

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

After World War II the peoples of Yugoslavia, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary effected bold democratic changes, changes which have fundamentally transformed the political and social-economic structure of these countries. The old political and bourgeois-landlord state apparatus was overthrown, or is in the process of being overthrown, in everyone of these countries along different lines and at different times. However, the feature common to all of them is the removal of the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords from power and the transfer of this power to the hands of the working people-workers, peasants, progressive intelligentsia.

As was the case with the national liberation movement during the war against fascism, so too, today, in the process of consolidating the people's power and economic rehabilitation in the countries of the new democracy the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties—play the leading, organising and mobilising role. The new State structure of the people's democracy, which in the shortest space of time has introduced progressive democratic reforms, such as bourgeois democracy is no longer capable of came into being precisely as a result of the struggle of

the working class led by the Communists and supported by the broad masses.

Of great importance in the political and economic development of the new democracies were the industrial and banking reforms, which laid the foundation for State and public-owned property. In Yugoslavia all large-scale and medium-sized industry, the entire wholesale and much of retail trade, the banks, transport, etc. passed into the hands of the State at the end of 1946. Also in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Albania the basic industries and banks have been nationalised. With the nationalisation of industry and the banks the new democracies have solved two major tasks—the economic power of the national bourgeoisie, which nature home-bred reaction, has been broken and the direct influence of foreign capital on the economy of the people's republics eradicated.

In the new democracies where the State holds the key positions in the economy, the organs of the people's authorities have set about planning the economy. In some of them the scale of the planning is in direct ratio to the role played by the State sector in the national economy. A common feature in the economic life in all the new democracies is their withdrawal from the anarchy of capitalist economy and the gradual

transition to planned socialist economy.

An agrarian reform has been successfully realised in the new democracies. It has given 24 million acres of land to agricultural labourers and small peasants in Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania and

Czechoslovakia. The remnants of feudalism in the countryside have in the main been abolished and the popular governments' policy of encouraging cooperative agriculture will make it possible for the peasantry to emerge from misery and poverty will narrow the base of the exploiting elements in the countryside and gradually oust them.

The agrarian reform has greatly enhanced the authority of the people's power, has consolidated the bonds of the working class with the peasantry, created the conditions for the rapid development of agriculture and has improved the standard of living. Thanks to the assistance rendered in the form of State credits, seed supplies and agricultural implements, and also to the help given by factory workers the peasantry have, at last, come into their own and are on the high road to prosperity. Last year some of the new democracies had progressed to the extent that pre-war crop areas were left far behind.

Holding the key positions in the economy, and relying on the cooperative sector, the people's power controls and influences the private capitalist sector: it is in a position to pursue a purposeful economic policy, which promotes the growth of the socialist sector and restricts and isolates private capital. All this makes it possible for the people's republics successfully to combat unemployment and inflation. Relations with the planned, socialist economy of the Soviet Union, and its political and economic experience in Socialist construction are of enormous significance for the economic development of the people's democracies.

In the course of two years peaceful construction since

World War II the Soviet State, founded by the great Lenin has once again demonstrated to the world the, vast superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system. The USSR which is successfully carrying out its post-war Five Year Plan, accords friendly support to the peoples who have broken away from the imperialist yoke and have taken the path of socialist development. These friendly relations and support are exercising a beneficial influence on the economy of the new democracies are helping them to rehabilitate and develop their economy at a more rapid rate to stabilise their currency and to heal the wounds of war, while preserving and consolidating their national independence.

Poland, which suffered war damage to the amount of 16,000 million dollars, the equivalent of 40 annual budgets, has reached and surpassed the pre-war output level in the basic industries (coal—153 per cent, steel—106 per cent, etc.); industrial output in Yugoslavia in 1947 reached, 167 per cent of the pre-war figure; Hungary's monthly output of steel, pig iron, and coal averaged 108 per cent compared to 1938: Bulgaria, too has topped the pre-war figure for industrial output while Czechoslovakia and Rumania are approximating the pre-war level.

A rapid rate of industrialisation is typical of all the countries of the people's democracy. Agrarian Yugoslavia, which prior to the war imported everything, down to the simplest machines, is now forging ahead industrially. The country's five year economic plan envisages a fivefold increase in industrial output; electric power will increase by 3,25

billion kilowatt in 1951 compared to 1939. Bulgaria's two-year economic plan provides for a 67 per cent increase in industrial output by 1948 over the 1939 figure etc, The steady improvement in the material well-being of the working people is a direct outcome of the economic achievements of the new democracies. In a number of them real wages are higher than the pre-war level whereas in others wages are climbing steadily and approaching the pre-war figure. The realisation of the economic plans will still further enhance the wellbeing of the people.

The knowledge that enterprises are operating not in the interests of the capitalists but for the welfare of the people is stimulating a new attitude to labour. Emulation among the workers to increase the productivity of labour, to fulfil the economic plans is gaining momentum in all the people's republics.

While' the new democracies are developing apace are on the upgrade, the same cannot be said of the capitalist countries. Despite their incomparably smaller war losses, and the passage of time since the war ended, the capitalist countries are still floundering in the grip of postwar difficulties. What is more, their economy is steadily crumbling under the blows of a growing economic crisis and inflation. Instead of conditions improving we see a sharp rise in prices, mounting inflation, wage cuts increasing unemployment.

The ruling classes in the capitalist countries which suffered from the war hand in glove with the rightwing Socialists are bartering the national sovereignty for dubious American aid. Under the yoke of American

imperialism these countries are to an ever increasing extent losing their independence and are actually becoming the satellites, economic appendages of the USA; their economy is declining and the impoverishment of the people is increasing.

An immediate outcome of the notorious “Marshall Plan” is the closing down of many enterprises, the mass dismissals of workers, depression and chaos in the economy of the European countries that have come under the control of the USA.

The zealous champions of the “Marshall Plan”—Attlee, Bevin, Blum and company are literally crawling out of their skins to depict this plan as the panacea for all evils, as selfless American generosity. Actually however, it is daily being

borne out that the “American aid for Europe” is nothing other than a plan of the American trusts to monopolise the European markets to eliminate the industrial competition of the European countries and to ensure themselves against the impending economic crisis. Even industrialists of Western Europe are beginning to protest against American penetration, against the “Marshall Plan”. Apart from the masses themselves, British importers, French film magnates are protesting. Several hundred Italian industrialists have formed a committee to combat the American and Italian, monopolies and have turned for support to the Confederation of Labour, which is led by the Left parties.

The conservative "Daily Express" recently wrote that it would be impermissible to allow the USA to dictate

where, when and in what instances the British Government should follow a given course. The British, people, states the paper, do not intend to sell their financial independence for tobacco, prunes and egg powder in keeping with the "Marshall Plan".

Indignation is growing among the popular masses at the fact that the Americans are more and more insolently beginning to dictate their will to entire nations, that the sovereignty of European countries is being sold for powdered eggs. Great credit is due the Communist Parties which headed the struggle for national independence, for opening the eyes of the masses to this state of affairs.

When the countries of the people's democracies refused to submit to the "Marshall Plan" and to sell themselves to the American dollar, the bourgeois economists in one voice prophesied the disorganisation and collapse of the economy in those countries. Life has proved otherwise. The new democracies began to rebuild their economy independently by mobilising their own resources by relying on the creative initiative of their peoples, on the mutual and friendly support of the great land of Socialism. As a result they have retained their independence have become the masters of their destiny and advanced far ahead along the path of social economic reforms and progress.

The building up of the new democracies in a number of countries is another heavy blow to the world system of capitalism. These new regimes have narrowed the base of the capitalist system, have eaten into its reserves and shown the oppressed peoples an

example of struggle for Liberation from exploitation an
example of struggle for peace, for socialism.

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COMMUNIQUE OF MEETING OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE NINE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the middle of January the Information Bureau of the Nine Communist Parties held a meeting in Yugoslavia attended by the representatives of the following Central Committees: Communist Party of Yugoslavia Comrades I. Gosnjak and B. Zihlerl; Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) Comrade B. Poptomov; Communist Party of Rumania—Comrades I. Kisbenevsky and L.

Rautu; Hungarian Communist Party—Comrades M. Horvath and Z. Biro; Polish Workers' Party—Comrades Z. Klishko and J. Finkelstein; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—Comrades P. Yudin and V. Grigoryan; Communist Party of France—Comrades A. Leoeur and P. Hentges; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—Comrades B. Geminder and B. Voda-Peksa, Communist Party of Italy—Comrades D. Rossi and D. Pajetta.

The Information Bureau discussed the question of a permanent editorial board of the Inform bureau's printed organ "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!"

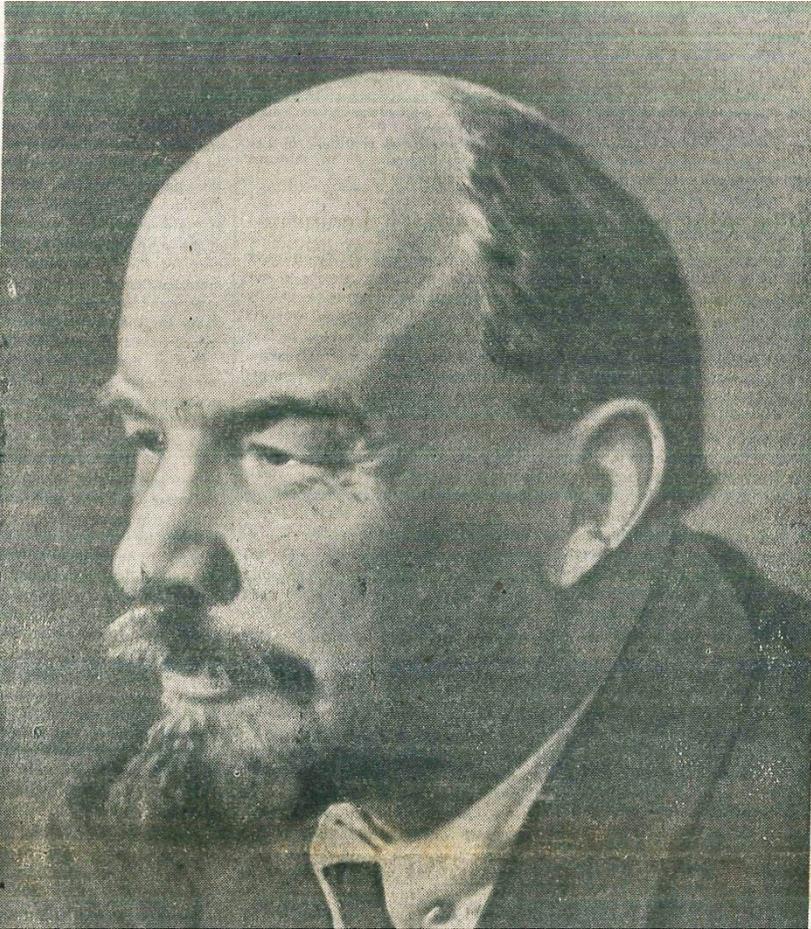
The Information Bureau agreed on the following:

Since the provisional editorial board, formed to publish the materials of the conference of the nine Communist Parties, has completed its task to organise a permanent editorial board composed of representatives of the nine Communist Parties.

The composition of the editorial board has been approved as follows: Z. Biro, A. Buikan, B. Voda-Peksa, P. Hentges, M. Gorshich, V. Grigoryan, B. Ziherl, D. Pajetta, J. Finkelstein, H. Halachev, N. Shumilov, P. Yudin (Editor-in-Chief).

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IN MEMORY OF LENIN



On the 24th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilych Lenin the working people throughout the world

honoured the memory of the great leader and teacher of the working people. Memorial meetings were held in India and China, in America and Africa, in Britain and Italy—every—where where the workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia are fighting for peace, for genuine democracy.

On January 21, the 24th anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin, the Soviet people honoured the memory of the greatest genius of the revolution, the founder of the Socialist State and Bolshevik Party. Memorial meetings were held throughout the country which summarised the results of fulfilment of Lenin's behests.

The memorial meeting in Moscow, held in the Bolshoi Theatre, was attended by members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU(B), headed by Comrade Stalin. Comrade M. A. Suslov, Secretary of the CC CPSU(B), addressed the meeting.

Memorial meetings were held in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Tbilisi, Alma-Ata and other cities. The meetings noted the great achievements of the Soviet republics, which are advancing to Communism along the Lenin path, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

The Lenin memorial meeting held in Paris, in the "Mutualite" hall, was opened by Marcel Cachin and addressed by Maurice Thorez.

Thorez dwelt on the successes of Leninism, which has become the standard of struggle of the working people of the world, analysed the present international situation and defined the tasks confronting the working class and the Communist Party of France.

In Warsaw a report on the life and work of Lenin was delivered by Sokorski, secretary of the CC of the Polish Trade Unions.

Memorial meetings were held also at many Warsaw factories, in the different youth organisations, and in the club of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

The Lenin anniversary was widely celebrated by the working people of Czechoslovakia. A meeting in Prague was devoted to the teachings of Lenin. M. Bares, chairman of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, was the speaker.

Similar meetings were held in other towns of the Republic.

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THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC

A big event in the national life of the USSR was the thirtieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

During these thirty years the Ukraine has changed beyond recognition. Gross output of industry has increased eleven fold compared to 1913, that of its machine-building industry fiftyfold of the iron and steel works more than thirtyfold. Among the dozens of large factories built during the Stalin Five-Year Plans are: "Zaporozhstal", the Stalin Novo-Kramatorsk works, the Kharkov tractor plant, "Azovstal", the combine plant, etc. With its highly developed mining, iron and steel, machine-building and chemical industries the Ukraine occupies an important place in Soviet industry. The Ukrainian SSR is the birthplace of the famous Stakhanov movement.

Collective farming has transformed the small, scattered, peasant households into large mechanised farms. Prior to the German invasion the Ukraine produced 8 million tons more grain and nearly 6 million tons more sugar beet than in 1913.

Education and culture generally, national in form and Socialist in content, record the same proud progress. Thousands of new schools were opened, in the towns and villages. The Ukraine now has its own national theatres, scientific-research institutes, universities. The Ukrainian people have produced eminent scientists

splendid engineers and technicians, skilled workers, agricultural expert.

