

*Workers of all countries, Unite!*

# *For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples Democracy*

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## **THE COMMUNISTS—THE ORGANISERS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY**

The movement of the popular masses against the expansionist plans of American imperialism, plans which aim to enslave Europe economically and politically, is growing. The working class and all progressive elements see for themselves that the policy of the American imperialists and their British partners signifies the enthrallment of nations, the unleashing of a new war.

At the head of the anti-imperialist camp stand the Communist Parties which have been tempered and tested in the struggle against fascism. The Communists represent the most advanced and organised section of the working class, the most militant and revolutionary party, which is fighting for the vital interests of the people and for the abolition of social and national oppression.

The Communist Parties are gaining in influence not only in

Eastern and Southeastern Europe, but also in the other countries of Europe, and also beyond its confines. Nor is this accidental. In his interview, with the “Pravda” correspondent on the subject of Churchill’s Fulton speech, Comrade Stalin stated: “The influence of the Communists has increased because during the difficult years of fascist domination in Europe the Communists proved to be a reliable force, selfless champions against the fascist regime, for the freedom of the peoples.” In France, Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries, occupied by the Germans, the Communists were the heart and soul of the national liberation struggle against fascism, were the organisers of the guerrilla movement. They rallied the democratic forces and led them to victory.

The victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany was of enormous significance in enhancing the influence of the Communist Parties. The people become aware of the strength of the Soviet system, of the superiority of Socialist economy over capitalist economy.

One of the eloquent indications of the widespread popularity of Communist ideas is the numerical growth of the Communist Parties in all countries. Prior to the war the Communist Party of France had a membership of 300,000, whereas today it counts over a million members. The Communist Party of Italy correspondingly increased from 15,000 to 2,283,000, the Communist Party of China from 600,000 to 2,700,000.

In many countries the Communist Parties have become militant mass parties, which are leading the majority of the working class and are winning over ever bigger sections of the working people—peasants, intelligentsia, handicraftsmen, etc.

Communist prestige has grown above all in the new democracies—Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary Rumania, Albania—where the Communist Parties are now powerful and influential Government parties. In these countries the Communist Parties, whose total membership is close on 5 millions, are engaged in extensive political and organisational work in all spheres of State, economic and

cultural life. Fundamental economic and political reforms have been introduced in the new democracies on the initiative, and with the active participation of the Communist Parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin-Stalin, which has a membership of many millions, serves as a great example to the Communist Parties of other countries who see in the CPSU (B) the foremost champion for peace, freedom and the independence of peoples.

Today, when the struggle between the imperialist and democratic camps is sharpening to the Communist Parties has fallen the historic role of organising the popular masses against the expansionist plans of the American aggressors, of exposing all homebred accomplices of American imperialism.

The Communist Parties, equipped with the decisions of the Nine Party Conference held in Poland, have accomplished much since the conference took place. The events of the past few months, especially in France and Italy, show that the Communist Parties in these countries are successfully surmounting difficulties and to an ever greater extent are rallying the working people under the banner of defence of the national independence and sovereignty of their countries, are mobilising them for struggle against reaction: The recent congress of the Communist Party of Italy demonstrated the determination of the Communists to fight for the freedom of the Italian people. The congress showed the strength of the Communist Party and its ability to consolidate working class unity on the basis of cooperation with the Socialist Party. The events that have passed since the congress speak of the growing resistance of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia to the manoeuvres of reaction, of the growing struggle to consolidate the broad people's front. As revealed by the strike movement in France last November and December, the French Communist Party is the recognised leader, organiser and inspirer of the working class; it is fighting for the national interests of the people and against the rising danger of fascism. The Party is increasing its influence among the peasantry and

intelligentsia.

Reaction, headed by the American imperialists, is perturbed at the growth of democracy. In an attempt to ensure its criminal designs and suppress the growing democratic movement reaction is falling back on the assistance of its agents in the labour movement and, above all, on the right-wing Socialists, who have been assigned the ignominious role of the servants of capital. These traitors are, excelling themselves in disruptive activities in the labour movement and are trying to weaken the confidence of the working class in their strength, in ultimate victory. The right-wing Socialists, who are expert provocateurs, are literally crawling out of their skins to justify and uphold capitalist slavery and to divert the blow from imperialism.

Acting at the behest of the American reactionaries, the right-wing Socialists are going all out to split the World Federation of Trade Unions, to set up a new trade union organisation, which will be an obedient tool in the hands of American British imperialism for carrying out and justifying the policy of expansion.

In these circumstances the Communist Parties consider it their prime task to denounce the treacherous activities of the rightwing Socialists in the labour movement, to show them up in their true colours as betrayers of the interests of the people. The Communists are rallying around themselves the working class and all democratic forces on the basis of a common anti-imperialist, democratic platform. In Italy the Communists and Socialists support a common platform for the creation of a powerful people's front of struggle against reaction, against the treacherous policy of de Gasperi and the splitting activities of Saragat.

In the new democracies—Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria—the bloc of Communists and Socialists with other democratic progressive parties is the cornerstone of resistance of these countries to the imperialist plans, the cornerstone of struggle for economic, political and ideological development along the path to Socialism. Unity of action and cooperation

between the different workers' parties is growing and spreading in all spheres of social" economic and cultural life. It is acquiring special import in the struggle to raise the productivity of labour, to promote labour emulation, as a key condition in fulfilling the plans for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy. The workers' parties in the new democracies are cementing ideological cooperation on the basis of constructive Marxism. Ideological rapprochement is steadily exposing and isolating the adherents and supporters of the "third force" in the ranks of the Socialist Parties.

The new tasks facing the Communist Parties require a higher level in all party-political work and party leadership. In rallying the democratic forces for struggle against reaction and imperialism the Communist Parties are simultaneously redoubling their activities to consolidate their own ranks. They realise that there can be no major successes unless the Party organisations are organisationally fortified, that success depends on organisational work, that "once the correct political line has been given organisational work decides everything else, including the fate of the political line itself, i.e., its success or its failure." (Stalin)

The rapid numerical growth of the Communist Parties, as well as the pressing need for politically trained cadres raise the urgent task of intensified political education of Communists in the process of concrete daily work, in special schools and through independent study of Marxist-Leninist theory. A number of Communist Parties have organised several higher and secondary Party schools and courses, where the members receive their Party education. Marxist literature, books, pamphlets and journals are widely published. The Communist Party is paying increased attention to theoretically generalising the rich experience of struggle in new conditions, to elaborating problems connected with the progress of the people's democracies along the path to Socialism. Political education and theoretical work are vital questions of party activity for there can be no serious successes unless the

Marxist-Leninist consciousness of cadres is on the proper level. Criticism and self-criticism are important in eliminating the shortcomings in the work and in training personnel.

The Communist Parties are growing and gaining in strength, are daily cementing their bonds with the non-party mass organisations, with the trade unions, cooperatives, youth leagues, women's federations, etc. It is impossible to consolidate the class positions of the working class in the different fields of its struggle without close links with the various mass organisations. The Communist Parties, especially in the new democracies, are carrying out extensive work to develop and consolidate the mass organisations, are contributing to their activities in the general interests of State policy.

The Communist Parties have won major successes in resisting the plans of imperialist expansion along all lines-governmental, political, economic and ideological. The Communists have demonstrated their growing strength, have proved that they are the genuine organiser of the peoples in the struggle for peace and a people's democracy. However, the Communist Parties are aware that this is but the beginning of the struggle. They are not dizzy with success. for they know that the ultimate victory over the forces of imperialism will not come of its own accord, that it will have to be fought for. A severe and strenuous struggle lies ahead.

Equipped with revolutionary theory the Communists are waging the struggle against imperialism. A hundred years ago the greatest minds of revolutionary thought, Marx and Engels, laid the foundation of scientific Communism and created the "Communist Manifesto" the militant programme of action, and outstanding work of scientific Socialism. Today, Communism is a mighty and invincible force, the standard of struggle for millions. Under this standard, enriched with the experience of Socialist construction in the USSR, the Communist Parties will lead the peoples to final victory over imperialism.

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# **FOR CONSOLIDATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

## **CONFERENCE OF THE SHOCK-BRIGADE WORKERS OF SERBIA**

The new shock-brigade movement is making big headway among industrial workers in Yugoslavia. In Serbia alone there are some 40,000 shock-workers, rationalisers and innovators, The popular initiative in building up the country has resulted in considerable economy and an increased output. Productivity of labour in Serbia was up by 36 per cent last year. In the mining industry there was an increase of 34.5 per cent and 121 per cent in the building industry.

An all-Serbia conference of shock workers held in Belgrade a few days ago was addressed by Marshal Tito.

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## **NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES TO THE LOCAL COMMITTEES IN ALBANIA**

In connection with the forthcoming elections to the local People's Committees in Albania the people are putting forward

their candidates. Their choice is those who have distinguished themselves during the national-liberation struggle and in the rehabilitation of the country. The head of the Albanian Government, Enver Hodja, is receiving numerous telegrams from all parts of the country in which the people say they will vote for the Democratic Front.

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## **INCREASED CAPITAL INVESTMENTS IN HUNGARY'S NATIONAL ECONOMY**

The results of the first six months of the Three Year Plan are indicative of the scale of construction work underway. The severe drought; which drastically reduced the national income, retarded the rate of capital investments with the result that last August only 78.8 per cent of the target figures for construction work were reached. By the end of the year, however, the rate of development quickened and in January capital investments totalled 86.7 million forints, i.e., 99 per cent of the plan as against 58.6 million forints in August. In February the sum of

capital investments increased another 20 per cent and exceeds 100 million forints. Thus, for the first six months of the Plan capital investments in the national economy, including the private sector; total 646 million forints, of which 144.7 million fall to the share of agriculture, 138.7 million to industry, 128.8 million to transport and 62.2 million forints to cultural undertakings.

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## **DEFEAT OF THE RIGHT WING IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY**

Following the exposure of the anti-republican conspiracy and the defeat suffered by the reactionary wing of the Smallholders' Party, the rightwing in the Socialist Party tried to defeat the Communist Party in the Parliamentary elections, to isolate the Party, break up the coalition and thereafter enter into a bloc of the right parties. However, due to the victory of the Communists in the elections, this plan proved a failure and the Social-Democrats lost heavily compared to the previous election.

Later, reactionary elements in the leadership of the Social-Democratic party accusing the Left of making concessions to the Communists demanded that the left wing be removed from the party leadership. At the same time they submitted provocative demands to the Communist Party and threatened to disrupt the unity of the working class and break up the coalition. In their memorandum of October 1947 the right wing demanded the dissolution of the Social-Democratic party in order to obtain a free hand for the struggle against Hungarian democracy. In their press they advocated the "third force" idea and some of them embarked on vicious slander against the Soviet Union.

In combating this provocative policy the Communist Party and the left-wing Social-Democrats mobilised the rank and file of the working class. In January the Executive Committee of the Budapest Social-Democratic organisation unanimously condemned the "third force" policy and called for the consolidation of the united working class front and for a special party congress and passed a vote of no confidence in Zelig, the head of the organisational department of the Social-Democratic party.

In preparing for the congress the delegates supporting the Left elements in the party leadership secured a majority. The right

wing was isolated and their attempts to mask themselves with left phraseology were easily exposed. Commenting on this, the secretary of the Social-Democratic party Szakasits wrote in the newspaper "Nepsava" as follows:

"This blinded and shameless rightwing group, ready for any despicable action, has caused untold harm to our movement. We shall combat the rightwing Social-Democrats who are dishonouring the traditions of socialism, we shall fight for the consolidation of the people's democracy. Even now, before the congress we are removing from responsible posts all those who have been undermining the unity of the party and of the working class. After the congress the new leadership will carry out an all round verification of the membership in order to deal with those reactionary elements who are now disguising themselves."

At a meeting of the contact commission of the Central Committees of the Social-Democratic and Communist parties held on February 11, the view was unanimously expressed that "it is imperative to purge the Hungarian working class movement of the rightwing elements, enemies of the popular democracy in Hungary who express the interests of American and British imperialism within the working class."

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## **DECLARATION OF THE POLSKIE STRONNICTWO LUDOWE**

On February 6 the Central Contact Commission of the democratic parties of Poland, composed of the Polish Workers Party, Polish Socialist Party, the Stronnictwo Ludowe, Stronnictwo Demokratyczne Stronnictwo Pracy discussed the Declaration of the Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL) and decided in favour of the PSL representative participating in the work of the Commission. .

The Declaration of the PSL leadership states: "The long struggle inside the PSL resulted in the removal of Mikolajczyk and in a new ideological political line, which harmonises with the principles of the people's Poland."

The Declaration stresses that the PSL views Poland's firm alliance with the USSR, with all the Slav peoples and the new democracies the guarantee of the independence and security of the country's frontiers. "Having united with all peoples who are fighting for a lasting peace," states the Declaration, "it is necessary vigorously to combat the intrigues of the warmongers and, above all, the Anglo American imperialists." The PSL expresses its readiness to help build up social justice and further the achievements of democratic Poland, such as the agrarian reform, the nationalisation of industry and planned economy. Firmly supporting the consolidation of the alliance between workers and peasants the PSL considers that its prime task is to establish political unity in the countryside and, in accordance with this, to strive for unity of action with the Stronnictwo Ludowe.

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**THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ITALY**

The first national assembly of the People's Democratic Front was held in Rome on February 1, attended by representatives of the different political parties and mass organisations, affiliated to the Front, and by delegates from all the local and provincial organisations.

The assembly adopted the "Constituent Charter of the Front" addressed a manifesto "To the Men and Women of Italy", ratified the organisational statutes of the Front and elected a presidium and Executive Committee. Later, a National Council will be formed in agreement with the provincial organisations of the Front. Among the organisations represented on the executive bodies of the Front are the Communist and Socialist Parties, the General Confederation of Labour, the Democratic Labour Party, the Social-Christian Party, the Sardinia Party of Action, the "Movement for an Independent Sicily", the People's Republican Party, and other political and public organisations.

By decision of the Assembly meetings and mass demonstrations were held throughout Italy on February 8.

The big attendance at these meetings showed that the Italian workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia warmly support the newly formed united organisation and that they are determined, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Front, to combat the manoeuvres of home and foreign reaction. The meetings were addressed by representatives of the political parties, affiliated to the Front. In their speeches they outlined the platform of the national-liberation movement, stressed the need of all working people to unite in defence of Republican liberties and national independence.

The first provincial congress of the Front was recently held in Milan addressed by Pietro Nenni. The Congress called upon all democratic forces to rally in a united front in defence of the peace, freedom and the future of the Italian people.

Speaking at a mass meeting in Naples the chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Umberto Terraccini, stated that the

Front stood for agrarian and, other democratic reforms, which are particularly vital for Southern Italy.

At a mass meeting in Rome the representatives of the Christian Social Party, "Christian Movement for Peace", Association of Partisans, Chamber Of Labour and Association of Democratic Writers and Professors expressed the readiness, of their organisations to fight for the Front programme.

