land Reform had not yet been fully carried out. The rear of the People's Liberation Army had not yet been consolidated.

Fully aware of this, stated Mao Tse-tung, the Chiang Kai-shek group, disregarding the desire of the Chinese people for peace, broke off the agreement signed by the Communists and the Kuomintang in January 1946, violated the resolution of the Political Consultative Council, in which the different political parties and groups were represented, and embarked on an adventurist offensive against the People's Liberation Army.

The war being waged by the People's Liberation Army is a patriotic, just and revolutionary war and must, inevitably, win the support of all the people in the country. This constitutes the political basis for victory, as borne out by the experience of the past 18 months. During the 17 months of fighting, i.e. from July 1946 to November 1947 (December is not included), we routed Chiang Kai-shek's regular and irregular armies numbering 1,690,000 men. Of this number 640,000 were killed or wounded and 1,050,000 taken prisoner. Our troops repelled the repeated offensives of Chiang Kai-shek, retained the key positions in the liberated areas and went over to the

offensive.

The reason for the victory of the People's Liberation Army is the correct strategic line pursued, speaking from the military point of view, stated Mao Tse-tung. This strategic line was elaborated by the People's Liberation Army in the course of the protracted war against the internal and external enemies of the Chinese people.

US personnel, continued Mao Tse-tung, are offering Chiang Kai-shek their strategy and tactics for the purpose of destroying the People's Liberation Army, and with this aim in view are training Kuomintang troops and supplying them with military equipment. However, these measures will not save the Kuomintang army from defeat. They will fail because our strategy and tactics are based on the principle of a people's war, and no anti-people's army can employ our strategy and tactics. The good organisation of revolutionary-political work in the Liberation Army, based on the principle of a people's war, and which aims at solidarity between the commanders and men and disintegration of the enemy, is an essential factor for victory over the enemy.

The ranks of the allies of the People's Liberation Army are today more consolidated than was the case 18 months ago. This is the result of our Party's stable alliance with the peasantry in carrying out the agrarian reform.

Relying on the poor peasants and supporting a firm alliance with the middle peasants, our policy is to destroy the system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, created by the landlord and rich peasant class of the old type, whose land and property must be distributed among the peasant masses. Although the number of landlords and rich peasants in the Chinese countryside comprise only some 8 per cent of the registered families they possess a total of 70-80 per cent of all the land. Thus the agrarian reform is directed against a small section of the population, while the people who could, and should help carry out the agrarian reform, constitute over 90 per cent of the rural inhabitants.

In his speech Mao Tse-tung devoted considerable attention to internal Party questions. Referring to the growth of the Communist Party he pointed out that in the past 11 years, that is from 1937 to 1947, the membership of the Communist Party of China increased from a few tens of thousands to 2,700,000. This, he stated, was no mean achievement. This growth makes it an unprecedentedly strong party; it has enabled us to rout the Japanese imperialists, to repel the offensive of the Kuomintang, to govern the liberated areas with a population of over 100 million and to lead the People's Liberation Army of 2 million men.

Concerning the economic platform of the new democratic revolution in China, Mao Tse-tung listed the following three tasks: confiscation of the land of the feudal classes and the handing over of this land to the peasantry;

confiscation of monopoly capital, as represented by Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Tsi-wei, Koong Siang-si and Chen LI-fu, and the placing of this capital under the control of the new democratic state; the protection of national industry and trade. During their twenty years in power the above-mentioned four families have accumulated enormous capital, running, into some 10 to 20 thousand million American, dollars, and have monopolised the economic life of the country. This monopoly capital merged with the State power, and became State monopoly capital. It is closely linked to foreign imperialism, and the national landlord class and to all rich peasantry of the old type who have become compradore-feudal capitalists, within the system of State monopoly capitalism. Therein lies the economic, foundation of the reactionary regime of the Kuomintang. This State monopoly capitalism not only oppresses the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, but also the middle classes. State-monopoly capitalism reached its highest point of development during the war against Japan and after her capitulation. It prepared all the material conditions for a few democratic revolution.

Mao Tse-tung, warned against pursuing an “ultra-left” incorrect policy in relation to the middle-class and petty bourgeoisie, which was the case with the Chinese Communist Party during 1931-34.

The underlying principle of the agrarian reform, in China, stated Mao Tse-tung, was that “the property and legitimate activities of the industrial enterprises and trading concerns must be protected against interference.” “Industrial enterprises and trading concerns” refers to all small and medium-sized enterprises of this nature.

Our new democratic revolutionary united front today, continued Mao Tse-tung, has a broader base and is more consolidated than ever before. This is the result not only of our agrarian policy and policy in relation to the urban population. It is also the result, to a great extent, of the general political situation, characterised by the victories of the People’s Liberation Army, by the passing over of the Kuomintang from the offensive to the defensive, by the passing over of the People’s, Liberation Army from the defensive to the offensive, and by the new upsurge of the Chinese revolution. The people now see that the downfall of the Kuomintang is inevitable, and they are therefore placing all their hopes on the Chinese Communist Party and the People’s Liberation Army.

The victory, of the new democratic revolution in China is impossible without a broad united front, embracing the overwhelming majority of the population. But this is not enough. The united front must be under the firm leadership of the Communist Party. Without this firm leadership no revolutionary united front can be successful.

Referring to the imperialist policy of the United States in China, Mao Tse-tung went on to say:

In 1946, when the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek bloc launched their anti-people's civil war on a nationwide scale, they embarked on this venture not because they relied on their own military forces, but, primarily, because they calculated that American imperialism, being in possession of the atom bomb, represented the most powerful and irresistible force in the world. But is American imperialism today, after World War II, really as powerful as imagined by Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries in the different countries? Can Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries in the different countries really depend on permanent aid from the US? Not at all. The economic might of American imperialism, which expanded during World War II, has come up against the unstable and steadily shrinking home and foreign market. The further shrinking of this market will lead to an economic crisis. Wartime prosperity in the US was merely a passing phenomenon, something temporary, American imperialism is daily threatened by a crisis, which will erupt like a volcano; in fact the American imperialists literally are sitting on a volcano. This state of affairs compelled the American imperialists to elaborate a plan of world enslavement for the penetration of Europe, Asia and other parts of the globe for uniting the reactionary forces in the different countries into an imperialist, anti-democratic front opposed to all the democratic forces, headed by the Soviet Union, to prepare for a third world war. Such is their world plan. The democratic forces of the world must frustrate this plan. The forces in the anti-imperialist camp are stronger than the forces in the imperialist camp. All the anti-imperialist forces of the East, stated Mao Tse-tung in conclusion, must unite against imperialism and the reactionaries in their countries, and make it the aim of their struggle to liberate the people of the oppressed 'East, who number more than a billion. We must take our destiny into our own hands. We must purge our ranks of all backward and vacillating elements. All viewpoints that overestimate the strength of' the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people, are wrong. Together with the democratic forces of the world we must exert every effort and then we shall unquestionably be victorious over the imperialist plans of enslavement, shall prevent a third world war and thus get rid of the yoke of the reactionaries and secure the triumph of lasting peace for mankind.

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