Only under Soviet power were the people able to realise their age-old dream of uniting all the Ukrainian territories into a single Ukrainian state, the population of which is as great as that of some of the biggest countries in Europe.

During the Great Patriotic War the Ukrainians, together with the rest of the Soviet people, bravely defended their native land.

They celebrated their thirtieth anniversary of Soviet power with major achievements in post-war rehabilitation and the development of the national economy. Last year the gross industrial output in the Ukraine registered a 33 per cent increase compared to 1946. Agriculture, too, is on the upgrade.

The thirtieth anniversary of the . Ukrainian SSR was celebrated throughout the Soviet Union. The jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian. SSR held in Kiev was addressed by Molotov on behalf of the Soviet Government, the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), and Comrade. Stalin. Congratulations were received from all the republics and regions of the Soviet Union and from many progressive organisations abroad.

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THE IDEAS OF LENIN ILLUMINE PATH TO COMMUNISM

**Report Delivered by M. A. Suslov on January 21,
1948, at Memorial Meeting Held in Moscow on
Occasion of 24th Anniversary of Death of V. I.
Lenin**

Comrades!

Twenty-four years have elapsed since Vladimir Ilych Lenin died. On Jan. 21, 1924, that genius of mankind, organizer of the Bolshevik Party, founder of the Soviet state and leader, teacher and friend of the working people of the world departed this life.

The Central Committee of our Party, in its message "To the Party and All Working People", wrote in those days of mourning:

"Never since the time of Marx has the history of the great movement for the emancipation of the proletariat produced so gigantic a figure as our late leader, teacher and friend. Everything that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat—fearlessness of mind, iron, inflexible, stubborn and all conquering will, sacred hatred, mortal hatred of slavery and oppression, the revolutionary fervor that moves mountains, boundless faith in the creative powers of the masses, and immense organizational genius—found their magnificent embodiment in Lenin, whose name became the symbol of a new world from West to East, and from North to South."

With every passing year the beloved and endearing image of Lenin rises before us in ever increasing grandeur. The unfading ideas of Leninism gain ever new millions of followers and exercise an ever-growing influence on the entire course of world history.

Nearly a quarter of a century after Lenin's death, the Bolshevik Party is marching firmly and steadfast along the Lenin path, fighting and conquering under the banner of Leninism. All these years the victorious standard of Leninism has been held aloft by Lenin's disciple and colleague the leader of the Bolshevik Party, the worthy successor and great continuer of Lenin's cause—Comrade Stalin (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

1. The All-Conquering Strength of Leninism

The Socialist society built in our country by the Soviet people, led by the Bolshevik Party is the living embodiment of the all-conquering ideas of Leninism.

Lenin dedicated his entire life to the cause of awakening the toiling millions to conscious constructive effort of making them the masters of their own lives; active builders of a new Socialist society. The struggle of the Communist Party, guided by Lenin and Stalin, for the triumph of the new Socialist order has yielded magnificent fruits. The masses, guided by Lenin's ideas, have already built a Socialist society in our country and are confidently marching toward Communism.

The Soviet Union affords an inspiring example to the

peoples of all countries of how to reconstruct society in the interests of the working people by mustering the revolutionary creative energies and constructive initiative and resourcefulness of the masses. The Soviet state, which Lenin founded, has stood all the tests of history. The Patriotic War against the fascist invaders demonstrated the unbreakable might of the Soviet state in all its greatness. The ardent



patriotism and unparalleled heroism of the Soviet people at the front and in the rear furnished vivid testimony of the greatness and virility of the Socialist system.

The post-war period in the development of the Soviet state has been marked by new victories for the working people of our country. Confidently proceeding along the Lenin path, the Soviet people are successfully coping with the tasks of post-war economic development.

The enemies of our state believed that the enormous damage caused in our country by the war and the exceptional drought of 1946 would undermine the vitality of the Socialist economy. They hoped that the strength of the Soviet Union would be sapped by the burden of economic difficulties, that it would bow the knee and consent to enter into servitude to the imperialists. But once again our enemies miscalculated. The Soviet people, trained by Lenin and Stalin, are accustomed to rely on their own strength and have learned to break down all obstacles on the path to victory.

Only two years have elapsed since the Soviet people resumed their peaceful constructive labors and devoted all their energies to eliminating the drastic aftermath of the war and to further strengthening and developing Socialism. But what striking changes have already taken place in our country in these two years! The economy and cultural institutions of the areas that were occupied by the German fascists are being

rapidly rehabilitated. Thousands of factories and mines are rising from the ruins and ashes, restored and even better equipped than before the war. Hundreds of our Cities are being resurrected, and thousands of villages that were almost completely razed to the ground by the German invaders are being rebuilt anew.

In 1947 alone over 18,000 million rubles were invested in capital construction work on the economic restoration of the areas which had been occupied by the enemy.

Thanks to the devoted efforts of the Soviet people the program of gross industrial output in the first two years of the five-year plan was fulfilled. In 1947. the plan for gross output of industry in general was fulfilled 103.5%. Compared with 1946, total industrial output in the past year increased by 22%.

One of the most graphic proofs of the vitality of our national economy is the steady growth of industrial output from year to year. The number of gainfully employed persons in our country is steadily increasing, chiefly by training of young skilled workers in the trade, railway and factory schools. Railway transport is making continuous progress. Big achievements are being registered in agriculture. The gross output of farm produce in 1947 compared with 1946, increased by 32% and the produce of agriculture alone by 48%. In 1947, grain yields reached pre-war level. The program of grain deliveries to the state was fully fulfilled.

Thanks to the achievements in production, as a result of the persistent efforts of the Soviet people, the state

was able last year considerably to improve the living standard of the working people. Industrial progress and the accumulation of reserves of food and manufactured goods made it possible to abolish the ration system and to inaugurate distribution through normal trade channels, to successfully reform the currency and to reduce prices for consumer goods.

The currency reform and the abolition of rationing will facilitate the further improvement of the material welfare of the working people, the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, and the further strengthening of the might of the Soviet state. The abolition of rationing and the currency reform were a vivid reflection of the Socialist and truly popular character of our system. As distinguished from the capitalist countries, where there is a pronounced growth of inflation, where prices are rising and the masses are becoming more and more impoverished and forced to consume less, the USSR the abolition of rationing and the currency reform denote a big improvement in the welfare of the people and a rise in their standard of living.

To what are these splendid achievements of the Soviet country due? They are due to the tremendous superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system, to the superiority of that Soviet order the foundations of which were laid by Lenin. The economy of the capitalist countries is declining under the blows of a growing crisis, output is diminishing and the army of unemployed running into the millions is increasing. The capitalist countries of Europe, which suffered immeasurably less from the war than the USSR, are

groping helplessly in search of means of resolving the acute economic and class contradictions of the post-war period. The masters of these countries are selling their national sovereignty in return for the enslaving "assistance" of the American plutocrats. The Soviet Union, where crises and unemployment are unknown, and which relies solely on its own strength and resources. Is steadily expanding its economy. The facts have demonstrated that both in war and in peace, as Stalin said, "the Soviet social system is a better form of organization of society than any non-Soviet social system."

The great Lenin held that the source of the strength and invincibility of the Soviet state lay in the fact that it is essentially a people's state, that it was founded for the benefit of the people, and is governed by the people. The Soviet power is invincible, Lenin said, precisely because it is the power of the laboring people, the power of the millions of workers and peasants. Lenin proved scientifically and it has been borne out by the thirty years development of the Soviet state that the Soviet form of government is a million times more democratic than the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, where democracy, as Lenin put it, is hypocritical and utterly false because it "is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains in reality a democracy for the minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich."

Another vivid proof of the flourishing state of the Soviet democracy was the recent elections to the local soviets in the Union republics. The election campaign

was distinguished by remarkable enthusiasm in industry and political activity by the Soviet people. Practically every elector voted for the candidates of the bloc of the Communists and the non-Party people. With immense political enthusiasm and unanimity the people elected Comrade Stalin as the first among the deputies to the local soviets. (Prolonged applause.) The results of the elections were a demonstration of the unbreakable moral and political unity of the Soviet people and once more confirmed that our people fully approve of the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government and regard it all their own vital cause.

One of the greatest advantages of our Socialist system is that, having made the working people the masters of their destiny. It has for the first time in history elevated the common man, the toiler, to an unparalleled height and enlisted in active creative endeavor millions and millions of people who were crushed and downtrodden by the system of capitalist slavery. In doing so Socialism awakened and called into being new and gigantic forces for the development of society. Shortly before the October Revolution. Lenin wrote: "Only with Socialism will there begin a rapid, genuine, really large-scale progressive advance in all branches of public and individual life. In which the majority of the population, and then the whole population, will participate." These prophetic words of Lenin have been fully confirmed by the experience of the Land of Socialism.

The profound creative activity of the Soviet people finds its expression in the development of Socialist

emulation.

Lenin revealed and demonstrated that in Soviet society, capitalist competition, which operates blindly, spontaneously and destructively, would be replaced by a new, creative and constructive driving force—Socialist emulation. Lenin regarded Socialist emulation as a profound, inexhaustible source of development of Soviet society. “Socialism” he said “does not extinguish emulation; on contrary, it for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really **wide** and on a really **mass** scale, for drawing actually the majority the population into an arena of labor in which they can display their abilities, apply their gifts to the full, reveal their talents, which are an untapped spring among the people and which capitalism crushed, suppressed and stifled in thousands and millions.”

The Bolshevik Party has given embodiment to Lenin’s ideas Socialist emulation, and made it the Soviet method of building a new society.

Today emulation has assumed a really nationwide character and become a powerful motive force of the constructive efforts of every republic, every region, territory, city and district. Emulation is continually engendering new forms of initiative among the people, discovering thousands and thousands of talented individuals among the masses, and revealing countless reserves for promotion of the productive forces of the Land of Soviets. The noble and patriotic initiative of the people of Leningrad to complete their five-year plan in four years has been taken up by the whole country.

The remarkable successes of Socialist emulation in the collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms have uncovered powerful reserves capable of increasing the productivity of agriculture. Our foremost people on the farms are leaving behind established production standards, demolishing outworn “dogmas” of agricultural science, and securing big harvests.

The successes achieved in economic and cultural fields gladden and inspire all our Soviet people, but do not make them complacent. Lenin and Stalin teach us to regard every achievement as a foothold, as a step on which to rise to higher achievements. In the third year of the post war five-rears plan our country must make a new leap forward in every branch of the national economy. We shall meet with not a few difficulties in coping with the problems before us. But these are difficulties of growth. The Soviet people, guided by the Bolshevik Party, know the ways and means of settling these problems and overcoming the difficulties.

Now, when the Soviet people are infused with the desire to complete the five-year plan in four years, the work of the Party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Young Communist League organizations must be directed toward developing Socialist emulation to the full, spreading it far and wide, securing the speedy and widespread dissemination advances achieved by the people in production, improving Socialist methods of management, more efficiently utilizing the hidden reserves of the national economy, strictly enforcing economy and combating mismanagement, and thus systematically raise the productivity of labor of every

worker in every in every factory.

The keynote of Socialist emulation today is the maximum introduction of up-to-date technique and the speedy and efficient mastery of that technique. Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the guiding principle in the development of Socialist emulation is maximum mechanization, and the consequent electrification of the processes of labor, so as to economize labor and to improve and lighten the conditions of labor.

It is necessary emphatically to stress what Comrade Stalin said on this subject as far back as 1931: "Mechanization for us is the **new** and **decisive** factor, without which we shall not be able to stand either the tempo or the new scale of production."

It may be said without exaggeration that rapid mechanization of the processes of labor is one of the major conditions for the fulfilment of the post-war five-year plan in four years. Increased mechanization is particularly important in such labor consuming branches of industry as coal mining, iron and steel, lumbering and building.

Now that rationing has been abolished, it must be one of the prime concerns of all our organizations considerably to increase the production of consumer goods, to expand and improve Soviet trade, to insure efficient and attentive service for the consumers and to mobilize additional local resources for the expansion of trade. If these problems are properly settled it will be an effective means of further raising the standard of living of the Soviet people.

Comrades, surveying the progress our country has made since the death of Lenin, we may lay that our Party and all our working people have spared no effort to give living form to Lenin's ideas, and that, thanks to our loyalty to Leninism, we have overcome all difficulties and stood all tests with credit. The cause of Lenin has triumphed, and the peoples of the Soviet Union, cementing more closely their bonds of fraternal cooperation and inspired by Lenin's ideas, are continuing their great constructive labors for the benefit of the Socialist Homeland.

II. Leninism—The Banner of the Working People in the Fight Against Imperialism

The peoples of our country were the first in the world to smash the grip of imperialism and to lay the road to freedom. They achieved this because they followed the path indicated by Lenin.

Over 30 years ago, Lenin disclosed the profound contradictions and ulcers of imperialism and proved that imperialism is decaying, moribund capitalism. Lenin's analysis of imperialism equipped the working class with an ideological weapon of tremendous power.

Lenin showed that imperialism means reaction all along the line. "For the working class", he said, "imperialism means incredible accentuation of the class struggle, poverty, unemployment, high prices, the oppression of the trusts, militarism, and political reaction, which is raising its head in all, even the

freest, countries.” Lenin disclosed that imperialism means more severe economic crises, heavier national oppression, sharper imperialist struggle between capitalist states, and unprecedentedly bloody wars.

Developments during these past decades have followed precisely the course predicted by Lenin. Imperialism engendered so brutal a form of reaction as fascism, with its sanguinary regime of terror. The periodic crises of capitalism have become more frequent and destructive. The first world war was followed by the second, and the period between the wars was filled with almost continuous “little wars.” Imperialism has brought endless hardship and suffering to the peoples.

Lenin advanced and demonstrated the thesis that imperialism is the eve of Socialist revolution, the last stage of capitalism. This fundamental conclusion reached by Lenin from his analysis of the imperialist stage in the development of capitalism has been confirmed by all subsequent developments.

Thirty years ago, our country broke away from the capitalist system and set out on the path of Socialist reconstruction. Since the first world war and the October Revolution, the anti-popular capitalist system has been in the grip of a general crisis that is growing ever more acute. The second world war still further, shook the foundations of capitalism. A number of countries of Central and Southeastern Europe have broken with imperialism and having established people’s democracies are successfully laying the foundations for the transition to the Socialist way of development. The most aggressive of the imperialist

power — Germany, Italy and Japan—which only recently constituted the bulwark of imperialism and reaction in Europe and Asia, were smashed in the war. A powerful national liberation movement is developing in the colonies and dependencies.