In Pescara the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti addressed a mass meeting of peasants, workers and, intelligentsia.

Togliatti stressed that the People's Democratic Front is sponsoring mass meetings throughout the country in order to acquaint the people with its programme and aims, in order to explain the present difficult situation in the country which calls for the unity of all genuine democratic forces to save the nation, freedom and independence.

"Our principal slogans", said Togliatti, "is unity of the popular forces. We call upon the working people to establish a united front of democratic forces which will realise the cherished aspirations of the people. I call upon all the healthy forces in the country to rally in the name of unity..."

"Today Italy is fearfully asking the question: isn't our security threatened by the almost continuous presence of a naval squadron of a big imperialist power in the ports of Taranto and Naples, by the fact that all the aerodromes in the country have been placed at the disposal of the American air force?"

Referring to the recently signed Italian-American "amity" treaty, Togliatti stated that it was typical of the treaties signed with semi-colonial countries. This treaty means that the American imperialists will manipulate their affairs in Italy while the Italian people will find themselves in a position similar to that in Iran and Transjordan.

Togliatti denounced the domestic policy of the Government, which supports the agrarian and industrial bourgeoisie, sends police and carabinieri against the unemployed and poor peasants who demand land. Togliatti flayed the de Gasperi

Government for slandering the democratic parties. He stressed that this systematic campaign of slander pursues the sole object of spreading panic and, unleashing terror, and pointed out that de Gasperi is driving out democrats and former partisans from the police force and replacing them with 10,000 new police agents.

In conclusion Togliatti called upon the people to unite their forces for the coming struggle for victory at the coming elections. "United we shall overthrow the forces of reaction, the forces of social conservatism, shall clear the way for the masses to become the real masters and leaders of their country, shall ensure victory, freedom and democracy.

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## **SECOND CONGRESS OF THE FATHERLAND FRONT OF BULGARIA**

The second congress of the Fatherland Front attended by more than 1,000 delegates, took place in Sofia on February 2nd and 3rd. Guests from different countries including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, USSR, France, Italy, were present at the congress. Speakers included G. M. Dimitroff who spoke on the "Fatherland Front, its development and its tasks".

The congress unanimously ratified the programme and the statutes of the Front and elected the National Council. In a manifesto addressed to the people at Bulgaria, the congress called for the setting up in the localities of Front committees and summoned the of workers, peasants, youth and the army to the struggle for transforming Bulgaria into a modern industrial-agrarian country, to build up her economic and defense might

and to increase the material and cultural wellbeing of the people.

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## **CENTENARY OF THE “COMMUNIST MANIFESTO”. P. Yudin**

The working class and the Communist Parties of the world are celebrating a notable date—the centenary of the “Communist Manifesto” of Marx and Engels.

In the summer of 1847 the Communist League, the organisation of the revolutionaries of different countries, which was established with the active participation of Marx and Engels, held its first congress in London.

Towards the end of the same year the Communist League convened its second congress, at which Marx and Engels played a decisive role. Marx submitted a detailed outline of his new theory of scientific Communism. Engels testifies that the theses presented to the Congress by Marx were unanimously adopted by the delegates.

The Congress of the Communist League, the first international organisation of the working class with a clearly defined programme of scientific Communism, instructed Marx and Engels to draft the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

Marx and Engels wrote the “Communist Manifesto” which was

published at the end of February 1848.

The “Communist Manifesto” is one of the great landmarks of the working class struggle for Liberation from the yoke of capitalism.

It was the first programme of scientific Communism in which the experience of history is brilliantly generalised, in which the laws of capitalism are scientifically defined and subjected to detailed criticism, and in which the historic role of the working class in overthrowing capitalism and creating a new social order—Communism—is clearly outlined.

Viewed from all aspects the “Communist Manifesto” represents a highly mature work of scientific Communism. It was proof of the entry of the working class into the historical arena as the most progressive and most revolutionary section of capitalist society, capable of leading the working people to economic and political emancipation

Lenin wrote of the “Communist Manifesto” that it contains a masterly description of the new world outlook, consistent materialism, which covers also the sphere of social life, dialectics as the most thorough and profound teachings of development, the theory of the class struggle and the world historic revolutionary role of the proletariat, the architect of the new, Communist society.

The world outlook of the working class—Marxism—was proclaimed as the programme, the banner of all working people. The “Manifesto” ushered in a new era, the beginning of a new epoch in the development of history. It opened the era of the political, conscious, organised and purposeful struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, for the creation of a new society—socialism.

All previous systems, schools and concepts were, firstly, the world outlook, as a rule of the exploiting classes, secondly were of an idealistic, and not a scientific, nature, thirdly, were the teachings of individuals or small select groups and not the views of the popular masses. These schools of thought deliberately ignored the popular masses because they failed to

grasp the historical force which the masses represent and did not consider them capable of any independent social-political action.

The “Communist Manifesto” showed that Marxism, as a new world outlook had been born. Its appearance was in the nature of a discovery, a revolution in the old established views on the world: in philosophy, political economy, history, politics, and in the strategy and tactics of the class struggle. The world outlook of Marxism differed in essence from all former conceptions.

Marxism is not merely a philosophical or sociological school. It is the ideology of the proletariat, that is, the world outlook of millions of working people. The teachings of Marxism symbolise the faith of the people, the bible of the working people.

The appearance of the “Manifesto” and its widespread appeal reflect the history of the age-old struggle of the working class against exploitation, for freedom, for socialism.

The “Manifesto” was a product of the vital tasks raised by historical development. By the course of the struggle of the working class. Accordingly as the working class took shape in the different countries the “Manifesto” became the sought for programme. Engels wrote in 1888 that the history of the “Manifesto” to a considerable extent reflected the history of the contemporary labour movement. He pointed out that the “Manifesto” undoubtedly was the most widely circulated, the most international work of all socialist literature, was the common programme of millions of workers from Siberia to California.

Today, a hundred years after its first appearance the “Manifesto” is truly a world masterpiece. It has been published in the languages of all nations. Indeed no other work can boast of this distinction since the age of the printed word.

And in our day, too, the “Manifesto” has preserved its scientific and revolutionary significance. It is the immortal creation of the geniuses of the working class, of its teachers

and leaders-Marx and Engels.

In Comrade Stalin's words the "Communist Manifesto" is the song of songs of Marxism!

## 1

In a preface written in 1872 for the German edition of the "Manifesto" Marx and Engels declared that even though conditions had radically changed during the previous twenty—five years, the general theses outlined in the "Manifesto" could, as a whole be applied to the present situation.

And repeating the thoughts of Marx and Engels it can be said that although conditions have changed radically during the past hundred years the general guiding theses outlined in the "Manifesto" hold true for the present situation.

The fundamental idea of the "Manifesto" is the pronouncement of the inevitable doom of capitalist society and its replacement by a socialist society. This idea, now realised in the USSR and in the process of crystallisation in the new democracies, also holds true for today.

Marx and Engels were able to formulate this idea with such clarity because they had subjected it to a thorough study. This idea was the culmination, the outcome of enormous research into the entire ideological heritage; it was the result, above all, of the study made of the laws governing capitalist production, their study of the antagonistic contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and their irreconcilable struggle. The founders of Communism made the greatest of scientific discoveries they revealed the law of historical development and founded the science of society. On the basis of rich historical material relating to all periods of social development they showed that in every epoch the means of production constitute the material foundation, the economic base of society, which determines the nature of the social super-structures: the political system, legal relations, religion, etc.

The development of the means of production and the changing

forms of production result in the appearance of new classes, while the struggle between the classes is rooted in the very essence of material production. In our day the history of class struggle has entered the phase when the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—can no longer liberate itself from capitalist bondage without liberating, once and for all, the whole of society from all exploitation, oppression, class division and class struggle.

Great changes have taken place in the life of mankind during the hundred years that have elapsed since the “Manifesto” was first published. Capitalism has entered on its last phase—the phase of imperialism. Some of the one-time leading countries have suffered decline, while former backward countries have gone forward. Nations, which formerly played but an insignificant role are now in the mainstream of history. Mankind has experienced a number of devastating wars unleashed by the bourgeoisie. A number of countries have witnessed revolutionary upheavals and in Russia the Socialist Revolution has triumphed.

But the general trend of history has followed, and is going forward in the direction outlined by Marx and Engels in the “Communist Manifesto”.

With relentless logic Marx and Engels characterised the bourgeoisie as a social class which is striving to make its system immutable, and to establish its world-wide domination. To achieve its aims and to maintain its domination the bourgeoisie wages ruthless and merciless struggle.

The bourgeoisie of a hundred years ago was progressive in a measure, compared to the present-day bourgeoisie in such countries as the United States, Britain, France and Italy, and certainly was far less experienced in all kinds of political knavery than the bourgeoisie of today.

The bourgeoisie was then a relatively young class and in its activity expressed a certain eagerness, freshness and novelty. But the contemporary bourgeoisie decrepit and depraved in the extreme, resorts to every abomination, is cynical and devoid of

any human feeling.

Take, for example, the bourgeoisie of the United States. Their “achievements” in reducing relations between people to a matter of hard cash, in the ideological and moral corruption of people offers striking proof of this. Take the press in America where adventurers and gangsters like Hearst have on their payrolls thousands of corrupt hack writers who to please their masters daily fill hundreds of newspapers with crude and stupid slander.

The “Communist Manifesto” profoundly analyses the cardinal circumstance which decides the destiny of modern society, that capitalism as a method of production is no longer progressive, that it has in the main exhausted its possibilities of developing the productive forces and, in view of this, must inevitably be replaced by socialist methods of production as a higher and more progressive form.

Marx and Engels developed this idea during their lifetime. In his monumental work “Capital” Marx proved beyond doubt that because of the inner laws of its development capitalism is doomed. Capitalism cannot exist without a continual growth of the productive forces. And the increase of the productive forces leads to their expansion beyond the framework of bourgeois property. This fundamental contradiction of capitalist society gives rise to economic crises which are becoming more frequent and more destructive. As the “Manifesto” states bourgeois relations have become too restricted to contain their wealth.

One of the forms of crisis is wars for markets and sources of raw materials.

This contradiction of capitalism has become particularly pronounced in the epoch of imperialism. Two world wars, unleashed by contemporary capitalism, have taken place during the lifetime of one generation.

And although the scars of the recent war are still fresh the American imperialists are already planning another world war. Describing the disastrous consequences of capitalist crisis, the

reasons for these crises and after posing the question why capitalism leads to such devastation the “Manifesto” answers that this is because society has become too big for civilisation, its productive forces too great and its industry and commerce too extensive to fit into the framework of bourgeois ownership. Hence the inevitable conclusion: bourgeois society is no longer capable of handling the present-day productive forces. There is only one solution—the transition to Socialism as the higher stage of social development as the more progressive method of production.

This thesis of the “Manifesto” found brilliant confirmation in the USSR. The Socialist order in the Soviet Union showed how correct were Marx and Engels, who proclaimed this great truth one hundred years ago.

Socialism has emancipated the peoples of the USSR from all the contradictions and horrors of capitalist society. Crises and unemployment are alien to Soviet economy. In a society where there are neither exploiters nor exploited economy is organised according to plan, and develops in accordance with the laws of expanding socialist re-production.

The grandeur of the ideas contained in the “Manifesto” is daily borne out by new examples, by the experience of the new democracies. While these countries as yet have merely taken the first steps towards Socialism, they have achieved really magnificent results.

While economic chaos continues as before and acute economic crises await the countries where capitalism has been preserved, that is in Britain, France and Italy which, for example, are economically more developed in the new democracies where the big capitalists have been expropriated and the principal means of production have become public property the productive forces are on the upgrade and there are no signs of crisis.

Britain, the classic country of capitalism, the country which a hundred years ago served Marx as the principal object for his economic observations of the laws of capitalism, is today

floundering in economic contradictions and economic crisis, while Yugoslavia but recently an Anglo-French colony, a semi-agrarian country, having taken the path of socialism is forging ahead economically and politically and will, in the none too distant future outstrip Britain.

For more than a century the British bourgeoisie boasted of their national independence while suppressing the national independence of millions of people in all parts of the world. Today Britain is steadily losing its independence to American imperialism.

The clearest proof of the resilience and scientific vigour of the “Communist Manifesto” is that historically capitalism has outlived itself, that Socialism is now on the order of the day for the peoples, that the era of capitalism is drawing to a close while the era of socialism is dawning.

For a number of countries and for many peoples the prophetic words of the “Communist Manifesto” have come true, namely, that the old bourgeois society with its classes and class anti-theses will be replaced by an association in which the free development of the individual becomes the condition for the free development of all.

## 2

The bourgeoisie has developed the productive forces to the degree where these self-same forces are in daily conflict with the domination of the bourgeoisie. The famous words of the “Manifesto” that the bourgeoisie has not only forged the weapon which will cause its death but has also created the people who will turn this weapon against it—the contemporary working class, the **proletariat**,—sounds the death knell of the entire capitalist system.

One of the greatest discoveries of Marx and Engels and their immortal service to history was that they saw the working class as the principal productive force in modern society, saw the

proletariat at the most progressive force, the only force capable of overthrowing the bourgeois system and building a socialist society.

The section of the “Manifesto” which deals with the working class is truly written in letters of gold. The words are imbued with the love and boundless faith of the great leaders and ardent proletarian revolutionaries in the invincible strength of the proletariat.

This literary masterpiece and profound dialectical logic, biting shots of satire hurled against the bourgeoisie and its apologists, the moving pathos of the architects of the new ideology and the profundity of their brilliant ideas sound like a majestic pane to the working class, to its historical constructive work, to its mental and moral superiority over the bourgeoisie, to its coming triumph.

The class struggle sharpens in proportion to the growth of the productive forces of capitalism and the development of bourgeois society in proportion to the rising antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The class struggle of the proletariat is the decisive force and the principal weapon with the aid of which it will destroy the bourgeoisie and the entire system of bourgeois society.

The working class draws its strength not only from its own ranks but also from all working people. The working class movement is the independent movement of the overwhelming majority in the interests of the overwhelming majority. This true concept of the “Manifesto” has been proved daily throughout the long history of the conscious struggle of the working class.

The working class of Russia was able to carry out the socialist revolution and build socialism precisely because this working class, guiding itself by the ideas of the “Manifesto,” further developed by Lenin and Stalin, always aimed to give leadership to all the working people and all exploited; it helped to liberate them from oppression and exploitation by gradually drawing them into the struggle against the entire bourgeois

order.

Today in the new democracies the working class has rallied around it all sections of the working people and together with them are advancing steadily towards socialism.

In the capitalist countries ever greater sections of the people are being drawn into the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie.

Since the “Manifesto” was first published this idea, that is the idea that the working-class movement is a movement in the interests of the overwhelming majority, was widely developed in the works of Lenin and Stalin and found expression in the theory of the alliance of the working class peasantry and all working people.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is being enriched and further developed in the course of the struggle of the popular masses for their liberation; this theory is applied concretely to the historical conditions of the different countries.