In these post-war days the imperialists of the United States are aspiring to be the gendarmes of the world, stranglers of the liberty and independence of nations. “Predatory American imperialism,” as Lenin called it, is striving for world domination, for the enthralment and enslavement of all countries of the world. The American imperialists are clearly anxious to occupy the place of fascist Germany and Japan and are preparing for a new imperialist war.

In order to crush the movement for emancipation of the peoples and to suppress the growing discontent of the masses in their own country, the American imperialists are going all out to institute a regime of unbridled reaction. “Democracy” to the imperialists means the unrestricted rule and tyranny of the bankers and industrial monopolists, barbaric suppression of democratic elements, savage persecution of Negroes, and an attack on the elementary rights of the working people. On the pretext of combating Communism, the American imperialists are planning and executing armed intervention against the freedom loving peoples of Greece, China and Indonesia; they interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, employing blackmail, intimidation and economic and political pressure.

The reckless policy of the American imperialists is

fraught with serious consequences. One would have thought that such a historical lesson as the downfall of Hitler Germany and its associates would have taught the ringleaders of American imperialism and their junior partners in Britain a thing or two. It is appropriate to recall what Lenin Said after the first world war:

“We see that Britain and America, who have greater opportunities than others to remain democratic republics, have become just as rabid and insensate as Germany was, and they are just as rapidly, and perhaps even more rapidly, moving toward the end which German imperialism has managed so successfully to reach. First it expanded incredibly until it swallowed three-quarters of Europe, grew fat, and then simply burst, leaving a terrific stench behind it. This is the end to which British and American imperialism is now speeding.”

It is becoming more obvious and apparent from day to day that the American imperialists have by their policy incurred the universal hatred of the freedom-loving nations.

The anti-imperialist, democratic camp is rallying its ranks closer and closer, and offering a vigorous rebuff to the American imperialists and their satellites and accomplices. The working masses are rising in their millions in defense of the independence and sovereignty of their countries and of their elementary rights. The movement of the people against imperialism is headed by the Communist parties, which have been tempered and tested in the fire of the struggle against fascism. The Communist parties are

opening the eyes of the working people to the fact that the Truman-Marshall plan is a noose which the bosses of the American monopolies are trying to fling around the necks of the peoples of Europe and Asia.

Imperialism would have collapsed long ago under the weight of its crimes, were it not backed up by its agents in the working class, the Right Socialists, who are playing the despicable role of henchmen of capital. These pseudo-Socialists poison the minds of the working class with lack of faith in its own strength, and justify the vile policy of imperialism. However, times change and even with the help of its "Socialist" lackeys, imperialism is unable to hold the masses in submission. The forces of imperialist reaction are growing weaker from day to day, and the forces of democracy and Socialism are growing stronger.

Neither the stratagems nor the savage fury of the imperialists can stop or suppress the growth of the forces of democracy and Communism all over the world. How prophetic do Lenin's words about the invincibility of Communism sound, today: "Let the bourgeoisie toss and rage until they are black in the face... The bourgeoisie behave as all classes behaved when doomed by history... In all circumstances and in all countries Communism is becoming steeled and is growing. Its roots are so deep that persecution does not weaken or exhaust it but strengthens it."

Striking evidence of the vitality and invincibility of the ideas of Communism, their attractive power and spread among the masses, is the growth of the Communist parties in all countries of the world. In France the Communist Party before the war had

300,000 members; it now has nearly a million. There were 15,000 Communists in Italy before the war; now there are 2,283,000. The Chinese Communist Party now has 2,700,000 members, as compared with 600,000 before the war. Communist influence has particularly grown in the new democracies, where the Communist parties are influential government parties and have many hundreds of thousands of members. The Communist parties enjoy the profound and increasing confidence of the working people all over the world as faithful and consistent defenders of the interests of the people, as genuine champions of lasting peace, popular democracy, and Socialism.

The growing resistance of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp to the aggressive plans of imperialism finds powerful support in the Soviet Union and its Stalin foreign policy. Soviet foreign policy is waging a consistent and indefatigable struggle against the instigators of a new war, for a lasting democratic peace and for the equality of nations. In the second world war the Soviet Union saved world civilization and the freedom and independence of the nations from the fascist barbarians; today, after the war, our great Soviet country stands in the vanguard of the struggle of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic camp, safeguarding the freedom and independence of nations, big and small, and the interests of mankind and civilization.

As early as 1920, Lenin said "... the course of events are teaching peoples to regard Russia as a center of attraction." The course of historical development has made the Soviet Union more than ever a center of

attraction to all la boring mankind.

Conclusion of Comrade M. A. Suslov's Report

Despite the provocations of the imperialist, anti-democratic camp, especially of its leading element, the USA, Soviet foreign policy is consistently striving for international cooperation. "Lenin," Stalin said, "was the first to express the idea of cooperation between the two systems. Lenin is our teacher, and we Soviet people, are Lenin's disciples. We have never swerved, nor will we swerve, from Lenin's directions." Soviet policy is guided by these directions.

In the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the masses of all countries see a noble standard bearer of peace and security, a steadfast defender of the freedom and independence of nations against the criminal designs of the imperialists. (Applause.)

The banner of Lenin and Stalin has become the banner of the peoples in their struggle against imperialism for lasting peace, national independence, people's democracy, and Socialism.

III. Under the Leadership of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, Forward to Communism

The Soviet state, founded by Lenin, is an invincible stronghold of Communism. The guiding and directing force of Communist construction is the Bolshevik Party.

Our Party alone has been able to accomplish the epoch-making task of transforming a capitalist society into a Socialist society. It was trained for this great task by its founder and leader, V. I. Lenin.

Today, when we are honoring the memory of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, we may proudly say that the Party, whose unity Lenin adjured us to guard as the apple of our eye, is now, under the leadership of its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade Stalin, as strong, firm and monolithic as never before. (Applause.)

The Party of Lenin-Stalin has grown into an army many millions strong which is leading the whole Soviet people. The Soviet people look upon our Party as the guiding force of their might and well-being, of their invincibility and glory.

During the Patriotic War, when our country was menaced by formidable danger, when the enemy threatened all the achievements of Socialism, the Party roused the people to a man to' repulse the fascist invaders, and led them to an epoch-making victory.

Today, in time of peace, the Bolshevik Party is organizing the self sacrificing efforts of the Soviet people to restore and then further develop the country's economy in accordance with the post-war five-year plan. The Party is directing the advance. of Soviet society toward Communism, and all our economic and cultural endeavor, the whole work of the Party, is harnessed to the attainment of this great aim.

Under present conditions the Communist Party is

paying especial care and attention to raising the cultural level and the Communist consciousness of the working people. In this the Party is guided by the precept in Lenin's program that our state "is strong by virtue of the consciousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, are able to form their judgment on everything, and undertake everything with a conscious purpose. "The Party stands by the belief that the greater the knowledge of the Soviet people, the sooner will our society effect the transition to Communism.

Soviet society has every right to be proud of its great achievements in the advancement of culture. Cultural development in the Soviet Union, both as regards its content and unprecedented range, may in all truth be said to be the affair of the whole people. "Nowhere", Lenin said, "are the masses so interested in real culture as in our country; nowhere are cultural matters handled so profoundly and consistently as in our country."

The cultural growth of the working masses finds its expression in an efficient system of universal elementary education, in the training of millions of intellectuals from the ranks of the workers and peasants, in the sphere of culture and technical knowledge among the working class and the collective farmers.

Culture in our country has become an essential and important part of Communist construction. Soviet culture is the most advanced culture, a culture with higher ideals, a culture infused with the noble ideas of friendship among nations, a Socialist attitude among

people, respect for the man of labor, and hatred of all oppression.

An inalienable feature of Soviet culture is Socialist patriotism. Lenin taught us that our national pride and the Socialist interests of the workers coincide, and this idea of Lenin lies at the foundation of Soviet culture.

Servile worship of bourgeois culture, however manifested, is a departure from Soviet patriotism, from Socialism. It must not be forgotten that the imperialists endeavour to exploit for their own perfidious ends the servile bowing before everything foreign on 'the part of individual easily influenced Soviet citizens.

Present-day bourgeois culture is in a state of regression and decay; it has long since become the servant and kept mistress of a handful of big capitalists. Bourgeois culture, especially in the United States, is deeply impregnated with the poison of the misanthropic ideology of racialism, the ideology of the superiority of the "American race." American "culture" cynically extols the rapacious designs of the American imperialists, justifies all oppression, lauds the most vile and bestial instincts. Exponents of true culture, who refuse to glorify American imperialism and the "American way of life," are persecuted as state criminals.

The bourgeoisie, of all countries and their "Socialist" menials rage and fume over the fact that in our country we uphold the principle of partisanship in ideology, partisanship in literature and the arts. They would like to see in our country ideological confusion and disunity, and the spread, under the label of

“freedom for the arts” of that intellectual opium with which the minds of the workers in the bourgeois countries are doped. They dislike the principle of Bolshevik partisanship in ideology because it deprives them of the possibility of poisoning the working people of the USSR with the bourgeois ideology.

Lenin denounced the bourgeois preachers of “neutrality”, non-partisanship in the arts as servitors of capital, whose talk about creative freedom only masks the dependence of art on the moneybags. “Non-partisanship in bourgeois society”, Lenin said, “is only a fraud, a screen, a passive expression of affiliation to the party of the well-fed, to the party of the masters, to the party of the exploiters.”

Lenin’s principle of partisanship in ideology is of inestimable value for the elevation and triumph of the most progressive ideology and culture, the Soviet ideology and culture, over the corrupt culture of bourgeois society. The Bolshevik Party, faithful to the behests of Lenin, and protecting the spiritual interests of the Soviet people, stands guard over the purity of principle, the lofty ideas, and the militant partisanship of art and culture, vigorously repelling every attempt to reanimate the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men and to smuggle into Soviet culture political indifference, unprincipledness and formalism, which are fruits of the corrupt influence of bourgeois ideology.

Today, when our successful progress depends on the Communist mentality of the masses, the task of eliminating the survivals of capitalism from the minds of men has acquired particular importance. If we still

meet with lack of discipline and lack of zeal at work on the part of individual workers, collective farmers, or office employees, with instances of pilfering of public property, mismanagement, conservatism, bureaucracy, with servile worship of things foreign on the part of individual members of the intelligentsia, all these are due to the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men.

To combat the survivals of capitalism, the Party utilizes the tried and tested weapon of criticism and self criticism, directing the fire of public opinion on all that is obsolescent and hinders our progress. Of immense service in exposing and combating all manifestations of bourgeois influence in the ideological field were thy decisions of the Central Committee of the Party on literature, art, and the cinema, as well as the discussion of philosophy undertaken on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Party. The measures taken by the Party to improve ideological work have stimulated a fresh advance in literature and the arts and have raised the ideological level of artistic creative endeavor.

The entire work of the Party in the sphere of Communist education of the working people and eradicating the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people is based on the invincible teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Marxist-Leninist theory is the Party's guiding star pointing the way to the victory of Communism.

One hundred years ago appeared the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in which the new most advanced and only scientific philosophy.

Marxism, was first expounded. The birth of Marxism ushered in a veritable revolution, a new epoch in the science of society and the history of mankind. The Manifesto scientifically proved the inevitability of the downfall of capitalist society, and that it was the historical mission of the proletariat to be the grave digger of capitalism and the builder of a new, classless society.

The vitality of the Marxist teaching has been confirmed by the whole course of social development. The victory of Socialism in the USSR, the growth of the Communist forces all over the world, and the impending collapse of capitalism, are irrefutable proofs of the cogency of the Marxist theory.

Marxism is a creative theory which is constantly developing, and therein lies its invincible strength. In the new phase of history, Lenin, that master mind of science, developed Marxism further, raised it to a new and higher level, enriched it with new discoveries, and equipped the Party with an invincible ideological weapon in the struggle for the victory of Communism.

The Bolshevik Party, conscious of the immense value of progressive theory, has insured the wide dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the masses. Publication of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has made the immortal teachings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism accessible to the people. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been published in the Soviet Union in a total of 721 million copies. The Party will continue to work indefatigably to equip all Communists with the invincible teachings of Lenin, to educate all the

working people in the Communist philosophy. In view of the fact that the CPSU(B) has grown very considerably in recent years, Party organizations must now chiefly concentrate on the ideological education of Communists.

Mastery of Leninism is a vital necessity for all active and conscious builders of Communist society, and especially for our Party and Soviet cadres, for all our intelligentsia. To cope successfully with the task of educating the working people in the Communist spirit, of waging an uncompromising struggle against the various manifestations of bourgeois ideology, of efficiently directing all branches of economic, political and cultural activity, Party and Soviet cadres, and all our intelligentsia must persistently study the science of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party is strong by virtue of the progressive theory with which it has been armed by Lenin and Stalin. If, since its foundation, the Party, in the most diverse historical situations and in the most complex conditions, has been able to follow a correct course, has always had a correct, scientifically founded policy, and has achieved epoch-making victories, this has been due to the life-giving power of the Marxist-Leninist teaching "There can be no doubt", Comrade Stalin has said, "that as long as we remain faithful to this doctrine, as long as we possess this compass, we shall be successful in our work".

Comrades, it is nearly a quarter of a century since Vladimir Ilyich Lenin departed from us forever. Through all these years the Soviet people have been fighting and winning, and marching forward with a firm stride

along the Lenin path, the path to Communism. Lenin's great behests have been given living shape and form, have found their embodiment in the new society built in our country on the principles of Leninism. The Communist, Bolshevik Party is triumphantly leading the Soviet people along the Lenin path towards new epoch-making victories. Our Party has grown into a great united army, many millions strong. It has won the affection of the whole people, the unbounded confidence and support of the working people. This it owes to its founder, Lenin, and to his faithful comrade and continuer of his work, Comrade Stalin. (Stormy, prolonged applause).

Long live our invincible battle standard—Leninism!

Long live our Bolshevik Party!

Long live the great Soviet people! (Stormy applause. All rise. Cheers: "Long live Comrade Stalin!" "Glory to the great Stalin", "Hurrah for Stalin!")

(page 3)

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REACTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. B. Vlatavsky- Geminder

Last year Czechoslovakia, like many other European countries experienced a drought which ruined the country's crop. The damage caused our economy amounted to 15,000 million kron, the equivalent of nearly one-fourth of our budget.

The crop failure, naturally, affected the standard of living.

International reaction and its Czechoslovak agents, who in pursuit of their anti-popular and anti-State plans take advantage of every difficulty encountered, by the people's democratic State were in their element. The drought and its consequences offered excellent opportunities for their activities.

During the two and a half years of the people's democratic Czechoslovakia reaction waged an offensive struggle in the course of which they suffered constant defeat. Handed out devastating blows, the economic and political base of reaction steadily narrowed.

The explanation of this successful struggle of the people's democratic regime against the forces of reaction lies in increased output of industry, which has reached the pre-war level and in the fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan. Targets were exceeded during the first year of the Plan an achievement which made it possible to raise the standard of living. The new democratic regime had demonstrated that it could run the country better than the capitalists.

Reaction in Czechoslovakia placed high hopes on the drought. Reaction calculated that by skilful manoeuvring they would switch to the offensive, bring about a favourable change in the relation of forces in the republic and restore Czechoslovakia to the old pre-Munich capitalist order.

In his New Years' message Comrade Gottwald summing up the policy of reaction quoted their own slogan: "The worse for the people, the better for us that is for reaction." In practice this

policy reflected itself in efforts to sabotage grain deliveries by the peasants and to divert the maximum amount of agricultural products and manufactured goods to the black market. In this way they hoped to see a breakdown in the food supply system. At the same time reaction calculated that the crop failure would seriously affect the entire economic life of the country. Typical of their methods was the policy to undermine the favourable development of the currency system by making demagogic demands on the Government. Such for instance, was the purpose of the demand made at the end of last year by the leadership of the National Socialist Party that civil servants be given a retrospective 30 per cent wage increase, to date from January 1, 1947. They refused to recognise the fact that twice in the course of the year civil servants had received special bonuses. Such, too, was the purpose of reaction's attempts to get the Government to cover the emergency expenditure of 6,500 million kronas for the purchase of grain and relief for the peasants who were hit hardest by the drought. The reactionaries opposed the Communist Party's proposal to tax property and the profits of millionaires, a proposal which was later adopted by the Government.

By putting the supply system and finances out of gear, and by undermining the country's economy the reactionaries hoped to arouse the dissatisfaction of 'the people and to use this in order to set one lot of people against the other, mainly the workers and peasants, with the aim of weakening and disrupting the firm alliance of workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and intelligentsia. Reaction likewise aimed at utilising the difficulties caused by the drought to secure a change in foreign policy and tried to get Czechoslovakia to adhere to the Marshall Plan. This, had it succeeded, would have spelt the end of our country's freedom and national independence, and would have seriously undermined the foundations of its security. The underlying principle of reaction's whole policy was to discredit the people's democratic regime and the government of

the National Front, headed by the Communist Party, — the Party Which shoulders the main responsibility for the consolidation of the Republic — and by staging a reactionary coup d'etat, to restore capitalism.

Both foreign and domestic reactionary circles relied on certain parties in the National Front. At first the Czechoslovak reactionaries tried to form their own party, which would oppose the National Front. However, after some vacillation the reactionary forces in the country took the line of infiltrating into the parties of the National Front, of occupying executive positions in these parties and in this way exercising a decisive influence on their policy.

In this respect the National-Socialist and People's (Catholic) Party in Czechia proved to be the least steadfast and in Slovakia the Democratic Party.

It will be appreciated that infiltration by reactionary elements into some of the parties of the National Front had negative consequences, affected the activity of the Front, hampered its endeavour to surmount the difficulties caused by the drought and the crop failure.

“For many month now,” stated the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in a message to the membership, published on January 3, “the state of growing tension in the National Front threatens to break out into a crisis when tackling major problems. The reason for this is that the reactionary elements, who have penetrated into the parties of the National Front, are to an ever greater extent influencing the policy of these parties, are intensifying their undermining activities in accord with and on the orders of foreign reaction.”

Exposing the plans of domestic and foreign reaction the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is rallying the democratic forces for the further consolidation of the people's democratic regime and its political foundation in the National Front.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Party held in November comrade Gottwald pointed out that reaction was trying to bring about a government crisis so as afterwards to form a government of officials, that is, a government without Communists. 'Gottwald described this policy as "a desire to organise a reactionary putsch, to effect a coup d'etat". He declared unequivocally that any attempt of this kind would meet with a fitting rebuff and that it would spell a "dangerous risk" for reaction.

Subsequent developments in Czechoslovakia showed that Comrade Gottwald's words were properly appreciated.

At the same time the Communist Party advanced a concrete programme for surmounting the economic difficulties, for ensuring the further development of the national economy and the Republic.

The Party insisted that the job was to supply the people with provisions, which must be secured primarily at the expense of internal resources. The Party has mobilised all its organisations to carry out this important task, and with the help of the national committees and emergency commissions in the main completed the job. By the end of the year the plan for grain deliveries in Czechia had been three-quarters realised, while in Slovakia of the target of 7.000 carloads of grain, fixed by the Government 6,300 were delivered to the State.

Of enormous significance in regulating the question of supplies was the help given by the Soviet Union in the form of grain and fodder. Last November Prime Minister Gottwald submitted a request to Generalissimo Stalin that the grain promised by the Soviet Government be increased by another 150,000 tons. Five days later came the reply. Generalissimo Stalin, on behalf of the Soviet Government, responded by saying that Czechoslovakia would get another 200,000 tons of grain, that is 50.000 tons more than was asked for by the Czechoslovak Government. This generous act of the Soviet Government made it possible to fully meet the needs of the population.

The people of Czechoslovakia are well aware of the difference between Soviet aid and the “aid” of the American imperialists. Soviet aid is based on mutual economic cooperation and on sincere friendship. “Had there been another government foreign policy,” stated Comrade Gottwald, “the bread, which we would have been forced to buy somewhere abroad, and for which we would have had to pay body and soul would have tasted very bitter.”

The crop failure was followed by a shortage of manufactured goods. In view of this the Executive Committee of the Communist Party advanced the important task of getting order into distribution and of preventing goods, intended for general consumption, from being diverted to the black market. The Executive Committee likewise outlined the main principles for reorganising the system of distribution.

The proper distribution of textiles, of which there was a particularly acute shortage, was most important. The suggestions made by the Executive Committee in this respect, called for the creation of a central board which would justly and systematically distribute textile goods among the regional distributors, under the control of the national committees. There were 1,100 private wholesale dealers in textiles in Czechia and it was suggested to reduce their number by at least a thousand through the medium of regional distributors.

Despite the bitter opposition offered by reaction and its agents in some of the parties in the National Front, the Communist proposals were accepted by the Government. And thanks to these measures the distribution of textile goods is all but out of the hands of the private merchants. This is a big victory which has further restricted ‘the economic base of reaction.

The disastrous drought and the struggle to surmount its consequences were a serious trial for the people. And it can be said that the new democratic order, the Gottwald government

and the Communist Party have come through with flying colours. The plans of reaction were reduced to nought: the measures taken to remedy the consequences of the drought brought no discredit to the people's democracy. On the contrary, these measures increased the confidence of the people in the Government which, under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the active support of the people, was able to cope with the critical situation better than any other regime formerly existing in Czechoslovakia.

In the political sphere the further development of the people's democratic order depends on consolidating the alliance between the workers and peasants, on the unity of all the working people, as reflected in the National Front. The Communist Party is conducting a resolute struggle to cleanse the National Front of reactionary elements, and to promote its further progress.

The anti-State conspiracy discovered in Slovakia last summer showed that reaction still wields considerable influence in some of the parties belonging to the National Front. The conspirators were defended not only by the leadership of the Slovak Democratic Party, who had collaborated with them, and who made it possible for them to penetrate into the State apparatus, into political life and even into Parliament; they were defended also by the leaders of the National Socialist Party and People's (Catholic) Party who feared that a defeat for the conspirators in Slovakia would weaken the anti-Communist front throughout the country.

Reactionary influences among certain parties of the National Front are evidenced also by the following fact. At a meeting of the agricultural department of the Executive Committee of the National Socialist Party one of the leaders, formerly a leader of the Agrarian Party, which has been banned, called for "skilful manoeuvring in the matter of poor crops." The essence of this

“skilful manoeuvring” was made clear afterwards not only by many active committee members of the Party held in November Comrade Gottwald pointed out that members of this party but also by some of its Parliamentary deputies who had called upon the peasants to sabotage the delivery of agricultural supplies to the State.

In these circumstances there is a special danger in the fact that the leadership of certain parties betray a tendency to transform the National Front into a bargaining coalition of Party leaders. They would like to see expelled from the Front such popular organisations as the United Trade Unions, numbering 2,500,000 members, the United Peasant Union, the Union of Cooperative organisations, etc.

In view of the fact that such tendencies endanger the very existence of the Front, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party at its meeting in November called upon all honest Czechs and Slovaks, irrespective of party affiliation, to fight for the elimination of reactionary influences in the National Front, influences which cause disintegration and undermine the Front.

At the moment a bitter struggle is being waged against reaction in Czechoslovakia. If sometimes reaction succeeds in the Government and in Parliament, in retarding the work, quite a different picture is presented by the genuine National Front—the alliance of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, handicraftsmen, small merchants and all genuine democrats and patriots who are fighting for the Plan, for securing the people with necessaries, for the development of the people’s democracy and for the honour and independence of their country. It is precisely this Front that demonstrated its strength and might in the tax millionaires’ struggle which secured order in the system of distribution. Relying on the masses united in the National Front the Communist Party put through these measures, despite the fact that in the beginning the majority of Government members opposed the Communist Party proposals.

Alas for the hopes that both foreign and home-bred reaction reposed in the consequences of the unprecedented crop failure. Reaction had imagined that all that was necessary was a skilful manoeuvre, sabotage of Government measures, and the fomenting of discord and economic chaos in order to make the crop failure an insurmountable obstacle for the popular democratic regime, to bring about its downfall and pave 'the way for the return of the capitalist system.

But the popular democratic regime under the leadership of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party succeeded not only in overcoming the main difficulties, it utilised the struggle to overcome these difficulties in order to deliver reaction new blows, to expose its agents among the parties belonging to the Front, and to increase the faith of the working people in the Communist Party.

Proof of this is the fact that the membership of the Communist Party has increased. The membership of the Party in Czechia is now over 1,300,000 members. In the month of November alone nearly 62,000 new members joined the ranks of the Communist Party.

The successes achieved by the popular democratic regime in the struggle to eliminate the aftermath of the drought provide a base for further victorious struggle against reaction, for its final and complete elimination.

(page 3)

MATHIAS RAKOSI. PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION IN HUNGARY

Report to the Third Conference of the Hungarian Communist
Party[†]

We have come together at the Third Party Conference in order to summarise the results of our past work and to discuss the tasks facing the Party. In the period between the Second and Third conferences of our Party Hungarian democracy registered such successes in the sphere of economic rehabilitation and in home and foreign policy—successes which by their deep-going nature have brought about a radical change in the very essence of democracy in Hungary, and have immeasurably enhanced the role and significance of the Communist Party in the life of the country.

The Achievements of Hungarian Democracy

In the economic sphere the most decisive changes are due to nationalisation. Towards the end of 1947 Hungarian democracy passed a law on the nationalisation of the big banks and handed

†† Abridged.

over to the State the greater part of heavy industry leaving only a small part in the hands of private capital.

Basic industries such as mining electric power, and iron and steel have been more or less completely nationalised, and also the big transport undertakings. Of the 600,000 workers employed in industry and transport 400,000 are engaged in the nationalised and other public enterprises.

It is difficult to appreciate the enormous significance of these facts. The workers themselves are not yet fully aware that the degree of nationalisation now realised transforms the entire economic structure of the country. The greater part of the country's heavy industry is no longer capitalist but State industry, that is, nationalised. and is heading towards Socialism.

The present Party conference must help the working class to get a proper understanding of the paramount importance of the radical transformation that has taken place in the country. Once the worker is conscious that the nationalised industries are producing not for the capitalists, not for private profit, but for the benefit of our economy and of our people the work in those industries will proceed along altogether different lines and the rate of output will be different.

The country's economic development last year was not without its difficulties which call for attention. First, regarding the early phase of the Three-Year Plan. As a result of the drought which had far-reaching consequences for our agriculture the Plan got off to a slow start. Bourgeois circles cherished the hope that the Plan was bound to fail. Some of them even claimed that nobody would seriously think of tackling it. This was the cherished dream of Hungarian reaction. However, the Plan is going ahead at a steadily increasing rate and we have every reason to believe that we shall be able, in the future, to make up for the curtailed capital investments, necessitated by the decrease in the national Income as a result of the drought.

The forint, which reaction buried every two months, has held its own over the past 18 months, and we shall spare no effort to further stabilise our currency system.

The preliminary State budget for 1947-48 show no deficit. The first five months of the current fiscal year register an increase in incomes over expenditures. We can declare with pride that there isn't a single State in the West which could achieve such results with its own efforts.

During the last quarter of 1947 output of coal and steel actually reached the pre-war level. And if we keep up the present rate of progress we can look forward to the whole of industry reaching the 1938 level during the present fiscal year. (Prolonged applause.)

In agriculture, too we have made headway Despite the catastrophic drought food supplies have improved and are more evenly distributed By December last already there was no shortage of provisions and the prices on many items of food had dropped. The area sown to winter crops and ploughed for spring sowing is far in excess of last year's acreage. The following figures are instructive: in 1945 Hungary produced 600 carloads of sugar. In 1946 the figure increased to 6,000 carloads, while last year, according to incomplete data, the sugar refineries produced 13,800 carloads of sugar. In the third year of democratic Hungary 40 million kilograms more sugar was produced than in the last pre-war year. During 1946 18,700 carloads of provisions were brought to the central market in Budapest. Last year the figure was 31,541 carloads, that is, more than in 1938. These facts speak of our improved position. Hungary's achievements stand out more distinctly against the background of Western Europe, which is experiencing severe economic difficulties. Foreigners who have visited our country write with surprise, and often with admiration, about our economic situation, about our rehabilitation achievements, in a word about everything created by our people during the past few years.