The concrete embodiment, of the ideas of Marxism regarding the unity of the working class with the majority of the working people can be seen today in the new democracies. This idea has taken the form of the united people’s front. It has been most consistently developed in Yugoslavia where the People’s Front unites 7 million people, that is, almost the total adult population of the country.

The people’s front is not merely a coalition of parties; it is a social political organisation of the people in which the working class, headed by the Communist Party, plays the leading role. In Bulgaria the Fatherland Front is being transformed into a social-political organisation of the people.

Marx and Engels described the principal forms of the class struggle of the proletariat and showed that the inevitable outcome of this struggle must be the overthrow of the domination of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of political power by the proletariat.

The great architects of scientific Communism clearly saw that the working class would not be able to carry out its historic role

unless it was ideologically equipped and organisationally consolidated.

This role of ideological leader and organiser of the proletariat must be taken by the Communist Party.

Only the Communist Party can be the genuine workers' party. The existence of a single party of the working class is the higher stage of the political maturity of the working class and the people.

The Communist Party is the most resolute party, it has the advantage of understanding the conditions, the progress and general results of the working-class movement.

Precisely because the Communist Party is able to see beyond the other parties it is the duty of the Party, as long as other parties exist, to pursue the tactic of isolating and defeating all parties hostile to the proletariat, and to achieve unity of action with the parties which are interested in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin and Stalin further developed the ideas of the "Manifesto" regarding the Communist Party, its strategy and tactics, in keeping with the new historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The bourgeoisie and its ideological salesmen denounce the Communists, hold them responsible for the abominations of bourgeois society and ascribe all the vices of this society to them. The brilliant and merciless criticism to which Marx and Engels subjected the enemies of the Communist Party is every bit as effective today.

The modern bourgeoisie, which accuses the Communists of all the deadly sins has grown more decrepit and stupid. The American, British, French and Italian bourgeoisie are prepared to hold the Communists responsible not only for the chaos rampant in the economic and political life of their countries, but also for all the other sins of the bourgeoisie.

Disclosing the laws of bourgeois society, the laws of the class struggle, and having pointed out the tasks of the working class in the coming socialist revolution Marx and Engels also

outlined the immediate measures to be taken by the proletariat to build socialism when it wins political power and stands at the head of society.

With the exception of a few obsolete points the practical programme of the “Manifesto” is applicable to those countries which have taken the path to Socialism. It is even more true for the working class of those countries in which the transfer of power into the hands of the working class is a matter of the near future.

Today, when Socialism has been established in the USSR and the gradual advance towards Communism is under way these points of the “Manifesto” naturally are out of date and the experience of the Soviet Union serves as an example for the working class of other countries.

But their vital importance is demonstrated by the new constitutions adopted, for example, in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and also by certain laws that have been introduced in other countries—where no constitution has been adopted as yet—with the aim of carrying out land reform, nationalisation of key industries, transport and banks (Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania).

Thus, the practical experience of a number of countries has also vindicated the vitality of the “Manifesto” and the brilliant genius of Marx and Engels who founded the theory of scientific Communism, and who equipped the working class of the world with a mighty and invincible doctrine.

### 3

A hundred years ago the capitalist system of production had, in the main, outlived itself and was no longer progressive. And simultaneously the objective conditions for replacing capitalism by a socialist system of production had matured. This thesis was scientifically demonstrated by Marx and Engels in the “Manifesto”, and later, was brilliantly depicted in a

number of the works by Lenin and Stalin. It was proved by the course of history throughout the last century, and particularly by the 30 years existence of the Soviet Union and also by the experience of the new democracies. And if any further proof is needed then look up the blind alley in which the entire capitalist world, headed by imperialist America, finds itself.

However, capitalism still rules in most countries. What is the explanation for this. How is it that capitalism has not yet been eliminated throughout the world?

Lenin and Stalin gave profound answers to this question. In his classic work "Anarchism or Socialism?" Comrade Stalin pointed out that the main obstacle retarding the doom of capitalism is the bourgeois State.

And the principal reason why the bourgeois State has not yet been eliminated must be sought in the lack of unity in the ranks of the working class. Had the working class been united, the bourgeois State would have been eradicated long ago in all countries and capitalism' would have been replaced by socialism.

Consequently, the main responsibility for the continued existence of capitalism in the majority of the countries, rests with the pseudo-worker, pseudo-Socialist parties who are splitting the ranks of the revolutionary working class.

The champions and supporters of dying social systems always deck themselves in new attire and mask themselves with new ideas in order to preserve the old structure.

Even when the "Manifesto" first appeared the defenders of capitalist society were then taking to the new proletarian, socialist fashions.

Marx and Engels ruthlessly exposed these elements, tore off their treacherous masks and showed them in their true colours.

The defenders of the feudal system who resisted' capitalist society and who quite naturally fought against the working class in the first place, always declared themselves socialists and champions of the working class.

The "Manifesto" dealt scathingly with these "socialists",

saying that the aristocracy was doling out crumbs to the proletariat in an endeavour to win them over. But every time the people followed in the wake of the aristocracy they saw the old feudal emblem emblazoned on its back and scorned its leadership.

At the time the “Manifesto” appeared there existed along with “feudal socialism” petty-bourgeois and bourgeois “socialism”. The object of this kind of socialism was to prove, with the help of Socialist phraseology, that the capitalist system was eternal and to inculcate in the working’ class a negative attitude towards any revolutionary movement. These “Socialists” asserted that capitalism existed for the benefit of the working class.

What a similarity with the present right-wing Socialists, with Blum, Attlee, Bevin, Schumacher and their kind!

Modern reformism has degenerated completely into an open agency of American imperialism. The rightwing Socialists frankly come forward in support of the US plans of imperialist aggression, the so-called Marshall Plan, and they qualify these aggressive imperialist designs as Socialist measures.

The backs of the modern pseudo Socialists are emblazoned not with feudal emblems but American dollars.

The British Labour leaders are loyally defending British imperialism with all the’ might of State power. The French and Italian right wing Socialists are supporting and preserving by their splitting policy the most reactionary, pro-fascist forces.

The right-wing Socialists constitute the main bulwark of modern imperialism. They are cultivating in the working class the illusion that capitalism can be “improved” and that Socialism can be achieved without class struggle and the overthrow of capitalism.

A relentless struggle against the right-wing Socialists constitutes the fundamental condition for getting rid of capitalism and securing a lasting peace and popular democracy. The “Communist Manifesto” ends with a passionate call to the working class of the world: **“Workers of all lands, unite!”**

This call reflects the international essence of the working class struggle for the overthrow of world capitalism.

Today, as was the case throughout the past century, capitalism is waging a desperate struggle to preserve its domination.

The American and British imperialists are maintaining the capitalist order by force of arms wherever they can.

This proves once again that in fighting their own capitalists the working class of the various countries must always remember their international obligations.

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In the hundred years that have passed since the appearance of the “Communist Manifesto” the working class in all countries have traversed under the banner of Marxism, a glorious path of struggle. They have won great successes in all spheres of activity.

A steady development and enrichment of their revolutionary theory represents one of the main results of this fruitful struggle of the working class for their liberation.

In the last 50 years the centre of the revolutionary movement has shifted from the West to the East—to Russia. The working class of Russia won the leading position in the international working class, and the Marxist party of the Russian working class, the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), headed by its great leaders Lenin and Stalin, became the vanguard party of international Communism.

Lenin and Stalin are the direct successors and inheritors of the ideological treasure of Marx and Engels. They approached Marxism in the creative spirit and developed it further in accordance with new historic conditions.

Lenin and Stalin imparted to Marxism an all-round development. They discovered new laws of capitalist development and created the theory of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism. They elaborated also the new theory of socialist revolution that in the epoch of imperialism socialism

cannot be achieved simultaneously in all countries. Lenin and Stalin further developed and enriched the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and discovered the new form of political power of the working class—Soviet power.

Comrade J. V. Stalin has played a tremendous role in developing the theory on Socialism and the socialist State.

The ideas contained in the “Manifesto” have been enriched by a hundred years of working-class struggle. Today these ideas are mightier than ever before.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the working class will see to it that socialism will triumph throughout the world.

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## **THE “MARSHALL PLAN” AND FRANCE.**

### **Jacques Duclos**

In May 1946, on the eve of the general election in France, Leon Blum, then on a special mission in the United States, signed an agreement, which has gone down in history as the Blum-Byrnes Agreement. Blum’s American partners hoped that this agreement, which, in particular, stipulated the decline of the French film industry, would influence the election returns in their favour.

Thus, Senator E. D. Thomas, throwing caution to the winds, wrote that to the great relief of the US leaders, matters with France had been settled in time to exercise the necessary influence on the French elections on June 2. The American senator went on to say that undoubtedly the “loan” played a big part in the unsuccessful attempts of the Communist party to come to power.

This statement clearly revealed the anti-Communist significance of Blum’s mission.

In a speech at Waco University (Texas) on March 6, 1947,

President Truman, expressing the policy of American imperialism stated among other things that the United States attaches greater value to freedom—to free enterprise!—than to peace.

It wasn't long before President Truman's statement had its repercussions in France: Here it is interesting to note that when Truman stated at the annual dinner of the Democratic Party on April 5, 1947 that if necessary the United States would replace the United Nations Organisation, de Gaulle speaking in Strassbourg the next day, said: "The US and France will always reach agreement in order to resist any new tyranny".

Then events began rapidly to develop. On April 21, 1947, at the very height of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, M. Bidault signed the Anglo-French-American coal agreement and at one stroke sacrificed France's rights to reparations and Ruhr coal.

On April 22 the American Senate by a majority of 67 against 23 passed the bill granting Turkey and Greece credit to the sum of 400 million dollars.

On April 24 the Moscow Conference ended and on May 5 the Government organ "Journal Officiel" published the decree expelling the Communist ministers from the French Government. These events indicate the influence of American politics on the situation in France.

## **THE MARSHALL PLAN—CONTINUATION OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE**

The unfavourable reception accorded the aggressive "Truman Doctrine" necessitated the appearance of the "Marshall Plan", which is a more carefully veiled attempt to carry out the same policy of expansion.

On June 5, 1947 General Marshall took the initiative and in a speech, delivered at Harvard University, made the "proposal"

to the European nations; shortly before that Marshall's deputy in the State Department, Acheson had declared that the United States had decided to assist Europe.

However, unable to conceal his real intentions, Mr. Marshall actually intimated that the US naturally would render this "assistance" to the States, with which it has most in common.

This definition of the American proposal immediately lent it a political character which Blum hastened to camouflage: with his usual hypocrisy Blum declared that the American proposal should apply to all European States without exception.

On June 27, 1947 Bevin and Bidault invited Comrade Molotov to a preliminary conference in Paris. On July 2 this three-power conference ended in defeat for the Bevin-Bidault partners.

"The representatives of the USSR... showed that the "Marshall Plan" harboured the danger of splitting Europe and the threat of subjugating a number of European countries to American capitalist interests, that it was can capitalist interests. (Zhdanov)

After the Soviet delegation made clear its position, the inveterate traitor Blum began to babble about the distinction which, in his words, should be made between independence and sovereignty. As a loyal servant of imperialism, he did everything possible to cover lip the encroachments on the independence of nations. arising from the notorious "Marshall Plan".

On July 12 the conference of 16 countries was convened in Paris. Nine European States refused to take part in the conference called by Bevin and Bidault.

The 16 delegations to the conference submitted their report to the United States in which they presented their requirements in dollar value. And in doing so they quite naturally did not lose sight of the fact that the "Marshall Plan" allowed for 24,000 million dollars.

Before long, the American terms were made known. On September 13, 1947 the Paris press reprinted a news item from the "New York Times", which hinted that Mr. Marshall was of

the opinion that devaluation is an absolute condition... of the “Marshall Plan”.

On September 22 the report of the 16 countries was published, following which Truman appointed three groups of experts to study it.

It goes without saying that the situation in France was carefully studied by the American rulers and on October 16, that is, three days before the municipal elections, Senator Bridges stated following his talks with Ramadier, Bidault and Schumann that the latter had assured him that under no circumstances would the Communists hold important positions in the French Government.

On November 8, Harriman in a report to the group of experts under him, suggested 5,750 million dollars for the 16 countries in 1948, and in the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives specified the political terms of the United States when he announced that he was opposed to any assistance being given countries, which might come under the influence of the Communists.

Simultaneously a nation-wide strike movement began in France which, as revealed by the Herter Report, commanded the special attention of the American rulers. The Report stated that the political situation in France called for immediate aid as a minimum.

The initiators of the “Marshall Plan” set all levers in motion to put through an anti-democratic and, consequently, an anti-French policy; they made no secret of their intentions to give priority to Western Germany, arbitrarily sacrificing France’s rights to reparations.

On November 15, the director of the Department of Economic Relations in the Foreign Ministry, Hervé Alphand, on his return from the United States, told journalists regarding American aid that “We are disturbed by the allocations for Germany, which the US considers insufficient, while the allocations for France are regarded as more than sufficient”.

The course of events has confirmed the conclusion drawn by

Comrade. Zhdanov in his report that "... the American monopolists... are staking their main hopes on the restoration of capitalist Germany, which they consider would be a major guarantee of success in the struggle against the democratic force of Europe..."

### **“INTERIM AID”**

It is quite obvious that in the beginning the American imperialists planned to realise the “Marshall Plan” without delay so as to hasten the complete economic and political enslavement of the different countries that accepted the plan.

On November 19, 1947 President Truman in his message to Congress asked that a credit of 17% billion dollars be granted over a period of 4½ years and the sum of 6,800 million dollars for the first 15 months.

However the amount needed to carry out the “Marshall Plan” has not yet been approved. On December 16, 1947 Congress passed a law on interim aid which initially provided for a 597 million dollar credit for France, Italy, Austria and China. In the long run the sum was cut down to 522 million dollars.

In other words the “Marshall Plan” which, it was stated, would go into effect immediately after the recipient countries made known their requirements, has not yet been passed by Congress. Unquestionably the vigorous struggle of the people in the different countries in defence of their national independence upset the schedule of the “Marshall Plan” sponsors.

While waiting for the realisation of the “Marshall Plan”, and as a means of facilitating this operation the US has introduced a system of interim aid for three European countries: for Austria, for obvious strategic considerations, and for France and Italy for the purpose of using these two countries to smash the resistance encountered by American expansionism.

Hence, in order to understand France’s position in relation to the “Marshall Plan”, it is extremely important to make a detailed study of the interim aid agreement, signed on January

2, of this year between Bidault and the US ambassador to France, Kefferly.

Some represent this interim aid of 284 million dollars as a “gift”. But the US Government reserves to itself the right to stop this “aid” if it considers this expedient.

But this “gift” is of a special nature, inasmuch as the agreement makes the provision that the French Government “will, on behalf of the national credit, pay the equivalent sum of dollar goods in French currency to be entered on a special account in the French bank”.