We could not have achieved these big successes had we not, in good time, created planning organs like the Supreme Economic Council, had we not in good time taken the road of planned economy, and had we hesitated over nationalisation. In our economic life we are providing increasing opportunities for satisfying the interests of the people, and consistently and steadily we are relegating profit-seeking capitalist production to the background.

Consolidation of Hungarian Democracy

Important changes have taken place also in the internal political life of the country. A year ago the supporters of the old regime still firmly controlled the Smallholders' Party, which had an absolute majority in Parliament. Today, as a result of the determined and purposeful work carried out following a number of big victories by democracy over reaction, the situation has radically changed. In this past year Hungarian democracy has gained in strength, is surer of itself and has enhanced its social content. But big changes have taken place in the camp of Hungarian reaction as well. A year ago reaction was still sure of victory. Waiting for the signing of the Peace Treaty reaction calculated on ousting the Communists from the Government. by mechanical use of Parliamentary voting machine, as was done in France and Italy, and afterwards to set about restoring the reactionary regime. Suffice to recall the threatening prophecy made especially in relation to our Party. However. the Peace Treaty came into force four months ago and Hungarian democracy is stronger now than ever before. Our State power now bears a much more democratic character. The discipline and the political consciousness of the army and the police have been raised. Everybody knows that the State power in our country defends above all the interests of the working people. The situation in Hungary is such that the police and the army no longer apply force against the working

people in the interests of the capitalists as is the case in France, Italy or in the United States.

Democracy is now beginning to bring order into places where the influence of reaction is still strong: in the administrative-economic organs, in the judicature, in the organs of public education and in the universities. It is imperative for the country in the fourth year of its liberation finally to change the nature of these organs in accordance with the interests of the Hungarian worker, peasant and progressive intellectual.

The defeat of reaction, and the economic and political successes of the popular forces have not only strengthened the position of the Communist Party, but have enhanced also the influence of democracy in the remaining party coalitions. As a result relations have improved among the parties of the National Independence Front and this, in turn has helped consolidate labour unity within the Front.

Typical of the present situation in Hungary is the fact that reaction is more conscious of its defeat than democracy of its victory. The enemies of the people, aware that their position is becoming ever more hopeless, and seeing their chances of returning to power steadily diminishing, are depressed and disillusioned.

The supporters of democracy on the other hand, and above all the workers are only just beginning to understand the decisive significance of the political and economic changes that have taken place in Hungary. Only now are they beginning to appreciate to the full the fact that they have crossed the dividing line between the people's democracy and bourgeois democracy and that the building up of this new democracy is the road leading to Socialism. It is the task of the Communists



to make all workers peasants and progressive intellectuals conscious of the nature of these radical changes.

For Fraternal Friendship with the Neighbouring Peoples

With the consolidation of Hungarian democracy the international significance of our country has changed and also our mutual relation with the neighbouring States. Today with the outcome of the conflict between reaction and democracy essentially settled, the confidence of the neighbouring people's democracies in us has increased and their mistrust dispelled. This has influenced Hungarian—Yugoslav relations and contributed to the signing of a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with our Southern neighbour. This will influence also our relations with Rumania the position of the Hungarians in Transylvania, and also the fate of the Hungarians in Slovakia. It is now perfectly clear that those who believed that reaction and national discord would triumph in Hungary, miscalculated while those who believed in the strength and stability of Hungarian democracy were not mistaken.

The consolidation of democracy has, for the first time in centuries, secured to Hungary real possibilities for establishing firm bonds of friendship with neighbouring countries, for strengthening mutual contact and aid in post-war rehabilitation and the preservation of peace. A big and decisive change has taken place in the significance of the democratic Hungarian nation in the Danube basin.

It is imperative for the Danubian nations to consolidate their ranks because peace and the independence of the peoples and the peace are threatened by a new danger—the drive of the American imperialists for world domination. The peoples must clearly see for themselves that two camps have come into existence: the camp of reaction, headed by the United States and the democratic camp, headed by the Soviet Union, which defends the independence of peoples, their peace and freedom. The accomplices of the imperialists, and especially the right-wing Social Democrats must be exposed. The British Labour leaders Attlee, Bevin and others, Blum and his ilk in France, all of whom wear a democratic mask, are helping reaction, are inciting hatred towards the Soviet Union and the people's

democracies and are trying to violate the unity of the working class.

American reaction attaches the greatest importance to destroying the rights of the working people wherever possible. As a means towards its plans for world domination the Americans are trying to set up global military-strategic bases. They are taking over the strategic positions, which the weakened British imperialists can no longer retain. The Americans aim at turning the Western zones of Germany and Japan into military-strategic bases against the Soviet Union. They are trying to realise their imperialist designs through the economic enslavement of the weaker states. Greece, Italy, France, Turkey and Austria have received loans running into hundreds of millions of dollars, which have placed these countries in the front ranks of inflation.

American “aid” is bringing Britain and France to the verge of disaster and the “Marshall Plan”—as admitted by the Americans themselves—is designed not to help Europe but to extend American influence over Europe.

When speaking of the Americans we should not lose sight of the British imperialists who have their best helpers in the right-wing Labour leaders. In a recent radio talk Prime Minister Attlee cynically lectured the people’s democracies of Eastern Europe on the political superiority of British democracy, and claimed that British social-democracy represents the “middle way” between the capitalism of the United States and Communism. At the recent conference of Foreign Ministers in London, however, the Labour leaders by no means behaved like middlemen between American and Soviet policy. Bevin deferentially followed the Marshall lead. As for the democratic activities of these gentlemen we are much more interested in facts than in honeyed words by Attlee. Less than a month ago the fascists in the Franco government murdered Comrade Zorua. Bevin’s representative at the time stated that Britain would not intercede for Zorua since he had’ opposed the “lawful governments.” However, we Hungarian democrats,

remember that the Attlee-Bevin Government saw fit to interfere in our internal affairs and despatched notes in the interests of the Hungarian conspirators. Acting as they are at present these Labour leaders are showing themselves to be in the shameful and degrading service of American imperialism.

The reasons for the conference of the Communist Parties held in Poland last September are understandable. This conference, which was the fitting answer of all conscious champions of European democracy, of the Communist Parties, resolved to oppose imperialist reaction headed by the United States, to exchange experiences in the future and if need be, to coordinate their activities.

Comrade Rakosi then characterised the heroic struggle of the Greek people against the encroachments of imperialism, and on behalf of the Hungarian Communist Party and Hungarian democracy wished the heroic Greek people every success in their struggle.

In enumerating the achievements of the democratic camp, continued Rakosi, it is fitting to conclude with a word about the successes of the great Soviet Union. While one capitalist country after another is compelled to impose restrictions of one kind or another, the Soviet Union has abolished rationing. This has been made possible by the patriots of the Soviet land, who displayed such heroism in destroying fascism, and who are today, with unflinching enthusiasm continuing their heroic struggle on the peaceful front of labour.

The working people of the world have nothing but admiration for the achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of rehabilitation and the development of the national economy. The Soviet people are determined to complete their Five-Year Plan in four years and we know that this decision will be carried out just as all other decisions have invariably been carried out.

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 mortal struggle against the fascist barbarians, when the free peoples of the Soviet Union were the bastion of progressive mankind.

It is most reassuring for our people to know that Comrade Stalin is a close and responsive friend of the Hungarian people, a friend who always helps our people to advance along the path of progress. (All delegates to the conference stand up and accord a hearty ovation in honour of Comrade Stalin, and the Soviet Union.)

To summarise: not only in Hungary, but also throughout the world the forces of democracy are growing and have passed over to the offensive. The present divided world of two camps today is characterised by fear, uncertainty, inflation, crisis and internal strife wherever the influence of American imperialism holds sway. The opposite is true in the countries of the people's democracy where there is confidence in the future, peaceful progress and tranquil constructive labour. The historic merit of Hungarian democracy lies in the fact that it was able to link our country to the front which is securing peace and progress.

Labour Discipline —The Main Thing

Our big job in the economic sphere is to consolidate our gains. This applies in the first place to the nationalised enterprises and banks. Managements must be reorganised along democratic lines so that administrative activity comes into the hands of those who are genuinely concerned with the interests of the people and not of the former owners. It is necessary to extend the principle of worker directors who already have proved their worth.

We must struggle for the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan. Socialist emulation and a system of awards should be introduced in order to stimulate the effort both of individual workers and of the personnel of factories as a whole. But the

main job is to improve labour discipline and secure increased productivity of labour. Every norm based on low labour productivity, every increase in wages that does not correspond to a similar increase in production only leads to the lowering of the standard of living for all. It is in the interests of the people that labour discipline and the productivity of labour not only reach the pre-war level but surpass it. Otherwise it will be impossible to raise the standard of living as compared to pre-war. The strengthening of labour discipline is our main job in the sphere of economy. High prices and the unprofitableness of the State enterprises, are due largely to the low productivity of labour. In agriculture, too, productivity of labour is only 70 per cent of the pre-war level.

It is necessary to clear the factories of the fascists and other saboteurs. If we can quickly and firmly establish labour discipline, and do everything to raise the productivity of labour then by the end of next year we should be in a position not only to reach but to surpass the pre-war standard of living.

In agriculture the decisive task is to accelerate the development of cooperatives. Together with abolishing the pseudo-cooperatives it is necessary to rid the cooperatives of their bourgeois heritage and dishonest leaders who cooperate much more willingly with former capitalists than with the people. The agricultural cooperatives must be advanced to first place in the cooperative movement in accordance with their membership, property and importance in the sphere of agricultural production. Every member of the Communist Party must regard this as a duty and act accordingly.

It is essential to secure the completion of the land reform in such a way that each of the new landowners is in possession of the title deeds to his holding by July 1.

For the Unity of the Working Class

Working-class unity is one of the most important pillars of Hungarian democracy. The enemies of unity from among the right-wing Social-Democrats tried to drive a wedge between the two workers' parties, to isolate the Communist Party and

thereby weaken democracy, as had been done by the followers of Bevin in Great Britain and of Blum in France. In Hungary the right-wing Social-Democrats more than once defended the interests of the out and out reactionary forces. After the elections they tried to disrupt the unity of the democratic parties by voting against the coalition. They also tried to save Pfeffer's fascist party. We heartily welcome the action of the Social Democratic Party in purging its ranks of the reactionary right wing—an action which has considerably strengthened the unity of the working class. Should the Social-Democratic Party remove from its leadership the enemies of unity and of the Soviet Union it would considerably strengthen Hungarian democracy. At the same time we are firmly convinced that the interests of the working class can best be served by a united workers' party (stormy applause.). This is borne out by the experience of historical development. Consequently, we must carefully nurture and develop everything which facilitates this unification.

Now when the leadership of the coalition parties has passed into the hands of democrats new opportunities are opened before the National Independence Front. It is now in a position to develop into a really active mass organisation of people's democracy. Thanks to the strengthening of Hungarian democracy the parties united in the National Independence Front have established close contact with each other. The Front is now in a position to reorganise itself on new broader foundations, which constitute a decisive pre-condition for further consolidation of our democracy.

We must clear the reactionaries out the courts, educational bodies and from the universities. We should never forget that reaction is still in possession of considerable branches of economy and that very often it can exert influence even among the working class.

The Struggle Against Clerical Reaction

We are faced this year with the job of regulating relations between the Church and the people's republic. An end must be

put to the interminable situation which enables the bulk of the enemies of the Hungarian people to operate behind the Church, and in the first place behind the Roman Catholic church. For three years Hungarian democracy has tried unsuccessfully to secure the participation of the Church for the rehabilitation of the country. But the majority of the leaders of the Catholic church, headed by Mindcenti, have so far refused to recognise the republic. Moreover, quite recently we observed how Mindcenti trampled underfoot, the great national traditions of 1848. These gentlemen regard the conciliatory gestures of Hungarian democracy, its wise political patience, and the fact that democracy itself decides when certain problems shall be tackled, they regard this as a sign of weakness. These gentlemen are everywhere hampering the rehabilitation of the country. But it would be useful if they were to remember that Hungarian democracy has successfully solved the problems put forward with which history confronted it. And it will also put an end to reaction which is sheltering behind the cloak of religion.

We must assure the working people in Hungary that we shall be resolute also in relation to Church should it be necessary to protect the results of the land reform and the interests of 700.000 Hungarian peasants who have received land. And we give this assurance to every Hungarian patriot: we shall not let the Cardinal Primate swear our sacred national traditions of 1848. Those naive people who as yet fail to see where Mindcenti wants to push the country, should know that had these gentlemen lived in 1848 they would have fought together with Heinau and his Austrian mercenaries against Kossuth. Petefi, against the revival of Hungary and the development of its people. Today, in 1948, they are combating democracy, resisting the land reform, fighting the Three- Year Plan and peace. And it must be clearly understood that for the realisation of its schemes, clerical reaction relies solely on the catastrophe of war, on the misery and destruction of hundreds of thousands of Hungarians. Today reaction stands for war, destruction,

endless sufferings, while democracy stands for peace, tranquillity and for the happiness and prosperity for our country which has suffered so much.

For a Free, Independent People's Republic

We will be able to do what is required of us only if we keep on building, extending and deepening the mass foundations of our Party. Special attention must be devoted to recruiting new members from among the industrial workers. We must place in the forefront the matter of extending our mass influence and securing the organisational consolidation of the Party. We must more rapidly raise the ideological level of our Party and improve Party labour discipline. We must combat corruption inside and outside the Party, and we must liquidate the incorrect attitude towards the intelligentsia. We must take care that the enemy does not penetrate our ranks. We must combine the forthcoming exchange of membership cards with the expulsion from the Party of all those unworthy of the name of Communist.

I will conclude by quoting some comments concerning our Party. After the Parliamentary elections in November 1947 the magazine of the British Royal Institute for International Affairs stated that in the course of the election it became clear that the strength of the Communist Party lay in its organisation and in the moral superiority of its leaders. The magazine pointed out also that the strength of the Communist Party lay in its consistency and resourcefulness, which made it possible for the Communists to consolidate their positions. The elections showed also, Stated the magazine, another quality of the Communist Party —its flexibility. But the main drawing power of the Communists lies in the scale and power of their work.

This is, indeed, quite a different tone, not the way in which they spoke of us two or three years ago.