In addition the agreement stipulates that these funds must cover, in French currency, the US Government’s administrative expenses connected with the operations which it will carry out as part of the agreement. These measures place a considerable sum of francs at the disposal of the US, and under circumstances that may seriously impair the national independence of France.

Moreover, the agreement of January 2 stipulates that no US goods sent to France may be exported. What is more, identical goods in France, irrespective of their origin, cannot be exported from the French Republic without the permission of the United states.

These conditions make it possible for the American imperialists completely to control France’s foreign trade. But that is not all.

## **AMERICAN INTERFERENCE IN FRENCH AFFAIRS**

In accordance with the agreement of January 2, France undertakes the obligations contained in Section 5 of the American law of December 16, 1947, concerning interim aid. A consideration of this law shows that America intends to interfere in the internal affairs of France.

Paragraph “I”, Section 5 of this law provides for necessary

permission to representatives of the US Government, including representatives of various Congress committees, who may travel on the decision of the corresponding Houses in order to supervise the distribution of the goods delivered in accordance with the present law, to make known their view and to report on this question.

Paragraph "1", Section 5 obliges France to give the necessary permission to representatives of the US press and radio to enable them to observe the distribution and utilisation of the goods supplied in accordance with the special account envisaged in subsection "B" of the present section, and to publish all-round information on these questions.

Section 6 contains a stipulation reserving for the US Government the right to withdraw the interim aid if need be. According to this stipulation, the President will immediately cease the rendering of aid within the framework of the present law if a) he is convinced that the country is not adhering to the agreement signed in accordance with Section 5 of the present law; b) should he find that, arising from the changed situation, the rendering of aid in accordance with the present law is no longer expedient and desirable; c) should he find that, as a result of the changed situation, the aid provided by the law, is no longer compatible with the national interests of the US.

Section 7 emphasises all goods supplied in accordance with the present law or analogous goods will, as far as possible, bear the factory stamp or label as plainly and visibly, and as indelibly and permanently as the nature of the goods permits, in order that the population of the country supplied with these goods shall know that they have been sent by the US.

These conditions place France at the mercy of the US. While the agreement of January 2 was being discussed, the French Government was already elaborating its financial measures which, as is known, have been approved by the US government.

It is common knowledge that one of the aims of the American imperialists now is the stabilisation, or to be more exact,

devaluation of different currencies, including the pound sterling, in relation to the dollar. It will be recalled that last August, after a short-lived experience of free exchange, Britain put an end to the convertibility of the £. This ran counter to Britain's obligations to the US and, certainly, did not correspond to the wishes and plans of the Americans.

Great Britain tried to cover up the weakness of its currency out of prestige considerations, and also because of trade interests, but the establishment of a free exchange market in Italy revealed the weakness of the £.

When, at the beginning of this year the French Government decided to devalue the franc and establish a free exchange market, Britain reacted sharply for this meant that now the £ was threatened at yet another point.

True, as a result of British interference, the French Government restricted the free exchange to the American dollar and Portuguese escudo, but despite this, the £ is quoted on the black market at a much lower rate than its official value.

In this way France is a base of operations for the American imperialists who are carrying through their expansionist policy. It is a matter of preparing the ground for large-scale American investments in Europe, of enslaving the Western European countries by dollar magnates, and in all this the rulers of France are the devoted servants of their American masters.

## **THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF FRANCE**

In the light of recent events and the decision concerning interim aid it is becoming evident that the American imperialists are preparing, with the help of the "Marshall Plan" spheres of action in different countries and, in particular, are going all out to influence such countries as France and Italy because they know that if they succeed in enticing these

countries into their camp, this would facilitate the realisation of their plans.

It can even be said that in order to exert economic pressure and to overcome the resistance to the American expansionist policy, the rulers of the US are striving to use; to a certain extent, Italy against France and France against Britain. The persistence of the American imperialists in pursuing this policy is determined by the fact that, as admitted by Truman himself, the US is threatened with a serious aggravation of its economic difficulties.

However, the economic, financial and currency policy which the US has forced upon the rulers of France, by no means guarantees the American imperialists an easy and favourable position; on the contrary, it creates in France conditions promoting the growth of economic crisis. The devaluation of the franc found expression in an enormous soaring of prices—in January prices went up 14 per cent; the taxation envisaged in the Mayer plan, means a considerable sacrifice for the peasants who are threatened with ruin, for the artisans, tradesmen and small and medium industrialists who are threatened with mass bankruptcy, and for the professional workers who are also bearing a heavy burden.

The withdrawal from circulation of the 5,000 franc notes resulted in great disorder in commercial transactions, added still more to instability; it is bringing new inflation, a new shooting up of prices and unemployment, which is already being felt in France—in a word, it has caused stagnation in the economic life of the country.

No government has ever fulfilled so obediently the orders of foreign masters. De Gaulle on his part fully endorses the Mayer plan stating only that he would carry it out better than the present government.

Recently, however, as a result of the contradictions in currency matters between the US and Britain and also as a result of the extreme unpopularity of the government policy, difficulties have arisen inside the “third force” between the Socialist

ministers and their partners in the government which is in the service of the American party.

The development of the mass movement will undoubtedly aggravate these internal difficulties. Of course, the trade union splitters who carried out their odious work on orders from the leaders of the Socialist Party, headed by Blum, and with the financial support of the Americans, will do their best to prevent the working class from active action against the policy of poverty pursued by the Government.

But these manoeuvres will be thwarted by the struggle of the workers around whom are now rallying the masses of peasants and the urban middle classes, for the Mayer plan has squeezed them ruthlessly. While sparing the big capitalists, the Mayer plan gives free rein to the speculators in gold and currency and abundantly recompenses those who have sent their capital abroad.

The Government and the press controlled by it, are resorting to every conceivable means to tenomise interim aid and the "Marshall Plan", which they depict as the salvation of those countries that have agreed to accept them, especially France and Italy. It is therefore necessary to show what this plan means in practice.

The credits allowed France for the first 15 months, in accordance With the "Marshall Plan", totals 1,434 million dollars.

Bearing these promises in mind it would not be amiss to summarise the results of American aid since the liberation of France and draw a comparison between the loans granted so far between the aid stipulated in the "Marshall Plan" and the requirements of France.

France's economic balance for 1948 provides for a deficit of 365,000 million francs between consumption and the national resources (the calculation was made before the devaluation of the franc, at the exchange rate of 120 francs to the dollar). This means that in 1948 alone France needs 365,000 million francs supplied by foreign resources. A comparison with the total sum

of American loans granted since the liberation, shows the following picture:

Since the end of the war France has received from the US Government, from the Export-Import Bank and from the International Recovery Bank, a total of 2,210,084,839 dollars, that is, at the present exchange rate of the dollar—265,000 million francs.

In other words the American loans are far below the sums needed for the rehabilitation of France, moreover, it should be added, that the political conditions imposed on our country are designed to hamper rehabilitation.

Actually, interim aid and the “Marshall Plan”, which by no means are a decisive factor in the recovery of France, represent a concrete attempt by the Americans to keep our country in a state of chronic weakness, and thus facilitate its enslavement.

France today is regarded by the United States as a pawn to be used in Europe to further the policy of expansion, which is the basis of the Marshall Plan. The American imperialists want to turn France into a weapon of reaction against democracy and into a jumping-off ground for war. But the French people, headed by the working class, will fight and will not allow the country to fall under the yoke of the dollar.

Official France is in the camp of the imperialists and warmongers, is a tool of the American imperialists, but the real France, Republican France of the working class is in the camp of democracy and peace fired by the indomitable will to fight and this is the France which will have the last word.

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## **PARTY NEWS BRIEFS**

### **TOWARDS A UNITED WORKERS' PARTY IN RUMANIA**

On January 24 and 25 joint meetings were held throughout Rumania for the purpose of electing delegates to the congress of the united workers' party, to be held in Bucharest on February 21.

The newspapers "Scyntijac" and "Libertata" have published the official communique of the Central Organisational Commission of the united workers' party.

The text of the communique reads:

"During the first three days of February, in the presence of delegates from the Central Organisation Commission, special organisational committees of the United Workers' Party were set up in Bucharest and in all districts and regions throughout the country.

"The joint commissions submitted reports on their work which will cease in connection with the formation of the committees of the United Workers' Party. The delegates of the Central Commission gave instructions to these committees concerning their activity and that of the party organisations. The meetings were marked by considerable enthusiasm and manifested complete unity."

### **EXCHANGE OF MEMBERSHIP CARDS IN THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

In accordance with a decision of the conference of the Communist Party held in January this year, the exchange of

membership cards is now taking place in Hungary. In the process of this work the Party is being purged of those alien and corrupt elements who managed to penetrate its ranks. Simultaneously, “ten-men” groups, each headed by a Party officer, are being set up in local Party organisations. These officers are obliged to establish close contact with the members of the group, involve the rank and file members into active Party work and collection of Party dues.

The first results of the work indicate considerable enthusiasm in the Party organisations. Attendance at Party meetings and circles has increased, discipline has improved, and many new members have been made. After careful selection and instruction thousands of new Party officers have taken over their duties and the work of the local organisations is proceeding with renewed vigour.

## **COMMUNIST PARTY EDUCATION IN ITALY**

The January number of the Italian Communist magazine “Rinacita” reports that in the period between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> congresses the central party schools trained some 334,000 students of whom one third were women. The course of studies at the central schools runs from 5 to 6 months.

The subjects taught include history (the history of Italy, the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the history of the Italian Communist Party), theory (Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism, political

economy) and practical work (organisational questions, party policy and problems of the working class movement).

The work of the central party schools is supplemented by provincial and district schools and by studies in the branches.

Considerable successes in the sphere of party training have been achieved by the provincial party federations in Milan, Bologna, Genoa and Naples.

## **THIRTY MILLION EXTRA LABOUR HOURS FOR THE REPUBLIC**

The Central Committee of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia called recently upon all members of the party to work 30 hours of voluntary labour, that is a total of 30 million labour hours as a gift from the Communist party to the country in connection with the coming anniversary of the Republic.

“Devotion to one native land”, points out the Central Committee, “is measured not by words and promises but by deeds. Under the occupation we proved our devotion by struggle and sacrifice for the cause of freedom. Today we give proof of our patriotism by our work.

“The voluntary labour will be directed in the first place to those industries suffering from a shortage of labour: to building jobs, the repair of agricultural machines, construction of highways,

nursery schools, play grounds, parks and also to work connected with the forthcoming Sokol congress”.

All honest citizens, political parties and people’s organisations, says the Central Committee of the Communist Party, should follow the example of the Communists and spare no efforts in securing welfare and prosperity of the Republic.

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## **THE JOURNAL “PROBLEMS OF ECONOMY”**

The first number of the magazine “Problems of Economy”, the new monthly organ of the Supreme Economic Council of Rumania is now on sale in Bucharest.

A feature of’ this issue is an editorial by G. Georgiu-Dej, Minister of Industry and Trade.

Professor Savulescu, writing on agriculture points out that the urgent tasks facing Rumanian agriculture are more and more technical equipment, increased yields, the setting up and development of agricultural cooperatives, more intensive livestock raising, extension of the acreage under crop, better work by the State farms and machine and tractor stations, credits for the peasant farmers and raising of the peasants living standard.

The magazine prints an article headed “The Struggle for Stabilisation”, by Miron Constantinescu, secretary of the Government commission on economic stabilisation and rehabilitation.

The internal transport system is the subject of an article by

Professor Profiri. The author points out that during the past three years the democratic regime has restored 82 per cent of the main railroad lines, 70 per cent of the main railroad lines, and 21 per cent of tunnels.

As is known foreign imperialists—German, British, American and French—held back the industrial development of Rumania in order to enslave it economically. In his article “The Iron and Steel Industry and Its Role in the Rehabilitation of the Country”, B. Nadler writes on the state of Rumania’s metallurgical and engineering industries and also dwells on the successful fulfilment of the production plan for 1947.

The magazine also contains articles on the electrification of Rumania, on the oil, timber, chemical and textile industries, etc.

The publication of the magazine “Problems of Economy” is indicative of the changes in the general and cultural development of democratic Rumania.

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# **CEMENTING WORKING CLASS UNITY IN POLAND**

**(INTERVIEW WITH ROMAN ZAMBROWSKI,  
THE HEAD OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE  
CC OF THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY)**

Interviewed on the subject of cementing working class unity Comrade R. Zambrowski, the head of the Secretariat of the CC of the PWP, told our correspondent.

## **THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE UNITED FRONT**

The vanguard role of the working class of Poland became evident in the bitter struggle against reaction and in the strenuous work of rehabilitation. The target figures for the first year of the Three-Year Plan were reached and exceeded thanks to the selfless efforts of the workers who by their labour emulation, their steadfast struggle against reaction and their firmness in dealing with speculators have won great authority among the people.

The united working class front was the principal lever in the development of the people's Poland along the path of genuine democracy, progress and steady improvement in the standard of living. The Front had as its starting point the growing

cooperation between the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party. To date, by their united action, they have won recognition not only among the working class but also throughout the entire democratic camp.

The successes achieved by the two workers' parties in their joint activities are influencing the international labour movement, hindering the splitting intrigues of the right-wing elements and simultaneously stimulating the efforts of those who are really working for the democratic transformation of their countries and to secure their independence against the encroachments of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The agreement on cooperation and unity of action, signed by the two parties at the end of 1946, played a major role in the development of the united front in Poland.

Important forms of cooperation, such as regular joint meetings of the branches and branch committees of the two workers' parties took shape and developed in the process of joint struggle and work. The rapprochement of the PWP and PSP made it possible to carry out the underlying principle of the united front—agreement on all questions and their joint realisation by encouraging the initiative and activity of the party members, by drawing in the broad masses. Thanks to the united front both parties grew numerically, enhanced their prestige and consolidated the trade unions—the school for workers of a new type, people educated in the spirit of unity.

The advance of the labour movement in Poland was reflected in the elections in the trade union and factory committees. As a rule the workers elected representatives of the two parties. The following figures show the composition of delegates attending recent trade union congresses. Of the 1,226 delegates to the railwaymen's congress 586 were members of the PWP and 570 of the PSP; at the congress of textile workers of the 497 delegates 278 represented the PWP and 183 the PSP; at the congress of chemical workers, attended by 443 delegates, 267 were PWP members and 153 PSP; at the oil workers conference 96 of the 240 delegates present were from the PWP

and 132 from the PSP; at the leather workers' conference of the 113 delegates 79 represented the PWP and 28 the PSP, etc.

Of the total 2,476 members elected to the pit committees in the Silesia-Dombrowski coal basin 1,303 are members of the PWP and 1,084 of the PSP in the Lower-Silesian coal basin the corresponding figures are: 183 and 64.

It is interesting to note that at the railwaymen's congress which in the past was particularly influenced by the reformists, half of the PSP delegates staunchly supported the broadening of the united front.

However, it should be stated that the united front came up against no few difficulties.

While the greater part of the PSP leadership and the majority of its members took part in the struggle against reaction jointly with the PWP and the democratic bloc, there were some in the PSP who by seeking allies among the right weakened the united front, and endeavoured to implant on Polish soil the notorious "third force" theory.

When the great bulk of the PSP, together with the PWP, proudly celebrated the joint election victory over reaction, a few were found among the PSP leaders who shed tears over Mikolajczyk's smashing defeat and who tried to open the doors of the PSP to the renegades from Mikolajczyk's party. It needed the decision of the PSP General Council (Rady Naczelnoi) of last June, which proclaimed the principle "Let the PSP move only to the Left and the enemy be only to the Right," to politically ostracise the supporters of the "third force".

At this meeting the General Council of the PSP favoured a united front without any reservations, thus putting an end to the wrong interpretation of "equality" of the two parties. The overt and covert enemies of unity were deprived of the weapon with which they tried to acerbate relations between the two parties. This not only helped greatly to improve united front activities but likewise influenced the work of the Wroclaw PSP congress in December last. At this congress the Rights did not dare come

out in the open.

As known the Wroclaw congress, which ratified the unity agreement, approved and further developed the main principles of the reorganised PSP, adopted at the June plenum of the General Council thereby weakened the Right elements in the Party and made new strides forward along the path of cementing the united front.

Another important measure taken by the congress was the decision concerning labour emulation in the factories. This decision was followed by considerable activity on the part of the PSP, in promoting emulation. It also helped isolate the remnants of the old time leaders who, in the past, zealously advocated a conciliatory attitude towards the capitalists, and who today are outgoing themselves in demagogy against the people's State.

We attach particular significance to the new aspects in some of' the important ideological questions raised in the reports at the congress.

In his report to the congress Cirankewicz subjected to criticism the pre-war policy of the PSP. He emphasised the traditions of the Left trend which at the time opposed the right-wing leadership of the party. This is important not only, in order to correctly understand the past, which in itself is quite important, but also because this trend differs from the attempts to whitewash the 55—year traditions of the PSP. Here it should be noted that these attempts obstruct the ideological development of the PSP and are an obstacle to further rapprochement between the two workers' parties.

Comrade Cirankewicz likewise criticised those who regard the united front as a “necessary eve”, caused by “Poland's political and geographical situation.”

This progress on the ideological front is important because organic unity depends, above all, on the ideological rapprochement of the two workers' parties.

## REGARDING ORGANIC UNITY

To round off the picture of unity between the two workers' parties mention should be made of organic unity.

The desire of the two parties to achieve organic unity found expression in the historic agreement signed between the PWP and PSP in 1946.

Comrade V. L. Gomulka-Weslaw, clearly outlined the viewpoint of the Polish Workers Party on this question, when he said:

“It is obvious that the closer the cooperation the better will be the relations between the two parties, the greater the possibilities for organic unity... In order to hasten the organic unity of the two parties our Party must be equipped ideologically, otherwise we will not move forward. A united party can be formed when the numerical growth of our Party will be accompanied by a corresponding ideological growth, by a qualitative growth. The starting point for a united party should be the qualitative improvement of our party. This means that at least several thousand Party members must be trained to become public figures, politically equipped... It means that we must train a hundred thousand lower Party functionaries, who will be able to discuss and explain articles appearing in the Party press, to write from the localities, act as leaders of Party circles and function in the regional and district committees.

“It is necessary considerably to raise the political consciousness of our Party. Once this is accomplished it means that the main work in the direction of unity of the workers' parties is being done.”

Simultaneously with ideological work within its own ranks the Polish Workers' Party is ever pointing out that ideological unity, the elimination of existing differences between the two workers' parties, are necessary stages towards) organic fusion. Firmly adhering to this policy the PWP is ever ready to promote all form of ideological rapprochement with the PSP, is

ready for joint discussion on ideological questions so as to abolish the existing differences. This position has contributed to the ideological rapprochement of the two parties. We are successfully solving a number of current problems, such as the recent discussion on the functions of the cooperatives and State trade, and we now have joint circles for the functionaries of both parties. Our activities are offsetting the efforts of those who are distorting the position of the PWP and are ascribing to it a desire for immediate fusion with the PSP.

However, it must be acknowledged that the results achieved in this sphere are not quite satisfactory.

Contrary to the consistent and constructive attitude of the PWP with regard to fusion, the essentially positive attitude of the PSP to this problem is frequently obscured by a wait and see, halfway policy and even by open hostility to unification on the part of some PSP leaders. Others try to misrepresent the essence of the matter and the attitude of the PWP, over simplifying the matter and confining it solely to the date of fusion of the two parties.

Osubka-Morawski's report to the Wroclaw congress of the Socialist Party is instructive in this regard. "While supporting the slogan of complete unity of the working class as an ideal, corresponding to our agreement with the Polish Workers' Party," said Osubka-Morawski," at the same time we believe that any artificial acceleration of this historic process would be undesirable from the internal, and mainly, from the international point of view, and above all, from the point of view of the united front on an international scale."

There is nothing new in this argument. We have heard it before. Of course, no one objects to the strivings for unity on an international scale. Certainly, the Polish Workers' Party is no less anxious to consolidate the ranks of the working class.

But would it be correct to make gradual and consistent rapprochement between the two workers' parties dependent on the setting up of international united front which, according to Osubka-Morawski, will bring together "all Socialist parties

join the front en masse.”

Conscious efforts to secure ideological rapprochement between the two workers' parties in Poland will in no way impede the achievement of international working class unity. Moreover, precisely such efforts will facilitate the bringing about of international unity.

## **TO CONSOLIDATE THE FORCES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS**

The course of events shows that the more resolute the struggle against the agents of American imperialism—the right-wing Socialists, the quicker and more profound is the process of crystallizing the forces of the international working class movement, including the Socialist workers and those of their leaders genuinely anxious to defend the vital interests of the working people and the national sovereignty of their countries. Consequently, the struggle against the evangelists of the “third force” an important condition for any effective consolidation of the ranks of the working class in all lands and determines the success of any measures taken to attain such unity.

It would be a serious error not to see the essential changes that have taken place recently in the international socialist movement. The decisive voice at the international Socialist conferences is the voice of Blum, Schumacher and their ilk. The leadership of the Labour party is disputing the Western frontier of the people's Poland. The entire leadership of the French Socialist Party upholds the policy of Blum who is paving the way for the puppet of American imperialism the neo-fascist de Gaulle.

Is it possible, in these circumstances, to, speak seriously about a united international working class in which the parties of Bevin and Blum would participate, without engendering harmful illusions and confusion in our own ranks? Is it possible

to speak seriously about a united international front that would rally “all Socialist Parties that join the front en masse” when the agent of American imperialism, the inveterate enemy of Poland and the Soviet Union—Schumacher was allowed to take part in the Antwerp conference and when the British Labour leaders are convening a conference of the Socialist parties of the 16 countries that have agreed to Marshall’s dictate?

Only relentless struggle against the right-wing renegades can facilitate the rapid maturing and consolidation of all anti-imperialist and democratic elements in the socialist movement.

Our contribution to the cause of the international working class will be determined by the degree to which we, in our own country, where the united front of the workers’ parties represents the vanguard and decisive force, resolutely march onward, to higher forms of political, social and economic development.

In consolidating the forces of the working class and of the entire people for the struggle for a lasting peace and for the independence of our country, we realise that the strengthening of the political unity of the working people, which constitutes the base of the democratic camp as a whole, will make it possible for our country successfully to overcome all difficulties, But the condition for the unity of the people lies in the growing and consistent unity of the working class.

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# **RUMANIA—A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.**

**Vasili Luka**

On December 30, 1947, the monarchy, the main bulwark of bourgeois and landlord reaction was abolished in Rumania.

The Hohenzollern dynasty, which for 80 years had been a rallying point for the exploiters and oppressors (If the Rumanian people was removed. This dynasty, which was alien to the people, annihilated peasants who had fought for land and freedom, and imprisoned factory workers and the representatives of the intelligentsia who more than once took to arms against exploitation and oppression.

On the same day a young but virile Rumanian republic came into existence. The people of Rumania greeted with enthusiasm the news of the setting up of the republic. The hatred of the working people for the monarchy has a long history. This hatred was seething and accumulating throughout all the years of Royal rule, during the years of brutal oppression, exploitation and national humiliation.

The democratic government of Rumania is burdened with a bad inheritance. The Royal regime was responsible for keeping the country deep in the slough of political, economic, cultural backwardness. Industry was but poorly developed, agriculture was primitive and held back by feudal hangovers. The people were illiterate and lived in chronic starvation. The beginnings of capitalist development in Rumania were marked by a compromise between the bourgeoisie and landlords whose class interests were closely interwoven.

And in order to combat the popular movement, and with the aim of reinforcing and securing their domination the ruling classes established a bourgeois-landlord monarchy.

With the help of a plebiscite" held in 1866 the Hohenzollern dynasty, one of the most reactionary dynasties in Europe, was imposed on Rumania. Greed and a "talent" for business enabled Carol I to become one of the wealthiest men in the

country.

Following the King's example, the entire State apparatus revelled in the unrestricted exploitation and plunder of the people.

The Royal court managed to retain vast estates up to the last moment. According to incomplete figures, the King possessed 375,000 acres of land and 22 palaces. The peasants on the Royal estates suffered from severe exploitation, while, the agricultural labourers were forbidden to join trade unions.

The monarchy, which corresponded to the interest of bourgeoisie and landlords, guaranteed their domination and was ever a hotbed of reaction and, particularly at times of open conflict with the people. It suppressed even the modest democratic liberties provided by the constitution.

In 1912, one of the leaders of the Conservative Party, N. Filippescu, acknowledged that "the King exercised rights, which were not given him by the Constitution." Another Conservative leader, Take-Ionescu stated: "... as long as King Carol reigns there can be neither universal suffrage nor any other democratic reform."

The Prussian dynasty of the Hohenzollerns did not disappoint the Rumanian bourgeoisie and landlords. It was always ready to suppress the popular masses, who were fighting for democracy, freedom and progress.

In 1907 a peasant uprising took place in Rumania. A democratic land reform would have helped forward the economic and social development of the country. But the monarchy suppressed the revolt in a ferocious manner—11,000 peasants were butchered.

Ten years later, in 1917, king Ferdinand, alarmed by the effect of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the soldiers at the front, tried to deceive them with a manifesto in which he promised to fulfil the popular demands of 1907, and to carry out other democratic reforms. But the half-hearted agrarian reform carried out some years later, preserved intact big landlord ownership, and brought into being small peasant

farming in circumstances that placed the peasants in perpetual bondage to the landlords and money lenders.

Right from the beginning of the working class movement in Rumania the monarchy brutally suppressed every sign of organisation and cast the worker's leaders into prison. Repression developed parallel with the development of the mass movement. Hundreds of workers were shot down in Bucharest on December 13, 1918, in Lupeni in 1921 and in the Griviz railway shops in 1933.

Especially severe, typical only of a fascist regime was the brutality used against the Rumanian Communist Party. Driven deep underground, subjected to imprisonment, torture and shooting, the Communists deprived of the support of the other parties; fearlessly resisted the bourgeois-landlord monarchy. Regardless of the terror, the Communist Party headed the strike movement of railway and oil workers in 1933.

Like the other Balkan monarchies (with whom it was linked in kinship) the Rumanian monarchy was the organiser and leader of fascism in our country. The former King Carol II tried by means of corruption and promises to split those political forces, which could have prevented the setting up of fascist dictatorship. The King savagely persecuted the Communist Party, which constituted the only serious anti-fascist force. Carol's dictatorship paved the way directly for the fascist dictatorship of Antonescu and the Iron Guard.

Throughout its entire existence the Hohenzollern dynasty was an obedient tool of Western imperialism.

The documents left by Carol I show that he regarded himself a German, and not Rumanian, that he obeyed the orders of the Kaiser and Bismarck and was interested in the affairs of various German banks and firms.

These connections and the protection given by the King to foreign enterprises were detrimental to the national interests of the country. Some of Carol's machinations, which became public (for example, the Strussberg case), gave rise to considerable political scandal.

Later, Rumania found itself in the clutches of the French-British and American trusts, which seized the wealth of the country. These trusts granted loans to Rumania on conditions similar to colonial usury. They imposed their control over the economic and political life of the country.

Carol II was a big stockholder; he had shares in British-owned iron and steel works and in the Rumanian credit bank, in a French owned aircraft factory and in an American-dominated telephone company.

Just before the war the monarchy took another step toward eliminating Rumania's national independence. By signing the notorious Rumania-German treaty Rumania became part of Hitler's "lebensraum". This treaty led to the submission, on the part of the King, and the Crown Council to the German-Italian dictate that deprived Rumania of Northern Transylvania, and later to the German occupation, and finally to the involvement of the country in the war against the Soviet Union.

Thus, the Royal regime was a tool of foreign imperialism, a serious menace to the security of our country to that of the neighbouring countries, and a menace to peace in South-eastern Europe and to universal peace.

In 1913 the monarchy, contrary to the will of the people, launched an aggression against Bulgaria, artificially creating a conflict between the two countries. Under the patronage of the monarchy the Rumanian army crushed the Hungarian revolution; the monarchy maintained hostile relations with Hungary. The Rumanian monarchy always played a big part in the imperialist aggressive plans against the Soviet Union. It was mainly responsible for the military, political and diplomatic preparations of Rumania for the anti-Soviet war.

More recent events show that after World War II the American and British imperialists placed great hopes on the Rumanian monarchy.

By getting King Mihai to sever constitutional relations with the democratic government they planned to bring about the opportunity to interfere in our internal affairs and to convert

Rumania into a semi-colonial state.

And when the People's Republic was proclaimed in Rumania the foreign press published Churchill's and Bevin's advice to Mihai to return to Rumania and serve the cause of international reaction.

The trial of Maniu and his accomplices exposed the attempts of the American intelligence service to organise a fifth column in Rumania and to turn our country into their springboard for war against the Soviet Union and the countries of the new democracy.

In abolishing the monarchy the people of Rumania have reinforced their national independence and have helped the cause of universal peace.

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All those who were interested in maintaining imperialist domination, who were bent on obstructing the development of democracy and the economic rehabilitation of our country, looked upon the monarchy as their standby in restoring the old order.

The attempt by General Radescu to establish a military dictatorship, the subversive activities of the agents of foreign imperialism (Maniu, Bratlanu and T. Petrescu) against national independence and the democratic regime, the disruptive machinations of Tatarescu's Liberal Party—each of these intrigues of reaction emanated from the Palace. In this connection it should be noted that on February 24, 1915 machine-gun fire was opened from the Palace on a public demonstration calling for a democratic regime be set up in the country.