Every Hungarian Communist must derive strength and vitality from the achievements won by Hungarian democracy under the leadership of our Party. He must be aware of his increased strength and responsibility, and at the same time remain

vigilant and be ready to repulse any enemy of the working people. The Hungarian Communist Party must be in the future an even more loyal, disciplined, vigilant and resolute champion of people's democracy. In this way we will realise and further develop the revolutionary ideas of 1848 and build the country for which Kossuth, Petefi and Tanchich fought—a free, independent, strong and prosperous republic. (Stormy applause.)

(page 4)

THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A UNITED GERMANY. Otto Grotewohl

In May 1945 the sledgehammer blows of the Soviet Army put the finishing touch to the Hitler State and Nazi war machine. Fascist barbarism, however, was destroyed not by the German people but through the combined efforts of the Allies, and especially the Soviet Union.

The German nation is indebted to the State which bore the greatest brunt of the war — the Soviet Union, for the fact that in the hour of its final crash it was afforded the opportunity for new national development. During the war Generalissimo Stalin time and again stressed that Soviet policy towards Germany did not aim at destroying the State but the Hitler regime. "Hitlers come and go, but the German people, the German State remains," said Stalin. After the war on October 23, 1946, Stalin declared: "Not only the economic unity, but also the political unity of Germany must be restored." Earlier at the Berlin conference Stalin suggested that a central German government be established. The suggestion, however, was not accepted by the other members of the conference.

Despite this, the decisions adopted by the Berlin conference laid the foundation for the development of the new Germany. These decisions state:

“The Allies do not plan to destroy or enslave the German people. The Allies aim to give the German people the opportunity to prepare to reorganise their life on democratic and peaceful foundations,”

The conference also resolved that Germany be considered a united economic body during the period of occupation and that central departments of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry should be set up.

The Berlin decisions constitute the foundation of Germany’s new national development along peaceful democratic lines.

BIZONIA—AMERICAN PROTECTORATE

The Hitler war, the insane plans for world domination by German monopoly capital, the terrible sanguinary crimes of Hitlerism revealed the guilt of the Junkers, of the coal and iron magnates for the national disaster of Germany for all the world, and the German people also, to see, immediately after the war, however, the German monopolists revised their plans and became the salesmen of Anglo-American imperialism. The German imperialists can well appreciate the intentions of their American opposites to turn Western Germany, and especially the Ruhr into a base for their economic domination of Europe and also into a military industrial arsenal directed against the Soviet Union and the countries of the people’s democracy. The German monopolists see in this aggressive policy the chance to secure a place in the sun of the American dollar. That is why they are championing the division of Germany and the creation of a Western German State, which could become an arena for all chauvinist, militarist and reactionary elements.

The proposals made by the American, General Clay, in agreement with the British General Robertson, at the bi-zonal

conference in Frankfurt on January 8, represent another step toward the formation of this Western German state. An American imperialist protectorate is actually being established behind the screen of purely economic unification.

The policy of the American imperialists is hampering not only the political but also the economic restoration of Germany.

Despite the dire consequences of the Hitler regime the German economy could have been restored to a very considerable degree had the Potsdam decisions concerning the unity of Germany and the setting up of central German departments been carried out.

Industrial output so far, especially in Western Germany, is at such a low level that it is impossible to cover the expense of rehabilitation expenditures and to meet reparation obligations. While industrial output in the Soviet zone has reached 52 per cent of the 1938 figure in Western Germany it is only 35 per cent, that is, far below the level fixed by Allied decision. This has resulted in an acute food crisis in the West, in a shortage of essential goods. Responsibility for this rests, above all, with the Anglo-American and French occupation authorities who fear the competition of German industry on the world market. But the absence of unity is a big obstacle in the way to recovery for all zonal spheres of economy.

The struggle for a united Germany has another exceptionally important aspect for the German working class. Reaction's plans, designed to make Germany a pawn in the hands of the imperialist and to transform the country into a jumping—off ground for a new war, can be realised only in a Germany broken up into small states. Therefore, the struggle for a united Germany is at the same time a struggle for peace and progress, a struggle against reaction and war.

It is a paradox, to say the least, that the reactionary forces, which only a few years ago propagated the idea of a "Greater Germany" are now advocating its division. As a matter of fact the notorious Schumacher immediately prior to the London conference presented this division as a "fait accompli".

Why does German reaction fear a united Germany? Because the democratic transformation which has taken place in the Soviet zone may spread throughout the country, and reaction's former positions and privileges reduced to nought.

Far-reaching reforms have been carried out in the Soviet zone during the two and a half years since Germany capitulated. Thanks to the democratic land reform over 11,000 estates of Junkers, big landlords and Nazi criminals covering an area of approximately three million hectares were confiscated and handed over to some 500,000 small peasants. Junkerdom, this dangerous citadel of reaction and militarism, has been abolished and tens of thousands of settlers provided with new homes. For the first time in the history of Germany a friendly alliance of workers and peasants has been formed, an alliance which is reflected in the close cooperation of the trade unions and peasant mutual aid committees numbering 490,000 members.

The big monopolies have been liquidated, and the private banks nationalised. Two thousand seven hundred and twenty-six enterprises belonging to war criminals and former active Nazis, have been handed over to the people.

The increasingly big role being played by the working class in the life of the country is reflected in the right of the trade unions and production councils to help solve production problems, in popular control over economy, and the active participation of the people in the administration of the economy.

The administrative, judicial, police and educational organs in the Soviet zone have been purged of Nazi elements.

An entirely different policy is being pursued in Western Germany. The war guilty, the monopolists and active Nazis there have not been brought to trial. On the contrary many of them occupy influential positions. The land reform, which was to be carried out all over Germany, in accordance with the decisions of the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers, is nothing but a farce in the West: the big landlords have shared

their land among “members of the family”, while the landless peasants and families of settlers remain as they were with nothing. Industrial enterprises and banks have not been nationalised and the promised “socialisation” of the coal mines has been deferred to the sweet bye and bye. Reaction and its agents, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy are again conspiring with foreign forces against peace and are inciting vicious slander against Eastern Germany, against the countries of the new democracy and the Soviet Union.

WORKING CLASS UNITY—THE BULWARK OF PROGRESS

Two conditions made possible the introduction of democratic reforms in the Soviet zone. First, the extensive assistance and support rendered by the Soviet occupation authorities and, second, the restoration of working class unity.

The merging of the two workers parties which took place in April 1916 is the surest guarantee of our new future.

The unity of the two workers’ parties cannot be destroyed since the Socialist Unity Party is an expression of the unity of the labour movement and is not a conglomeration of two hostile elements.

The German working class has paid too high a price for the treacherous policy of the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, and will never again yield the priceless achievement of unity. It is clear to us that the treachery of the right-wing social-democratic leaders made it easier for the fascists to seize power. The Socialist Unity Party therefore regards the restoration of a united Germany as an historic duty to the international labour movement. We must build up a new peaceful Germany, which never again will be a threat to other nations.

The process of restoring working class unity had an enormous rallying and organisational effect on all the people in the Soviet

zone. The Socialist Unity Party today has a membership of 1.800000. Numerically it is the strongest Party in Germany¹⁾)

The Socialist Unity Party carries great weight also in Western Germany, even though it has been banned there by the occupation authorities. Its influence was particularly apparent during the campaign for the establishment of the Socialist Unity Party in the western zones. Together with the Communist Party thousands of social-democratic and tens of thousands of non-party workers helped to set up SED committees and enrolled in its ranks. However, despite the clear-cut decisions of the Berlin conference, the occupation authorities in the Western zones prohibited the formation of the SED.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, as distinct from the treacherous pro-American, anti-unity leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany who are pursuing a policy of coalition with the reactionary bourgeois elements is steadily waging a struggle for the unity of the working class of the whole of Germany. Recognising that all the democratic forces must jointly bear responsibility for building the new Germany, the Socialist Unity Party, in cooperation with the mass organisations of the Eastern zone, is vigorously campaigning for the development of a democratic bloc. This cooperation will enable the working class to take over the leadership of all the democratic forces and the progressive elements will have the upper hand in the bourgeois parties.

Thus, the struggle for the unity of Germany, for a democratic, progressive Germany is indissolubly linked up with the struggle for the unity of the working class and democratic forces.

¹⁾ Together with the 324,000 members of the Communist Party and sympathisers in the Western zones, the SED today has more than 2,250,000 members.

FOR A UNITED GERMANY, FOR A JUST PEACE

The unity of Germany is not only an internal German problem, but also one of the main problems of international policy. At the London conference of Foreign Ministers Molotov mercilessly and in great detail revealed to international public opinion the nature and methods of American policy in Germany. Molotov clearly explained the essence of the question, that is, will the peace with Germany be a democratic peace, capable of securing world peace, or will it be an imperialist peace, containing the embryo of a new war.

Marshall broke up the London conference because his plans did not envisage a united Germany. Molotov, on the contrary, ceaselessly insisted on the restoration of the economic and political unity of Germany. The Soviet proposals corresponded to the interests of the German people. This is true also with regard to the problem of reparation, which had been used as a formal pretext to postpone the conference. The German working class view the meeting of reparation commitments not as a matter of pressure from outside but as a voluntary conscious undertaking, seeing in Molotov's proposal a just solution of the reparations question, a solution which, taking the interests of Germany into account, foresees a revival of German production.

With the plans of American imperialism calculated to secure a divided Germany, German democracy must launch a struggle for the carrying out of the Berlin decisions concerning the unity of Germany. At the second congress of the Socialist Unity Party it was decided to submit to the Allied Control Council seven suggestions designed to secure the unity of Germany. They included the demands for a plebiscite to decide the state structure of Germany (unified or federal state), the immediate formation of central German departments, removal of zonal

barriers an immediate and thorough purging of the administrative and economic apparatus of all Nazis and war criminals and the carrying out of a democratic agrarian reform throughout Germany.

Long before the party congress, the SED urged the imperative need to convene an all-German party gathering to inform London of the wishes of the German people.

But every attempt to convene this meeting encountered stubborn re-meeting encountered stubborn resistance on the part of the chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, Schumacher. After his visit to America — a “honeymoon trip with American Imperialism” — Schumacher strenuously resisted every attempt to convene an All-German party meeting, describing it as a “Communist manoeuvre designed to benefit Soviet policy”. In this way Schumacher showed himself in his true colours, showed his real face as an enemy of German unity, just as hitherto he had exposed himself as a bitter enemy of the working class.

When the Christian-Democratic Union followed the example of the Social-Democratic Party, and refused to take part in the all-party meeting, the SED called for a “popular congress for unity and a just peace” that would elect a delegation to represent German interests at the London conference. This congress was convened in Berlin on December 6th.

The call for a popular congress was followed — for the first time since the capitulation — by a widespread and truly mass movement throughout Germany. Delegates were nominated at factory meetings; the Liberal-Democratic Party in the Soviet zone decided to participate officially in the congress; trade unions and other mass organisations also sent delegates; many prominent scientists, artists, and writers likewise agreed to take part in the congress.

Although the delegation was unable to be present in London, the congress exercised a pronounced effect on the subsequent struggle for German unity. A congress committee, consisting of 50 people, was unanimously elected to guide this struggle.

Regardless of the blackmail and manoeuvres of the American imperialists and their allies — the reactionaries and right-wing Social-Democrats, the working class and the democratic forces in Germany will continue to press for national unity. For us this is a struggle for the vital interests of the German people for freedom and peace. This struggle will imbue the working people with renewed hope for a future which will not end in national disaster. The German working class derive this confidence from the consistent policy of their party — the Socialist Unity Party, and from the ever increasing support accorded by the democratic forces of the world.

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ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

THE PROMISE AND THE REALITY...

For anyone who has been paying attention to the American scene during the past 12 months there is nothing surprising in the fact that the opening of Congress is this time accompanied by unusual confusion in the camp of the “two-party” plutocratic bloc, which determines White House policy. The

reason for this confusion is pretty obvious-hard times have set in for the “Marshall men”.

Until recently the tactical manoeuvre employed by the chieftains of the “two-party” bloc, with the object of guaranteeing their expansionist drive, was to put off, for as long as possible, supplying an exact definition of the substance of the “Marshall Plan”. The deliberate, premeditated vagueness of the programme was not only artificially boosted by its authors and inspirers, but also widely used to influence public opinion both in Western Europe and in the United States.

When addressing Western Europe the “Marshall men” usually proclaimed that they were acting “carte blanche” on behalf of the US, that there was no limit to the so-called aid available to Western Europe.

But for home consumption in the United States the unrestrained political troubadours whetted still more the insatiable appetite of the business world. They painted wonderful pictures of a European “EI Dorado”, which it was alleged would provide American business boundless opportunity for “initiative”.

Never in the history of the US has there been such a complete line up of the huge and corrupt propaganda machine as is the case with the “Marshall Plan”. And never in all its subversive anti-popular activity has American imperialist reaction relied on such a scale on the services of its “fifth columns” in Europe—from the neofascist cliques Of de Gaulle and de Gaspard to the Blums, Saragats, Attlees and Bevins. With nauseating obsequiousness these contemptibles lick the boots of the transatlantic plutocrats, and endeavour to present American imperialist expansion in Europe as “idyllic disinterestedness” and “genuine” concern for peace and security. And although all levers were set in motion, ranging from liberal promises to intimidation, and a downright threat of force, the expansionist plans of the American imperialists are going somewhat awry and their authors, forced to beat a retreat are now manoeuvring.

This is plainly evident from the brief but noisy history of the “Marshall Plan”.

Last July the Paris conference of 16 countries, convened at the request of the USA, presented its first report, the entire dubious “philosophy” of which contained a single “pearl of wisdom”—to transform European economy once and for all into a dependent appendage of US imperialist economy. Accordingly, the report of the 16 fixed the sum of the 4-year “dollar deficit” of the 16 countries and Western Germany at 29.9 billion dollars. Wall Street’s business men found the sum too big.

With the typical arrogance of the American boss, Under-Secretary of state, Clayton, intimated to the “sovereign” conference that the US intended realising its “European assignments” at the price of a much smaller sum. The obedient representatives of the 16 countries twice rewrote their report, cutting down the 1951 deficit from 5.8 billion to 3.45 billion dollars.