Even after relations were restored between the King and the democratic government, the King and Tatarescu, acting hand in glove, resisted the introduction of a number of important democratic laws, such as the law against speculation, the law annulling all trials of peasants who had received land

from the landlords estates, the law prohibiting the sale of peasant land, the punishment of war criminals, on industrial boards, etc.

The King and his hirelings managed, to a certain extent, to retard the rate of economic rehabilitation, thus causing unnecessary hardships for the people. They created favourable conditions for the exploiters to make profits at the expense of the people, while at the same time they tried to compromise the democratic regime.

However, the Rumanian Communist Party was able to inspire and lead the people in the struggle against reaction. The Party mobilised all the democratic forces around the working class and showed them how to strengthen the people's democracy in our country. Last year the popular democracy in our country made considerable headway. The people surmounted the famine, caused by the unprecedented drought, and smashed reaction, headed by Maniu and Bratianu, both of them in the service of the American and British imperialists. The Communist Party's proposals for further improving the economic situation in the country are being put into effect. With this aim in view a Government commission on economic rehabilitation and currency stabilisation has been set up, headed by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Comrade Georgiu-Dej.

The monetary reform, not to mention a number of other economic-finance measures, which have promoted the stabilisation and reconstruction of the country in the interests of the people, were introduced after the resistance of the Tatarescu group was crushed.

The defeat of the reactionary forces, headed by Maniu and Bratianu, and the removal of Tatarescu from the Government, which resulted in the dissolution of his party, vitally affected the development of the people's democracy — the monarchy, which relied on reaction, was isolated.

The contradictions between the democratic government, representing the people and the monarchy, representing the

interests of the bourgeoisie and landlords and which served as the bastion of foreign imperialism, came to a head and an immediate solution was needed. Matters had reached the stage where the further economic, social and cultural progress of Rumania depended on the sanction of the King, that is, on the biggest landlord and capitalist, who was not in the least interested in the democratic transformation of the country.

It became clear to the people, and to Mihai himself (who admitted as much when he abdicated last December), that the monarchy no longer corresponded to present-day conditions, that it represented a serious barrier to the development of the country.

The abdication of Michael Hohenzollern was a defeat for the reactionary, anti-popular forces in Rumania, and a fresh defeat for the Anglo-American imperialist circles who had tried, through the reactionary cliques and monarchy, to subordinate our country to their selfish interests.

Rumania is now a republic. But it is not a bourgeois republic, is not a tool in the hands of the exploiting classes. It is a people's republic, a republic of workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia.

What does this mean?

It means that in our republic State power belongs to workers by hand and brain, that the organs of State power will have to be fundamentally reorganised so as to draw the people into the practical administration of the State.

Our people aim to introduce economic reforms which will enable Rumania to traverse as rapidly as possible the path, which it was unable to take during the 80 years of the monarchy, and to eliminate at giant strides the backwardness in industry, agriculture and culture, thus strengthening national independence and sovereignty.

The People's Republic of Rumania, born in the struggle against reaction and imperialism, is a factor of democracy and peace.

An example of this are the treaties concerning cooperation

and mutual assistance signed with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary and the recent agreement signed with the great Soviet Union, an agreement which will be a powerful obstacle in the path of imperialist aggression.

Advancing along the path of economic and social progress, and benefiting from the generous assistance of the Soviet Union, our People's Republic will create the conditions for a happy and prosperous life for all and will lay the foundation of the majestic edifice of socialism.

The defeat of reaction, the abolition of the monarchy, which retarded the rate of the country's democratic transformation, the restoration of the ideological, political and organisational unity of the working class by forming a Single workers' party, the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the active participation of the middle sections of the population in the democratic struggle — all this has opened wide the doors leading to the rapid development of the People's Republic, to the Rumania for which thousands of fighters, the finest sons of our people sacrificed their lives.

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## **THE VATICAN—BULWARK OF IMPERIALISM. Pietro Secchiar**

In all capitalist countries the Vatican and the upper ranks of the clergy invariably sided with the conservative and reactionary ruling classes, with the big industrialists, landlords and bankers.

The church leaders were always closely associated with fascism in the countries where the terrorist dictatorship of fascism held sway and fully supported and abetted its policy. The Vatican supported Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Dolfuss and Schuschnigg in Austria; it supported the fascist aggression against the Spanish people and to this day actively supports Franco's terrorist regime.

From the very birth of the fascist movement in Italy and throughout the twenty years of its domination the Vatican preached obedience to fascism. The Pope hailed Mussolini as "the man, sent by Providence", gave his blessing to the adventures and criminal aggression of fascism against other nations.

It was only when the military defeat of fascism became an obvious and inevitable fact that the Vatican made shift to change its policy, sought to forget its recent past, started looking around for new points of support and depicted itself as a champion of democracy.

The double-dealing policy pursued by the top circles of finance capital during the Nazi occupation found apt disciples among the princes of the Church.

Until the very last minute the Vatican tried to save fascism from defeat, and upon meeting with failure it did everything possible to secure a compromise peace.

After the overthrow of fascism in Italy the Vatican set in motion all levers, material and ecclesiastical, in an endeavour to save the monarchy.

Today the entire activities of the Vatican are directed against the popular democratic forces, towards bolstering up the power

of the oligarchy of Italy's industrialists and landlords, towards the realisation of the predatory plans of American imperialism. The Vatican is bitterly hostile to the countries of the new democracy and lends every support to any campaign and provocation against the USSR.

What is the explanation for the Vatican's traditional anti-democratic and reactionary policy? It would be wrong to ascribe it to purely ideological, religious and clerical reasons.

The present-day Vatican is, above all, a big financial power. The Pope and the princes are closely linked with the leading capitalist circles throughout the world. Their ties with finance capital, with the banks and the great capitalist powers are so obvious that they cannot be concealed. Nor does the Vatican make any pretence at concealment.

"Italia", the weekly journal of the "Catholic Action" organisation, commenting on the expose of the Church tie-up with industrial and finance companies, contained in Comrade Togliatti's report to the Sixth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, said:

"We fail to understand how the possession of economic wealth can be taken to mean a conjugal union with capitalism? In society, where private property is juridically recognised it is the duty or a juridical body like the Church to possess property in order to realise its aims. The Church and its organisations have concrete problems which are linked with their outer life and which call for a solution ...

This is a frank confession by the hierarchy that the Vatican today represents a powerful financial force, Nor is it surprising therefore that this force is actively collaborating in the reactionary policy of big capital and, in particular, in carrying out the expansionist and aggressive policy of American imperialism.

The Vatican is a huge International financial trust. It is well-nigh impossible to assess the exact extent of its investments, especially abroad, since both its real estate and stockholding are in the names of trusted individuals. But Italian economists

and financial institutions have collated considerable, although far from complete, data on this question. And the journal, "Herald of Economic Policy", organ of the Institute of Social Problems, recently published some of the data.

In **France** the "French-Italian Bank for South America," which prior to the war had a capital of 50 million francs, is the property of the Vatican. The bank's board of directors is in Paris. It has branches in Holland and is one of the bulwarks of fascism in the Argentine. The director of the "French, Italian Bank" is the general governor, or more correctly speaking, the minister of finance of the Vatican-Baron Bernardino Nogara who, in his day represented Mussolini in Berlin at the discussions on the Dawes Plan.

The Vatican holds 70 per cent of the capital in the Societe Textiles du Nord and a large part of the capital in the Banca Galicienne Manant, not to mention one-third of the shares in the Worms Bank, the leaders of which collaborated with the Germans. It is estimated that the Vatican has a capital of 200 million pre-war francs in the various joint-stock companies in France.

In **Spain** the Church which gives whole-hearted support to fascism, is itself, the biggest feudal-capitalist undertaking. The Jesuits possess vast real estate, especially in Barcelona, Madrid, Santander and Seville. In Portugal they control the Lisbon Banco Ultramarino which, in its turn, controls concessions and plantations in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola.

The Vatican's biggest investments are in America, and especially in the United States.

In **Buenos Aires** the Vatican holds shares the tramway, electric power, gas and water supply companies is a shareholder in the "Mihanovich" steamship company, which has the monopoly of shipping on the River Plate.

It controls the Spanish-American Bank, with headquarters in Madrid and branches in the Argentine, Brazil and Bolivia.

In **Bolivia** the Vatican owns tin mines, which are exploited by

the Guggenheim Trust of New York. (This financial operation was engineered in 1938 by Myron Taylor, at present Truman's representative to the Vatican.)

In **Brazil** the Jesuits control the main rubber and textile enterprises as well as several weaving and flour mills.

In the **United States** the Vatican has shares or big capital investments in Sinclair Oil, Anaconda Cooper and in a number of other ore mining industries. In the US its interests are mainly represented by the Morgan Bank.

Of the religious orders connected with the Vatican, the Jesuits possess vast estates and considerable joint stock capital.

From their stronghold in Switzerland, the Jesuits exercise control over the world's largest electrical enterprises and over the bank of the electrical industry. It has been estimated that the total Vatican joint stock capital in different countries amounts to 3,000 million pre-war lira or the equivalent of 300,000 million post-war lira. But these figures are incomplete.

While it is difficult to give an exact estimate of the capital investments and the financial connections of the Vatican abroad, its share and that of other church bodies in the general joint-stock capital in Italy has been estimated precisely enough. This is manifested in two forms a control (possession of majority of shares), and b. participation without control. At the present time the Vatican controls 30 Italian joint-stock companies with a nominal capital of 300 million pre-war lira. These companies include among others the biggest credit companies. By means of its capital investments the Vatican has a finger, in practically every Italian industry, particularly in the electrical, chemical, "metallurgical, textile" and food industries and also in transport, land and insurance societies. Vatican holdings in the second group of enterprises are estimated at more than 250 million pre-war lira.

To a considerable extent the economic life of Italy is controlled by the Vatican through some 40 Catholic banks and a hundred "popular banks", whose total deposits on December 31, 1946 exceeded 400,000 million lira, or

considerably more than half of the total national savings.

Moreover, as is the case abroad, the Vatican and religious bodies dispose of vast estates in Italy. The value of immovable property in Italy is estimated at 380,000 million lira.

The financial might of the Vatican and its links with the world's biggest companies is proof positive of its connections with the capitalist world. These concrete worldly interests explain the stubborn resistance of the Catholic church to reforms and to any transformation of present-day capitalist society. They are also the real motive of the struggle waged by the Vatican against democracy and against the advance of the popular forces.

The Vatican masks its struggle against democracy with the slogan of anti-Communism and the "struggle for peace". But no amount of camouflage can conceal the real aim of this struggle, the desire to smash the democratic forces, defeat the popular movement, facilitate the return to power of the reactionary, fascist regimes, accelerate the establishment in Europe of a bloc of American satellites, who would be willing tools for provocations against the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

Commenting on the danger of a new world war the "France Catholique" magazine stated:

"To avoid this conflict it is necessary, above all, to transform Europe into an economic unit and to bring it into an international economic organisation."

The Vatican and the entire church hierarchy gave wholehearted support to the "Marshall Plan" and to similar US imperialist schemes for enslaving Europe and provoking war.

Ordinary Catholics do not, and cannot support this policy of the princes of the Catholic church who are hand in glove with big capital and the ruling clique of American imperialists. Exploited and oppressed by capitalism, the Catholic workers, who bore the brunt of sacrifices and hardships of war, and who were active fighters for freedom and national independence, are conscious of the need to unite with all working people in

the united front of peace and democracy. Today, more than ever before, they are conscious that they must struggle for liberation from capitalist bondage and exploitation. They know that the only way they can prevent a return of the fascist past, is by fighting for the new socialist society.

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## **PRESS REVIEW**

### **“BORBA”**

“Borba”, organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, writes about the widespread campaign in the country for building cooperative clubs, which will become centres of cultural and educational work in the countryside. The clubs will not only promote the all-round development of the rural cooperatives but will act as meeting places, and will provide halls for concerts and amateur theatricals. All organisations of the Peoples Front, People’s Youth and Anti-Fascist Women’s Front are devoting close attention to this cooperative undertaking.

According to “Borba” the number of the villages anxious to build cooperative clubs is steadily growing. The Danilovgrad district, for example, will build 28 cooperative houses, the Velpov district —12 and the Illirska-Bistritsa district —11.

Factory workers are taking part in the venture by providing the villages with the necessary materials, free of charge. The workers at the Zen le steel and iron mill are preparing from waste material rods for the reinforced concrete works, while building trades workers are helping in their leisure time to build the clubs.

## **“L’HUMANITE”**

A recent issue of “Humanite”, organ of the French Communist Party, exposed the essence of the financial measures carried out by the Schuman Government at the behest of Washington.

“Who dictated the withdrawal from circulation of the 5,000 franc notes?” queried “Humanite”. Today no one dares debate on the advantages accruing to the country from this measure. On the contrary the injustice and the detrimental nature of this measure is plain to all”.

Even rabid anti-Communist papers like the “Paris Press” are perfectly frank about the real reasons for these measures. Dealing with the secret side of the Government’s financial policy “Paris Press” stated:

“We have agreed to, and even requested American aid. This aid was bound up with the obligation to block francs to the amount of the dollar credit. Consequently, we are compelled to block the franc. This is being done in a variety of ways. The most significant is the freezing for a long period of about 30 to 40 per cent of the 330,000 million francs, which were circulated in the form of 5,000 franc notes”.

“You claim”, said “Humanite” “that this blocking of the franc, imposed by the foreign moneylender, will place artisans and small traders in a difficult position... will hinder the peasants from improving the cultivation of the soil, since they will be unable to use the blocked funds. But surely you haven’t forgotten that the big transatlantic exporters and their bankers are ready to flood the French market with their goods.

“The financial measures of the Government—beginning with the withdrawal of the 5,000 franc notes to the devaluation of the franc, had been prepared beforehand precisely for the purpose of securing advantages for the” American capitalists. As admitted by the ‘New York Herald Tribune’, the devaluation of the franc can be of considerable interest to

Americans, who have the ability to prepare their economic plans beforehand... Perhaps the new value of the dollar will again interest the Americans to invest capital in France in a big way.

“We say the same thing”, concludes “Humanite”. “The devaluation of the franc increases the cost of living and dooms the French people to hunger. It benefits only foreign plunderers, whose dollars can now buy almost twice as much in France and her colonies”.

“Humanite” published the figures on the soaring prices, which during the past two years have jumped three fold.

(1938-100)

Food 34 Basic Fuel and  
Items Electricity

January 1946 480 481 333

January 1947 848 856 612

January 1948 1437 1414 1012

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## **“GLOS LUDU”**

Commenting on the recent agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union concerning mutual shipments of goods to the value of more than 1,000 million dollars, and the agreement concerning Soviet credit to Poland in the form of industrial equipment, the newspaper “Glos Ludu”, organ of the Polish Workers’ Party, stresses the political and economic importance of these agreements.

“The nature of these agreements”, says “Glos Ludu”, “provides

food for thought not only for us, Poles, but even to a greater extent, for those nations that have become victims of American “aid”, and who have been drawn by their reactionary leaders into the treacherous net of the so-called Marshall Plan.

“There is a vast difference between the aggressive ‘aid’ of the US and the genuine fraternal help of the Soviet Union. The USSR renders us great assistance and provides us with what is really necessary for the rehabilitation of the country and for developing its industrial potential. In exchange the Soviet Union demands neither an abandonment of our national sovereignty, nor the devaluation of our currency. It does not ask that we cease to build ships, nor does it request the right to meddle in our internal affairs. The Soviet Union does not demand what the American imperialists are demanding in exchange for illusory aid.

“The progress of Polish—Soviet relations is an example of how mutual relations among all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples should develop”.

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## **FOR A MILITANT LABOUR MILITANT MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN. Harry Pollitt**

What a contrast there is between the situation now and as the millions who voted Labour at the General Election expected it to be; between what was promised and what has been done. The people thought the General Election victory meant the end of the domination of the Tory Party. They expected to see the speedy nationalisation of the key industries, social security, and the fulfilment of the housing programme, the forty-hour week, implementation of the new Education Act, repeal of the Trade Union Act, hope for the former Depressed Areas, Old Age

Pensions of an adequate character without Means Test, and the elimination of the Mosley organisation.

They wanted to see the war alliance of the Big Three Powers carried into the peace in order to realise the total destruction of fascism, the establishment of democratic and united Germany, economic and political cooperation between a Labour Britain, the Dominions, the colonial peoples, the new European democracies and the Socialist Soviet Union.

Instead, the workers are now faced with a deepening of the economic crisis, increasing taxation, cuts, shortages, the growth of the offensive of reaction and the development of an open war alliance between American and British imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The present Government's policy is strengthening reaction at home and all over the world. It has made a Labour Government the active partners of American big business against the Soviet Union and Socialism.

## **BRITAIN'S CRISIS**

What is the essence of the crisis that Britain is now facing? Why has it arisen?

The real reasons for the development of the crisis are both economic and political. First, the general crisis of world capitalism—which led in the 1930s to the deepest most prolonged and universal crisis in world history—has been intensified and not lessened as a result of the war.

Second, within the general crisis of capitalism, the position of British imperialism, already seriously weakened before the war, has been further undermined as a result of the war. Before the war, British imperialism, deprived of its former industrial pre-eminence, did not develop the essential productive forces in Britain or modernise its basic industries.

But the third decisive cause of the aggravation of Britain's

difficulties and development of the crisis is the reactionary imperialist policy of the Labour Government, which has lined up Britain With American imperialism against the progressive forces of the world, maintained vast armed forces and costly overseas commitments, and has failed to carry through necessary economic measures at home at the expense of the monopolists.

It is this policy which is the main cause of the colossal deficit in the balance of payments. For a time the loan from USA was used to cover the bankruptcy of the policy, with the exhaustion of the loan, the bankruptcy has been laid bare, and the crisis has developed in its sharpest form.

It is these facts which place the responsibility of the present crisis on the Labour Government. On the basis of the present policy of the Labour Government we could have still further increases in production and yet the existing economic crisis would not be solved. The present policy will not solve the crisis, it will only make it worse. It will lead to further attacks on the conditions of the working on the people.

Actually, prices are increasing so much faster than wages that the worker's share of existing goods gets smaller. The real reason for the inflation which does exist is twofold. Firstly, the excessive military expenditure of £900 million a year represents not only an extraordinary demand for goods and services, but also keeps one-and-a-half million workers from increased production of goods. Cutting the forces would be a tremendous blow against inflation. Secondly, the rising profits of the employers (which in 1947 were running 30 per cent, above the wartime peak level), has enormously swollen bank deposits distorting the economy, which is lacking real control, to the whim of the profiteers and black marketers.

All this, in addition to the general economic deterioration of British imperialism, has led to the weakening of sterling in relation to dollars. The French devaluation decision, with the proposal for a "free" currency market, caused panic in the British Government' because it demonstrated the real, as

opposed to the official value of the £ and the fallacy of British imperialism's efforts to make the £ "face" the dollar. The £ could face the dollar if a real class policy were operated in Britain.

## **THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION OF BRITAIN**

As a result of the policy of the Labour Government the international situation has seriously worsened. All pretence of Britain pursuing an independent course "neither tied to the United States, nor to the Soviet Union" as the Ministers used to claim, has been abandoned. Britain is now the open satellite of the United States with orders to organise the Western bloc under American auspices. Labour Government ministers have thrown off the mask and come out in full support of Churchill's Fulton policy. Their speeches are one long hostile and provocative diatribe against the Soviet Union and the new European democracies. Since the New Year Mr. Attlee, Mr. Bevin and Mr. Morrison have vied with Churchill in publicly threatening war against the Soviet Union.

It is for these strategic aims, under American inspiration and in accordance with American plans that Bevin is now endeavouring to build up a Western European bloc. The old propaganda which sought to present the Western bloc as a kind of third alternative to association either with the United States or the Soviet Union is now finally exploded. It was in the midst of a loud chorus of insistent demands from Washington that Bevin made his speech of January 22 proposing the Western Bloc. The State Department immediately issued its official statement of approval. The proposed Western bloc is nothing but one front of American global strategy. It is nothing but an attempt to revive the Munich combination and Hitler's Pan Europe in a new dress. Therefore, it is no matter for surprise

that these moves are accompanied by threats of anti-Soviet war on the part of Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and Churchill.

This increasingly violent and undisguised war propaganda of leading circles in Britain and the United States is not an evidence of the strength of imperialism. On the contrary, it is evidence of the increasing desperation of the imperialists before the continuing advance and strength of the democratic forces throughout the world.

Truman and Marshall are only putting forward lines of policy which are meant to advance the aim of American world domination. The USA aims to make Western Germany and Japan its principal war bases, not only against Communism, but against all nations which in any way hinder the development of the trading plans of American big business, and in particular to make Britain and the Western European countries economic and political colonies of the USA.

In relation to the international situation, the basic position of the Labour Government is its opposition to the Soviet Union. But what does it hope to get out of this? Does its alliance with USA increase Britain's possibility of improving its position as a world power? On the contrary, it is undermining Britain's position and increasingly bringing about a position of complete economic and political servitude to the USA.

In its vain efforts to maintain the weakening structure of its own imperialism, the Labour Government is more and more losing out to its powerful American rival. This is seen, above all, in its position on the Marshall Plan.

The details released so far from the various "expert" committees working on the drafts of the Marshall Plan are absolute proof of every accusation made that the aim of American big business is fundamentally to undermine the economic and political independence of Britain and Western Europe.

## **THE PRICE OF AMERICAN AID**

Britain and other participating countries are being called upon to pay a heavy price for such US aid as they may receive. The aid proposed is limited and hedged about with restrictions in a way that could not promote economic recovery. The aid for Britain would not cover more than a fraction of the dollar deficit. The sponsors of the Plan calculate that Britain would still be compelled to exhaust its gold resources and that by 1952, at the end of the Plan, the standard of living would still be below pre-war. The allocations proposed are concentrated mainly on commodities such as tobacco and dried eggs which United States exporters wish to unload on the European market. The requests of the European countries for aid in productive equipment have been drastically cut down, notably with regard to steel.

On the other hand, in return for whatever aid is given, the United States expects rights of economic, political and strategic interference. This has been made clear from the statements of General Marshall and the State Department, the Harriman Report, the Herter Report and the Congress hearings. In return for whatever aid is given, the USA is demanding the right to interfere with the reconstruction plans of the various countries. Capital expenditure programmes to build up industry in Britain and Western Europe, which would really make for independence from America, have already been criticised and it is clear that pressure will be exerted to cut them down; to cut down expenditure on housing and abolish exchange controls. Already the Harriman Report has attacked the shipbuilding programme in Britain and elsewhere. The British Government, by cutting the steel allocation to the British shipbuilding industry by 20 per cent, is showing an indecent haste in carrying out US wishes.

They claim the right to interfere with Britain's commercial policy. For example, Mr. Bernard Baruch, the Wall Street financier, stated that "Britain and other countries should be allowed to retain their Imperial preferences for three years", as if this were a matter within the jurisdiction of the US Congress.

General Marshall's revelation before Congress that he and Mr. Bevin had discussed the terms of the Anglo-Soviet trade treaty, gives a further insight into US pretensions in this sphere.

We are witnessing the period of maximum pressure of the United States upon Britain, and in this connection the devaluation of the French franc must be viewed. Just as the Western Customs Union is directed towards breaking up the Empire basis of Britain, and as part of the Marshall Plan the drive against Imperial preferences, etc., so devaluation is another part. The franc crisis shows the catastrophic position in France, and the alarm has come from Britain, not so much, on the devaluation proposals, but, as we pointed out, on the free rate for the £. In point of fact the franc devaluation moves were carried through with the approval of America. It all represents a deepening of the world economic crisis, further pressure on the sterling bloc, and the development of the war position.

All this is linked with the systematic American drive to weaken Britain's trade links with the Dominions, India and the colonies, as seen in the latest trade agreement for a lowering of tariffs which favours the USA more than Britain, especially with the disparity between the productive capacity of the two countries. The USA steadily drives Britain out of its Latin-American markets, and conducts an increasing trade offensive against Britain in the Middle East. USA capital penetrates into India, Burma, Malaya; its trade agreement with Chiang Kaishek practically means the closing of the Chinese markets in British trade.

In short, the economic policy of the USA means economic suicide for Britain.

Wall Street's political aim for Britain is to reduce Britain to a political yes-man, supporting every American action for world supremacy.

This for Britain is political suicide. There can be no doubt about the desire of American reaction to organise a war against the Soviet Union. as well as the role which America sees Britain playing in such a war.

The USA aims to make Britain its base if another war breaks out—its aircraft carrier, its rocket and flying bomb base. It matters nothing to Wall Street that Britain and its industries and people would be speedily wiped out in such a war.

The aim of American pressure, its loans, its economic and political policy for Britain together will mean in the event of a new war, military suicide and the end of its rule as an important power. In short, US policy aims to eliminate Britain as an independent power and to make it completely dependent on America.

## **THE POLICY OF RIGHT-WING SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

Since 1924 we have had three Labour Governments. Those of 1924 and 1929 were decisively defeated at subsequent General Elections; and the results of the recent Municipal Elections, and the steady increase in the Tory vote at by-elections, are a dangerous sign of the loss of faith in a third Labour Government, even though it' has a great majority behind it in Parliament.

In each case, however, it is easy to trace why the high hopes of Labour supporters have been thwarted. It is because under the leadership of the right-wing leaders the Labour Governments have, in each case, refused to organise any real fight against capitalism, and through this, assisted in a strengthening of the Tory Party.

The whole history of the British Labour movement is clear evidence of the disorganising part played at every stage of the workers' struggle against capitalism by right-wing leaders.

We saw it during the miners' struggle in 1921, and the failure of the Triple Alliance to act alongside the miners, in the fight of MacDonalld and company against "Poplariam," i.e., defending the interests of the poorest sections of the working class. In

1924 the Labour Government was in sharp opposition to official trade union strikes and accused the trade unionists of “stabbing Labour in the back.” In 1926, leaders of the same type betrayed the General Strike.

The right-wing leaders supported “non-intervention” in Spain, the policy of Chamberlain at Munich, they resisted every effort to organise working class unity, and they again attempted to dragoon and threaten all those in the Labour Party who from time to time feel impelled to protest against the callous betrayal of the principles which inspire the Labour movement.

## **THE ALTERNATIVE FORCES IN BRITAIN**

There have always been strong Left. tendencies in the Labour movement, but their major weakness has always been that they have never been fully united and organised. At the present time, discontent and dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government does exist inside the Parliamentary Labour Party. There is a strong Left movement in the trade unions, and a growing differentiation to be observed inside the Co-operative movement. There is a serious determination on the part of the rank and file of the trade unions not to allow any freezing of wages to take place, and many important trade union leaders are also fully in line with this outlook. The position on food subsidies is even stronger, and any attempt to reduce these would meet with the strongest opposition on the part of large and important sections of the Labour movement.

These features of the position inside the movement have to be considered also in relation to the growing feeling in Britain against the policy of American reaction; the desire for trade and friendship with the Soviet Union; and above all, in remembering the strong, fighting anti-capitalist and Socialist traditions in the whole Labour movement. It provides a serious basis upon which can be united and organised the most formidable mass movement of the Left to fight against the

present disastrous policies of the Labour Government and to bring about the desired change.

## **SOME REMARKS ON COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY**

When the world is clearly divided into an imperialist and an anti-imperialist camp, with a Labour Government an active partner in the imperialist camp, and carrying through a capitalist solution of the crisis, it is necessary that important changes in the policy of the Communist Party to meet this situation should be made.

We correctly exposed the reactionary nature of the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan, but we were slow after the end of the war to recognise that American imperialism has become the new central force of world reaction, seeking to dominate the world and to subordinate Britain to its own interests.

We correctly worked for the victory of the Labour Government in the General Election, and quite rightly gave constructive support to the Labour Government for the fulfilment of its election programme, criticising and opposing its reactionary policies, but we were late in appreciating the full scale of the drift to the Right of the Labour Government and clung to old formulas and approaches after it had revealed itself, particularly with its role in the Marshall Plan, as an instrument of the imperialist camp, of capitulation to the Federation of British Industries, and of subordination to Wall Street.

Our campaign of exposure of the role of social democracy has also been insufficient. We have tended to forget that millions of young people who have come to adult life and are now taking an active interest in working class politics and policy have not had the experience of the role of social democracy which the older workers have had.

Furthermore, in our anxiety to improve our organisation for

fighting elections, we did so in many cases at the expense of factory organisation, and are not yet giving sufficient attention to developing our mass work and organisation in the factories. While mentioning these weaknesses, at the same time we pay tribute to the positive achievements of our Party and members during the year. We have led a consistent campaign on housing and food prices. Our fight for a real economic plan, for the nationalisation of steel and for the reduction of the size of the armed forces and trade with the Soviet Union has had considerable effect. This movement, with which we as a Party were associated, had a powerful effect on the votes at the Trades Union Congress, where a substantial militant minority stood firm for a working class position despite all pressure and attacks.

Our consistent exposure of Government policy on Greece, on Spain, and on Palestine has found a ready echo in the movement. Our Party is proud to be in the forefront of the struggle against Mosley today, as it was before the war. In spite of the propaganda from all official sources, our meetings are bigger than ever, and 5,000 workers have joined the Party in the last three months.

Our main danger today is an underestimation of the strength of the working class and its readiness to fight back for the achievement of its demands and its solution of the crisis.

We shall have to convince the Labour movement of the capitalist character of the Government's policy, and prove that if this policy is continued the present attacks on working class conditions and standards represent only the beginning. While we fight for a correct solution of the economic crisis, the fight to defend and improve the workers' standards and for their daily interests, is the only way to compel changes in policy and government. This fight will have to be conducted in a variety of forms, and the stronger it becomes, the sooner the changes required will be obtained. It is this which is new, and its decisive importance must be recognised.