Clayton’s functions then passed over to the so-called Harriman Committee, which began by rejecting the recommendations of the Paris conference and proposed cutting the appropriations for 1948-51 to the sum of 12-17 billion dollars.

In his message to Congress the President mentioned the sum of 17 billion dollars as the minimum “aid” for Europe programme. But immediately afterwards the White House, too, had to beat a retreat. Even before the President’s message was discussed in Congress, it was announced that the figure of 17 billion would be deleted from the message, and that in general Congress would not discuss a 4-year but a 15-month “aid” programme of 6,800 million dollars.

What does this signify? Only one thing: the direct onslaught of the American imperialists on the economic and political independence of the European countries is meeting with failure. They have had to retreat and manoeuvre. The Communist Parties, equipped with the Declaration of the Nine-Party Conference, have made plain to the people the imperialist essence of the “Marshall Plane” The broad masses of the

people more and more clearly see for themselves that the notorious American “aid” is a device to enslave the European countries, to transform them into appendages of US economy, thus threatening them with loss of freedom and national independence. Resistance to American expansionism is growing in Western Europe, the struggle against the American puppets in the governments—the right-wing Socialists—is sharpening.

Now that their expansionist drive is encountering stiffening resistance the Wall Street magnates are not at all interested in risking a considerable sum. Instead, they are doling out annual alms to their satellites, and are waiting to see what happens. American imperialism has every reason to fear the Europe under their “guardianship,” because the resistance of the peoples of Europe to the American imperialist drive is growing daily. And for perfectly understandable reasons, Wall Street poses the question: what if the people of France and Italy in the very near future drive its agents out of the government and replace them with genuine patriots. Then there won’t be any talk about aid because real aid for the people of Europe does not enter into the plans of Wall Street.

At home in the United States the economic fever, growing inflation, soaring prices and lower earnings are aggravating the dissatisfaction of the population. In the circumstances, the American taxpayer, despite the barrage of hypocritical propaganda released by the “Marshall men” is not over anxious to curtail his shrinking budget by paying for a European adventure by the imperialist rulers. Quite clearly, were the internal situation different from what it is, Congress, which is at the mercy of the reactionary “two-party” bloc would have occupied a less definite position. The Presidential election is due to take place in November when one-third of the Senate will also be elected. And the politicians in the Democratic and Republic parties know quite well that it is easier to deceive the electors by voting for a 6,800 million dollar credit for Europe than for 17 billion. This explains why Truman, Vandenberg and

their ilk are so eager to get the “Marshall Plan” out of the election campaign.

As we have seen American “aid” to Europe has dropped from the original 29.9 billion dollars, requested by the conference of 16 countries, to the sum of 6,800 million dollars, which Congress is now discussing. According to reliable American sources, it is more than probable that even this sum will be cut considerably. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the American imperialists have relinquished their plans to enslave Europe. Having failed to pose as disinterested benefactors, they are discarding the mask. Forrestal, Royall, Dulles, Baruch, etc. all, are demanding that Congress approve the “Marshall Plan” as the avowed programme of US military-strategic expansion on the continent of Europe.

BASIS OF THE BLOC OF EUROPEAN RIGHT SOCIALISTS AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS

Now that the European satellites of the US have to be satisfied with less and less promises of “aid”, in exchange for which they are trading the independence and sovereignty of their countries, the question arises: what is the motive of this transaction, how to account for the bloc of right-wing European Socialists and the transatlantic imperialist plutocracy?

This bloc is based primarily on a military-political alliance against the great bulwark of peace, democracy and Socialism—the USSR—against the countries of the new democracy.

This is fully borne out by the manoeuvring around the “Marshall Plan”, of the “Marshall Plan” in the US. After using up their stock of useless economic platitudes in defence of the plan, the American imperialists had to put their cards on the table. They actually admitted that they were using the “Marshall Plan” to set up a military-political alliance between the US and the West European countries. Dulles openly

declared that his recent talks with Attlee and Auriol centred on this very question.

Judging by the latest statements and policy of the Labour Party leaders and their French opposites, there is every reason for saying that these talks resulted in a definite agreement. Take the recent outbursts by Attlee, Morrison and Bevin, all of which couple an insensate hatred of Communism with insolent threats against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. These speeches reveal that apart from economic expansion the “Marshall Plan” is a screen for the military-strategic aspirations of the US. Surely the recent official moves of the British Government, moves which are aimed to secure the hasty formation of a military-political “Western bloc” reveal the nature of this strategy as a strategy to transform Western Europe into a US military base.

The notorious concept of a “third force”, which has become the standard of the post-war treachery of the right-wing Socialists, serves the same purpose. The only genuine, thing about the “third force” policy is that it lacks even the slightest independence, that it is a tool of American imperialist reaction. It is precisely the “third force” policy which reflects the wholehearted solidarity of the right-wing Socialists with the American imperialists the complete subordination of the former to the latter in carrying out the programme to transform Western Europe into an American base.

And true to type, it is these rightwing Socialists — virtuosi in the art of trickery and falsification — who once again are resorting to the tried method of camouflage. Thus, for instance, according to the London “Tribune” the Labour leaders still refer to the “Marshall Plan” as a policy of restoring Europe with American aid, but on the basis of Socialist principles. And the economic expert and theoretician of the Labour Party, Professor Cole, writing in the “New Statesman” even advocates the setting up of a West European “Socialist bloc” on the basis of the “Marshall Plan”.

The Marshall Plan an “instrument of Socialism”. Can anyone imagine anything more insolent, more monstrous! What a mockery of the great ideas of Socialism, so dear to the working people!

Truly, the modem Epigoni of the Second International, who have become the “fifth column” of aggressive American imperialism, have vastly exceeded the greatest expectations of their teachers.

CONCERNING “PROTOCOL M”

The clumsiness and crudeness of the forgery known as “Protocol M”, concocted under the joint auspices of the Foreign Office, the British Intelligence Service, the American FBI and the Schumacher clique, literally breaks all records. Small wonder that this “creation” had barely seen the light of day before It died a quick death. It vanished as soon as the Anglo-French-American press published an “authentic” text of the forged document. The shameless buffoonery around “Protocol M” has had a boomerang effect on its forgers.

Actually, the provocative hullabaloo raised by the British Labour leaders and their American masters once again focussed public attention on the situation In the Ruhr—a situation characterised by the complete political and economic bankruptcy of the Anglo-American administration. It is now clear to all that having brought about general ruin and hunger riots, Bevin and Marshall, falling back on the hackneyed methods of all bankrupts, tried by means of a dirty provocative device, to shift responsibility onto other people. Even the London “Times” commented at the time that it would be crazy to imagine the despair and hopelessness among the population of the Ruhr are caused by reasons other than hunger.

The uproar started by the right-wing Socialists and their American bosses exposes at the Same time their tactical plans

with regard to the European working class, in general, and the working class in Western Germany, in particular. The American plutocrats are endeavouring to transplant in European soil the reactionary, anti-labour Taft-Hartley law and to break up the trade unions. The “Protocol M” forgery is proof positive that the right-wing Socialists—agents of American reaction in Europe—are gunning for the trade unions in Western Germany and are preparing the ground for banning the Communist Party there.

What further evidence is needed after this to prove that the bloc consisting of the British Labour leaders, French Socialists, the Schumacher group and American imperialists, have resurrected in essence, and in method, the notorious “Anti-Comintern pact”. It was not accidental that the US Secretary of State in a recent address to Congress declared that it was precisely the right-wing Socialists who constitute “the strongest bulwark in Europe against Communism.”

But it looks as though these politicians who have lost all sense of balance will have to reconsider their estimate of this “bulwark”.

For the threads of “Protocol M” lead undoubtedly to the Foreign Office. One can feel the Bevin finger in the Protocol pie. The moment “Protocol M” was published the Bevin and Attlee underlings were busy for days confirming, on behalf of the British Office, the “authenticity” of “Protocol M.”

Bevin apparently has modelled himself on the notorious... Goebbels. The German press reminded Bevin that on February 4, 1933 the Nazi “*Voelkischer Beobachter*” published a Goebbels forgery about “secret protocols of the Communist Party of Germany”. The Hitler sheet set up a hysterical howl about “a secret Communist Party instruction calling for illegal struggle by secret military committees of the CP of Germany.” According to the Goebbels forgery the “instructions” came from the West European Bureau of the Comintern.

Fifteen years later, on January 15, 1948, the Bevin—Schumacher organ of the right-wing Social-Democrats

appeared with sensational headlines alleging a “protocol for a putsch by the CP of Germany; a secret order for a mass revolt in Western Germany; Cominform takes party”.

The similarity is complete. Bevin and Schumacher are unceremoniously plagiarising Goebbels. There can be no doubt that having taken to this path they will not stop at “Protocol M”. They will present the world with similar disgusting filth.

Come on, gentlemen of the right wing Socialists; go ahead exposing yourselves as the corrupt menials of American imperialist reaction!

Communists know with whom they’ve got to deal. They were not intimidated by the Goebbels forgery and most certainly they won’t be intimidated by the Bevin forgery. Let reaction fume and rave, the Communists are marching onward together with the masses and at the head of the masses, they are fighting for the cause of world peace, for the cause of people’s democracy.

M. MARININ

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CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

The 26th congress of the Italian Socialist Party, which took place in Rome, lasted four days, from December 19 until the 23.

Four hundred and seventy-nine delegates with a decisive vote, representing 786,945 members, attended the congress which debated the programme of the party, as outlined by Petro Nenni, Lelio Basso and Rodolfo Morandi.

Nenni in his report, formulated the foreign policy of the party in the struggle for the free and independent democratic development of Italy, and for an end to the control and interference by American imperialism, which is seeking to make of Italy a pawn in its policy of instigating a new war.

Basso referred to the increased pressure of the reactionary forces who dominate the Government and the Democratic Party, and who enjoy the support of the US. The internal and international situation of Italy demands the unification of all the democratic forces for joint struggle by the working people and middle class for an active share in the administration of the country. This unification can be brought about only by a popular democratic front fighting for freedom, bread peace and independence.

Morandi based his report on the need for industrial and agricultural reforms.

During the pre-congress discussion the programme drafted by the leadership of the party received the support of the overwhelming majority of the party. The preparations for the congress and the congress itself revealed the disguised Saragat group in the party, who tried to force another split in the party. Romita, who headed this reformist group and a member of the management board of the party, advanced the view that the party should confine itself to trade union demands and to

Parliament, and should contest the elections with its own candidates, etc.

But at the district conferences and finally at the congress itself this programme failed to gain any substantial following.

* * *

Dwelling on political life during 1947 Nenni stated: "The Italian bourgeoisie, headed by de Gasperi, sacrificed internal peace within the country. With the fanaticism and blindness typical of classes in a state of irreparable decline our bourgeoisie would rather see our country suffer a slow destruction, disturbances, disorders and the danger of economic catastrophe than permit the presence of Socialists and Communists in the Government. In this respect our bourgeoisie are similar to the French bourgeoisie who in 1940 could declare: "Better the Germans in Paris than the Popular Front in the Government.

"We Socialists," went on Nenni, "see in the popular democratic front, that is, the alliance of the progressive left forces, a weapon which enhances the fighting capacity of the masses. Our task is the struggle for power and not just an electoral struggle of the old parliamentary type. This struggle requires, as was the case in the period of the national liberation movement, the mobilisation of the masses, and of forces and interests on a scale far exceeding the narrow framework of political parties.

"The Socialist Party must organise forces capable of effecting major structural reforms; must clear the way for these forces to develop their activities, and remove the Christian Democratic leadership from the Government. We must spare no efforts," stressed Nenni, "to improve and extend the Front organisations, and add to their number,"

On the matter of foreign policy, Nenni had this to say:

"Today there exists in the world a war party, which has adopted the old Hitler plan of war against the Soviet Union, precisely because the Soviet Union is the champion and leader of the

new social system, and not because it is a state with certain boundaries. This war party consists of erstwhile Hitlerites and fascists, of old and new followers of Hitler of the fascists of Petain and Franco. This party pins its hopes on the US, and above all, on the so-called Truman Doctrine, which has won for the President the unfortunate nickname of “the guardian of law and order”. In the 19th century this name was applied to Louis Bonaparte and not so long ago to Mussolini and Hitler.

“The main feature of the present situation and of the crises of the world is an attempt to create an all inclusive cordon sanitaire around the Soviet Union and the countries of the new democracy. And when those ideologists, falsifiers and charlatans who, blinded by the “third force” gloss over this fact, they merely show that they act as tools of imperialism.”

Nenni stressed the fact that Soviet diplomacy is defending the principle of the unity of Germany while American diplomacy advances the idea of dividing Germany and is facilitating the implementation of this idea.

“In denouncing the Truman Doctrine of American interference into the affairs of the Mediterranean countries, we are defending our future as a free nation. De Gasperi and Sforza, on the contrary, wish to involve us in a Western bloc, whereby we would become a base of support for imperialism and be compelled to save, with our blood, that which is strange and alien to our national life. There is no similar danger to us from the other side. We are not threatened from the East. The only menace from that direction is the threat to the positions of the capitalists, the bankers, plutocrats and the forces of imperialism.

“We, Socialists, do not believe in fatal, inevitable and blitz wars, provided that the war party is everywhere vigorously combated.

“The foreign policy of the Government of the Popular Front,” added Nenni, “must be based on the principle” to be on terms of amity with all and servility to none.” The de Gasperi Government, on the contrary, is carrying out an American

policy, and having gone over completely to the anti-Soviet. ideology of the war party is sacrificing the main interests of the nation.”

Referring to ideological matters Nenni said: “There cannot be any concessions in the ideological sphere. The split which took place last year was caused precisely by a departure from a Marxist position. We can say, using Lenin’s words, that our struggle against the splitters-revisionists is but a prelude to the great revolutionary battles of the proletariat, marching towards complete victory, despite all the waverings and weaknesses of petty-bourgeois elements. The ultimate object of revisionists is the so-called third force, which from the political point of view is false and theoretically means a denial of Marxism based on the principle of relentless struggle between workers and capitalists.

“The two camps—the capitalist camp and the camp of the working class differ from each other widely, but there are only two forces and not three. Those who have resorted to the capitalist slogans of anticommunist struggle are in error when they imagine that the anti-Communist campaign, conducted by the capitalist and imperialist camp, is not directed also against us. In fighting against the Socialists and Communists—the vanguard of democracy,—the capitalists are combating the world of labour which is marching onward to secure its rights.”

* * *

In his address to the congress the secretary of the party, Lelio Basso, said:

“The task contained in the resolution mooted by the left-wing of the party calls for unity of action with the Communist Party. Both parties enjoy equal right. We favour the policy of unity because we are Socialists, and because we fight for the working class. We have always condemned, and will always do so, those who, due to a false “patriotism” or to some other reasons would like at all costs to have us pursue a policy

different from that of the, Communist Party, merely for the sake of distinguishing the Socialist Party in one way or another, and of giving it a special character. Having emerged from the same source, and fighting for the same cause Socialists and Communists must unite their forces in order to attain common aims, to carry out common tasks and to struggle against the common enemy.”

“Reaction,” Basso continued, “aimed at creating in Italy a political situation similar to that brought about in other countries, that is to restore, with American support, the old State structure, based on a coalition of Catholic and Socialist forces. They banked on making the Saragat party a stronghold of the bourgeoisie. Although we combated this, we had to tackle the splitters from defensive positions. Having defeated and isolated them we exposed them to the country in their true colours. All in all, we were able to prove that unity of democratic forces can be achieved only by taking the leftward path.”

Basse likewise touched on questions of foreign policy. “The capitalist groups in different countries,” he said, “have entered into the service of and allow themselves to be led by American capitalism. All the old ruling class of Italy can do is pursue a policy of domination by American imperialists, and supply the US press with new “arguments” against the popular democratic movement.”

“We cannot,” stressed Basso, agree with this policy, to the servility and trusteeship which they are preparing for us. We are for defending the independence of the nations, for the working class is the only class in the country which is able today to protect the interests of our great national community against the privileges of the few who would like to do away with national sovereignty for the sake of preserving the privileges of the past. There is no third, middle force. The only alternative is: either continuation of the reactionary policy leading to another war or, the creation of a front which will pave the way for new democratic victories. The policy of

creating the front is the only policy which will enable us to stand solid and then go over to a counter offensive.”

In the course of the debate the majority of the delegates unanimously expressed themselves in, favour of the policy of the popular democratic front.

At the final session the congress adopted a resolution which, among other things, calls for a more energetic defence of the interests of the working class and of democratic liberties, the realisation of the reforms and cooperation with all countries in the struggle for peace and democracy. The resolution denounces the blackmail and political pressure on Italy, exercised in the guise of US economic aid, denounces the fact that this aid is being used by the ruling class for political purposes. The resolution :was carried by 782, 431 votes or 99.33 per cent of the total. A motion calling for joint electoral lists in the forthcoming elections secured 66.75 per cent of the votes.

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BEVIN THE WARMONGER

In the House of Commons on January 22 Mr. Bevin spoke at length on the foreign policy of the Labour Government and openly—it was the first, time, he been so candid in public on the subject—supported the ideas expounded in the Fulton speech of the warmonger Churchill.

Not so very, long ago Bevin in his public appearances swore by “socialism”, proclaimed his adherence to the ideas of “world unity”, saw fit to announce that he is for the “national independence”, referred to the USA as an “usurer” and recalled his “working-class background”. But, hard times have set in for the right-wing Socialists. The course of events forces them, one

after the other, to discard their masks and show themselves in their true colours. The result—Bevin now speaks the language of Churchill. He slanders the Soviet Union and the new democracies, threatens them with another war and appears in the role of the organiser and focal point of all the imperialist anti-democratic forces of Western Europe. This, as a matter of fact, was the essence of the speech of the “Socialist” Labour Government’s Foreign Minister.

However, like the servant of any master, Bevin is neither the author of this idea, nor the initiator of its realisation.

The initiative hails from Washington. The point is that the Marshall “aid” for Europe is being regarded more and more as a form of American expansionism, as an attempt to enslave the peoples of Europe, Conscious that mere promises of “aid” will not give them Europe the American imperialists plan to bring Europe under their sway through the political unification of all those countries under the aegis of the USA on the basis of struggle against the “aggressiveness of the USSR and the, new democracies”.

And once again, as was the case when the “Marshall Plan”, was announced the role of first violin in this manoeuvre is assigned the “Socialist” Bevin. It seems that His Majesty’s Foreign Minister does not possess a very rich imagination. He clings to the Churchill ideas of a “Western bloc”, thunders about the “historical and political community of interests of the peoples of Western Europe”, calls upon them to renounce their national independence and sovereignty and to form a “West European union”. In order to sell this idea to the ruling circles of those countries Bevin paints alluring pictures, of their joint revenge on the national liberation movement In the colonies and their unbridled exploitation of overseas territories. Bevin boldly includes in this union the “new” Italy, France, Portugal, Belgian, Holland and other states, meaning Western Germany, now being restored by the Anglo-Americans. In the meantime Dulles in Washington announces that this union is a “component part of the Marshall Plan”. Such is the latest trick

of the American imperialists, presented by Bevin as “Socialist” frankness ...

And so, the order has been received from Washington. Its aim—to farm a Western European bloc aimed at the land of Socialism and the new democracies, aimed at splitting Europe and preparing for a new war. At the same time it is announced that this bloc will be financed by the “Marshall Plan”, that is will be under the thumb of Washington. Moreover, Bevin plans to be the United States’ European gauleiter of this “union”, that is, of course, until the US finds it necessary to replace him by an American general.

Such is the latest undertaking announced with so much pomp by Bevin in the House of Commons. The only new thing about it is that the would be American gauleiter has shed the mask of “Socialist” and let the world know that at least he has long been an imperialist yes-man. Today the world knows that it was not Bevin the “Socialist” who spoke in the House of Commons, but Bevin-Churchill, the warmonger. His speech was applauded in the White House—evidently his masters were well pleased, But it would seem that both servant and masters have forgotten how the imperialist outburst of the warmonger Churchill and the notorious “Truman Doctrine” were received by the people.

Millions of honest people in France, Italy, Belgium and Britain—all to whom the honour and independence of their country are dear, who have no desire to be in bondage to Anglo-American capital, regardless of whether it is presented in the form of Marshall “aid” or the Bevin “union of Western Europe”, will react to this latest manoeuvre of the imperialists by closing ranks, by intensifying the struggle for a lasting peace against the warmongers, for democracy, progress and freedom.

Jan MAREK

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SLAV JOURNALISTS IN CONFERENCE

A conference of journalists of the Slav countries, including Bulgaria, Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, was held recently in Zagreb. Among the guests at the conference were journalists from Albania, Hungary and Rumania. The opening speech was delivered by Bojidar Maslaric, President of the Slav Committee.

The conference addressed a call to progressive journalists throughout the world, urging them to fight for a lasting peace and genuine democracy, to combat reaction and its mercenaries and to expose those who while giving lip service to democracy actually their deeds assist the warmongers, promote discord and set other nations against the Soviet Union and the countries of the new democracy.

The conference sent messages of greetings to Generalissimo Stalin and Marshal Tito, and also a letter to the International Organisation of Journalists.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRATISATION OF THE COUNTRY. I. Krainich

With the rout of the Japanese Kwantung Army by Soviet troops the people of Korea were liberated after long years of Japanese colonisation. When, on September 8.1945, US troops disembarked in the Korean port of Chemulpo, the country was split at the 38th parallel into two zones: the southern zone under American and the northern zone under Soviet supervision. This division into two zones was a temporary measure, which had as its purpose to disarm the Japanese, liquidate the aftermath of Japanese colonial domination and to help the people of Korea set up democratic institutions, above all, a democratic government.

The plan for the rehabilitation of Korea was outlined and adopted by the foreign ministers of the USSR, USA and Great Britain at the Moscow Conference in December 1945. China adhered to this plan subsequently. The Four Powers pledged to restore Korea as an independent state and to promote the

political, economic and social welfare of the people. In keeping with this a joint Soviet American commission was set up in Seoul, with the task of establishing a provisional democratic government with the help of the Korean progressive parties and organisations.

Although much time has passed, the Moscow agreement is not being carried out because of the American representatives. The US Government has not honoured the obligations entered into at the Moscow conference; it has, as a matter of fact, grossly violated them by disrupting the work of the joint commission and by raising the question of Korea at the recent UNO session. The US Government resorted to this manoeuvre in order to prevent the Soviet Union from taking part in the debate on Korea, to secure for itself a free hand, and to install in the country a regime that would suit the interests of Wall Street. The Soviet suggestion submitted last September that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea at the beginning of 1948, and that the people themselves should decide the question of their State structure, was rejected by the US.

One reason for Washington's furious opposition to this Soviet suggestion which, according to the press shocked the US State Department, is that the American leaders are seriously alarmed at the strength of the democratic forces in Korea, at the scale of the democratic movement which embraces the broad masses of the population who are insisting on immediate independence.

The liberation of Korea from the long years of Japanese oppression has infused the people with new strength, has increased their political activity, their desire to reorganise the life of the country on democratic principles. The Korean Communists were the initiators of this movement.

At the end of 1945 there were only 3,000 Communists in South Korea. but their number had increased to 100,000 by May 1946. The growth in membership was more rapid in Northern Korea where the number of Communists increased from 6,000 at the end of 1945 to 160,000 by August 1946.

The Communists took the lead in consolidating all forces in the United National Democratic Front. In Northern Korea the Front was established at the end of 1945 and united all the democratic organisations: the Communist Party, the new People's Party, the Democratic Party, the Party of "Young Friends" ("Chem Do-Gio"), the trade unions, Peasant Union, Youth League, Woman's Union, etc. Altogether the Front has a membership of some 11,000,000 in the two zones (5,000,000 in Southern Korea and 6,000,000 in Northern Korea.)

For the purpose of strengthening the democratic forces the Communist Party united with the other progressive Parties into the Workers' Party. In Northern Korea the Communist Party merged with the new People's Party, whose aims are akin to those of the Communist Party.

The Workers' Party of Northern Korea is the biggest mass party. By January 1947 its membership was in excess of half a million. It is the Party of workers and peasants, who constitute 85 per cent of its membership.

In Southern Korea the Left parties merged later, at the end of 1946.

Immediately after the Japanese were driven out provisional people's committees, which are the local organs of people's power, were set up. The Provisional People's Committee, the central organ of people's power in the Soviet zone was set up in Pkhenyan.

With the help of the democratic organisations the 'Provisional People's Committee introduced far-reaching reforms. 1946 saw the introduction of the Land Reform, the nationalisation of the banks, industry and communications; labour laws, laws concerning the equality of women with men, and the protection of private property were adopted and measures taken to encourage free enterprise.

An important democratic measure was the Land Reform in Northern Korea which gave land to 725,000 agricultural labourers and landless peasants. The estates of the Japanese and Korean landlords were taken over, and the medieval

system of land tenure abolished. The land now belongs to the tillers of the soil.

By decision of the Provisional People's Committee the factories, mines, railways and water transport, communications system, trading and cultural institutions, banks and finance bodies, formerly belonging to Japanese owners and collaborators, were confiscated and handed over to the People's Committees.

The 8-hour day has been established legally. Child labour, formerly widely practised by Japanese factory owners has been abolished; social insurance for workers and office employees and safety measures in industry are being introduced.

The democratisation of Northern Korea was wholeheartedly supported by the working people. Ninety-nine point six percent of the registered electors voted in the elections for the people's committees. Ninety-seven per cent voted for the candidates of the United Democratic Front.

In Southern Korea the Workers' Party and the other parties and organisations united in the National Democratic Front find themselves in entirely different conditions. The American occupation authorities, relying on Korean reactionaries and collaborators, have made it well-nigh impossible for the progressive organisations to carry on.

They dissolved the people's Committees, which were set up in Southern Korea after the Japanese occupation troops had been driven out, disarmed the People's Guard, formed to fight the Japanese until the arrival of American troops. When a mass movement for democratic reforms began in the American zone in 1946, the Americans and their Korean hirelings engaged in brutal persecution of Korean democrats, arrested their leaders, suppressed strikes by force, and sent punitive expeditions into the countryside.

In the struggle against reaction, for the democratisation and independence of the country the Workers' Party began to expose the expansionist drive of the US in Korea, the designs

of American capital to monopolise the country's economy and to turn the country into a military and strategic base of the US. The Americans retaliated by intensifying their persecution of the democrats and supporters of Korea's independence. On March 1, last year, on the 28th anniversary of the Korean revolt against the Japanese the police, on orders of the American authorities, opened fire on demonstrators in Seoul and other towns in Southern Korea.

Last August the civil service chief An Je-len and the American deputy military administrator Brigadier-General Helmick, issued an order banning all meetings or demonstrations on August 15—the anniversary of the liberation of Korea from the Japanese invaders. Following this Major-General Lerch ordered the arrest of all leaders of the Left parties and organisations on the pretext of “preventing an uprising on August 15.”

After General Lerch's order some 2,000 persons were arrested during one night alone. This figure steadily increased. The New York Times for October 15, 1947 reported that according to official data 20,000 Koreans are languishing in 18 prisons and 5 concentration camps. This is 4,000 more than the number arrested throughout Korea in July 1945 at the time of the Japanese regime. If anything, this shows that the Americans are turning Southern Korea into a police state. The New York Times' correspondent, Martin, in a recent series of articles from Seoul characterised the regime in Southwark Korea as a police state with all its characteristics of excesses, crimes and brutalities.

The Workers' Party and United National Democratic Front in the North and South have proved to the people that they are the genuine champions of the independence of Korea.

The parties and organisations of the United Front welcomed the proposal of the Soviet Union to withdraw foreign troops from Korea by the beginning of 1948, and to let the people themselves decide the question of the organs of power in their country. They protested against the decision of the UNO

General Assembly, which, on the insistence of the USA, rejected the Soviet proposal to invite Korean representatives to the General Assembly session on the Korean question and took a decision to send a UNO commission to Korea. This UNO commission, composed of U.S. yes-men is the “Trojan horses”, with the aid of which the American expansionists want to install a reactionary anti-popular regime in Korea, to set up a government; which would be a puppet in the hands of the American imperialists.

The American plans to enslave Korea and suppress the democratic forces in the country are encountering stubborn resistance from 30 million Koreans who, having freed themselves from the yoke of Japanese imperialism will not allow Wall Street colonisers to harness them to a new slavery.

Editorial Board

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