It is now the mass struggle against the present reactionary

policy and present composition of the Government that needs to be aroused and organised at every stage.

It is this alone which can end the present frustration and confusion; which can lead to the development of a fighting Labour movement against capitalism, secure the solution of the crisis in the interests of the people, and at the same time safeguard the national independence of Britain and enable it to play a really constructive role in all International organisation.

(p. 5, 6)

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## **SCHUMACHER—TRAITOR AND international Provocator. D. Kraminov**

Kurt Schumacher the lackey of the German imperialists, who calls himself a social-democrat, is often compared to Hitler, and not without reason. Schumacher's hatred for the progressive labour movement, like the hatred of Hitler, verges on the abnormal, on madness. As a demagogue he runs a close second to Hitler. For he, too, plays on the baser, chauvinistic instincts of the Germans, on their desire for revenge; toys with the idea of setting the Germans against other nations, and above all, against the Slavs and the French; extols the superiority of the Germans as the Herren Volk over the rest of the nations.

Schumacher and Hitler are linked not only by their personal vices, but also by their penchant for treachery. Hitler began his "political career" as a paid informer of the reactionary officer clique who spied on the revolutionary workers, Schumacher, according to the testimony of a German officer, published in the newspaper "Pravda" at the end of October 1947, first made his "debut" as a paid stooge of a tobacco firm.

When a corporal in the army Hitler betrayed his comrades to their superiors. Schumacher, for his part, betrayed his comrades in the Dauchau concentration camp to the Gestapo and SS. On April 6, 1946. the Berlin Social-Democratic newspaper "Das

Volk” published two letters written by former Dauchau inmates in which they accused Schumacher of betraying to the Gestapo a group of German antifascists and 92 Soviet officers who had been engaged in underground work in the camp. All of them suffered a brutal death. The Gestapo rewarded Schumacher by releasing him.

With the defeat of Hitler Germany Schumacher began to look around for new masters who could use his rich experience as an informer, spy, traitor and provocateur. He was not long in finding them.

The British and American imperialists, bent on eliminating Germany as a competitor from the world market, have all along since the end of World War II, done their best to hinder the building up of an economically strong democratic Germany; which they fear may happen once unity is restored in the German working class. That is why the British and American imperialists are exerting every effort through the military administration in Germany to prevent the establishment of a united worker's party. They have not forgotten that after World War I the capitalist order, destroyed in Russia by the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, was saved in Germany and the rest of Europe due to the treachery of the top leaders of German social-democracy—Scheideman, Noske, Mueller, Wels and their Socialist colleagues in the other countries. By keeping the working class divided and by viciously attacking its more active Left elements, the German right-wing social democrats placed Hindenberg, the puppet of the Rhine-Westphalian industrialists and East Prussian landlords in power; later they supported the semi-fascist governments of Bruening, von Papen and Schleicher, who step by step paved the way to power for the ringleader of the fascist gangsters — Hitler. Blinded by hatred of the revolution the right-wing Social-Democrats betrayed the German workers to their implacable enemy, not even stopping at the destruction of their own party and trade unions.

Naturally, the Anglo-American imperialists, dreading labour

unity, no matter in what country, bethought themselves of the leftovers of the German social-democratic leadership. In Hanover there was found a little-known, third-rate and unprincipled journalist named Schumacher. This Schumacher had achieved a certain notoriety way back in 1932 when he gave assistance to Hitler gangsters who were attacking workers' organisations, killing their leaders and staging pogroms.

In his gutter sheet Schumacher daily slandered the left workers' organisations, called for their destruction, prompted the Nazis' whom to get rid of in the first place . His hatred of the revolutionary workers, his utter lack of principle and capacity for lying were so obvious that the British military authorities in Germany, who, incidentally, acted on the counsel of the Labour Ministers, entrusted Schumacher with the ignominious job of preventing a united workers' party in Western Germany.

Backed by the British Labour leaders, and particularly by the Secretary of the Labour Party, Philipps, not to mention the entire administrative and police apparatus of the British occupation forces, Schumacher carried out his assignment: the working class in Western Germany remained split into two camps. This accomplished, Schumacher got the Social-Democratic organisations in Western Germany to break away from the Central' Board of the Social-Democratic Party in Berlin. which favoured the establishment of a united workers' party, Spurred on by the British military authorities Schumacher assembled all the splitters in Hanover and declared himself the “fuehrer” of social-democracy in all the three Western zones.

In December 1946, Schumacher accompanied by Ollenhauer, Heine and others visited London where the Labour leaders touchingly joined with the Conservatives to accord a fitting welcome to the new “fuehrer” of the German nationalists. By flattering and building up Schumacher, as the British capitalist press had earlier flattered Hitler, British ruling circles meant to make this born traitor their faithful servant. Returning from London Schumacher declared in Hanover on December 13,

1946: “Britain today is the genuine exponent of Socialist ideas. We have reached a better understanding with the Labour Party”.

Soon, however, it dawned on Schumacher that he was backing the wrong horse. Western Germany was ruled not by the British Labour Party but by American industrialists and bankers. To please his new masters Schumacher stopped calling for socialisation, that is, for the public ownership of German industry. Last autumn he went to the USA to make his bow to the American moneybags. Upon his return Schumacher dropped all talk about the “socialist idea” or its “genuine exponent” in Britain, for the simple reason that he had resold himself to the American imperialists.

Schumacher, to quote the “New York Times” correspondent, Clark, called upon his colleagues to support the American policy of dividing Germany.

In accordance with the task allocated by his American masters, Schumacher, supported by the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party, devoted himself to the job of preventing the democratic organisations in Germany from fighting for the establishment of a united democratic German state. He tried to break up the German People's Congress, convened under the slogan: for a just democratic peace between the Allies and Germany. The yes-men of the provocateur Schumacher unleashed a frenzied campaign in Germany to give the enemies of a united democratic Germany at the London conference of foreign ministers a pretext to reject the just demands of the People's Congress, as not corresponding to the wishes of the German people.

Very soon after the London conference was broken up, the Americans and Britishers called a meeting in Frankfurt of representatives of the governments in the Anglo-American zone (Bizonia) together with the so-called Economic Council. At this meeting it was decided to transform the Economic Council into the parliament of Bizonia, by adding to it a second chamber, which will defend the interests of the territories that

make up Bizonia. The Executive Committee of the Economic Council has been reorganised into a government. The leaders of the Social-Democratic Party Brauer, Kaisen, Zinn and others, vying with each other in obsequious servility to their American masters, suggested that the newly formed government be known as such not only in essence but also in form and name. But as the "Economist" in its issue of January 10, 1948, states "the Anglo- American authorities shamefacedly do not allow it to bear the name of "government". It is still necessary to translate the term "Economic Council" into "Parliament," and "Executive Committee" into "Cabinet," before the structure becomes plain."

Schumacher, imitating Hitler, covers up his treachery with a flood of demagoguery which, as is known, is the principal means applied by rightwing social democracy to befuddle the minds of the working people. He has, it seems, inherited certain demagogic slogans of pre-war German social democracy, which he is now propagating. The Social-Democrats paved the way for Hitler by voting for Field Marshal Hindenburg. They assured the German people that this puppet of the German imperialist bourgeoisie and military clique was a lesser evil than Hitler. Under the same hypocritical slogan the Social-Democrats supported Bruening, Schleicher and von Papen. And later, when Hitler came to power with Hindenburg's blessing, they again played the old "lesser evil" record, claiming that things would have been much worse had Hitler come to power unaided.

After resurrecting this treacherous tactic, which betrayed the German people into the hands of the Hitler gang, Schumacher, foaming at the mouth recently tried to prove that a divided Germany was a lesser evil than four-power Allied control. When this division, effected by the Americans and their British satellites, became a fact, Schumacher pleaded that Western Germany be granted occupation status as the "lesser evil". More than that, the Schumacher outfit of the Social-Democratic Party in Hanover, only too eager to please,

submitted a blueprint of. this status, as outlined to Schumacher during his visit to the US.

As has now been established this old provocateur had a hand in the contemptible forgery fabricated by the British Intelligence Service and known as "Protocol M".

Schumacher and his yes-men are ceaselessly propagating for revenge. This undoubted fascist, who has rallied around the false banners of social-democracy Hitler criminals who have escaped retribution, Nazis and jingo-elements, not to mention duped workers, is openly preparing the German people for another world war, and is promising them allies in the shape of the American warmongers. The provocateur and adventurist Schumacher is linking his hopes for a war of revenge against the Slav peoples and France with the designs of the American imperialists to use Germany as a base for their domination in Europe. Such is the moral and political face of this "fuehrer" of German social-democracy, who is trying to serve two master at the same time — the American and British imperialists, and who is ever ready to sloop to any treachery and provocation. Schumacher typifies the moral degradation and political disintegration of post-war right-wing social-democracy.

The German people, who have paid heavily for their trust in Hitler who, led them into a war of revenge should, before it is too late, brand and eject from their midst the traitor Schumacher, who is following in the footsteps of Hitler. The peoples of Europe, who have paid with the lives of millions of their sons, with unparalleled devastation for the adventures of the German imperialists, for the crimes of the German fascists cannot permit scoundrels like Schumacher and his ilk once again to prepare Germany for war, against the other peoples.

The German people must realise, before it is too late, that the world will never forgive them if they again allow themselves to be involved in a new military adventure.

## **POLITICAL NOTES**

### **THE “WESTERN UNION” OR NEW INTRIGUES OF THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS**

The “Bevin Plan,” around which British propaganda raised such a hullabaloo, has been accorded a cold reception nearly everywhere. The blatantly obvious drive of the British ruling circles to subordinate the political and economic life of Western Europe to their control and thus secure for themselves the undisputable role of American imperialism's chief salesman in Europe, has not evoked any particular enthusiasm in the capitals of the small States, and even less in the big ones.

The Scandinavian countries— Sweden, Denmark—refused to take part in the military-political bloc, planned by Bevin, a bloc directed against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. Switzerland, likewise refused its assent, Neither the unsurpassed hypocrisy of British diplomacy, nor the

unadulterated demagoguery of the Labour leaders could conceal from public opinion the poisoned sting of the new war venture, wrapped up in the Bevin proposal.

The small countries which are completely dependent on Britain such as Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, collectively known as Benelux, did not dare reject the Bevin Plan. The leader of the Belgian Socialists, Spaak, who actually dictates the foreign policy of I Benelux was advocating a “Western Union” when Churchill was still Prime Minister. Another reason why Belgium and Holland, dared not reject the Bevin Plan is that their African and Asiatic colonies still are, as a matter of fact, in the hands of the British, and the refusal to exploit their resources, jointly as intimated by the British Foreign Minister, would deprive the Belgians and Dutch of, the remaining small share of raw materials and foodstuffs received from these colonies.

The attitude of the French Government to the Bevin Plan is more intricate, While approving it in words in practice the French have sapped the financial and commercial foundations of the future union by devaluing the franc, against the wishes of the British, and by announcing a French-Italian customs union. The devaluation of the franc has in point of fact nullified the economic section of the Bevin plan. The British, who like to have others pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, had hoped that the dollar and not the pound sterling would be the financial basis of all commercial operations inside the “Western Union”. The devaluation of the franc, which caused such displeasure in London, was effected not only with the knowledge of the American Government but on its direct instructions. While gladly allocating to the Labour leaders the role of landsknechts their Wall Street bosses are by no means interested in the economic recovery of Britain or the expansion of its positions in Europe.

A few days later, while the British Labour Government was still recovering from its financial defeat the French ambassador in Washington, Bonnet and his Italian colleague, Tarciani,

visited the, Assistant Secretary of State, Lovett, to get official sanction. for the French-Italian customs union. As was to be expected the American Government gladly sanctioned, this step, which, incidentally, was inspired by the Americans themselves. Again on instructions from Washington the French Government made the proposal to Benelux to join this customs union, which it did, having no choice in the matter.

The Catholic-Socialist government of France thus showed that it does not intend of relinquishing to the British Labour leaders without a fight the role of Wall Street's chief salesman in Europe. As for the American imperialists, having encountered vigorous resistance to the "Marshall Plan" both among the European peoples as well as at home in the United States, they are stopping at nothing to put through their aggressive plans in Europe. The American Government loudly announced its approval of the Churchill-Bevin "Western Union" plan; it just as loudly approved the devaluation of the franc and the French-Italian customs union, measures which greatly hamper London's claims to the leading role in Europe after the United States. Simultaneously the American Government signed a treaty in Rome which actually reduces Italy to the status of an American colony.

These measures of the US Government, which at first sight appear somewhat contradictory, speak of the feverish and manifold activities of American imperialism. After shouting from the housetops about the "Marshall Plan" aid the American imperialists, who as yet haven't sent a single cent to Europe, got the British Labour leaders to form a West European military-political bloc and the French Catholics to engineer a customs union, thus hoping thereby not only, to cash in on the fruits of others' toil, but also to mask their aggressive designs in Europe.

But this trick is hardly likely to succeed.

## **SPLITTERS IN THE TRADE UNIONS**

The General Council of the TUC recently delivered an ultimatum to the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Union demanding a plenum of the Executive Bureau no later than the middle of February to unleashing a new world war, ultimatum does not stop at this. The gentlemen, who run the trade unions and who act on the direct orders of Bevin not only wanted a discussion of the Marshall Plan but also its approval, regardless of what forms the plan, now in Congress, takes, Since the overwhelming majority (at least 6 of the 9) members of the Executive Bureau are opposed to the World Federation being turned into an appendage of the US State Department, the Labour leaders plan to split the Federation by uniting around the British TUC these European trade unions, dominated by right-wing Socialists.

This is precisely what the American warmongers want. The World Federation, which unites over 75 million workers, is a serious obstacle to the unleashing a new world war. That is why the American State Department mustered the reactionary leaders of the American unions and instructed them to pool forces with the British Labour leaders in an attempt split and remove the Federation from the world arena. Responding to this directive the leaders of the TUC concocted their outrageous ultimatum to the Executive Bureau of the WFTU and simultaneously set about preparing a new International trade union organisation in which the reactionary leaders of the American trade unions and their British opposites, would play the, leading role.

Trade union bodies throughout the world are indignant at the dirty game being played by American imperialist agents and their British assistants in the labour movement. In Britain the rank and file union members have condemned the ignominious behaviour of their leaders. Thus, for instance the National Council of the Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association,

which, has a membership of 75,000, denounced the splitters in the labour movement. In their resolution the National Council stressed that the slogan “ Workers of all countries, unite!” must become the guiding star of all workers.

## **FALSIFIERS OF HISTORY**

Anglo-American diplomacy infuriated at its inability to subordinate the peoples of Europe to the will of handful of American and British multi-millionaires and their political and military lackeys, have now resorted to the mass production of forgeries. Bevin’s Ministry, using the secret service and provocateurs, last month presented the world with the crude forgery known as “Protocol M”. The forgery, the authenticity of which Bevin’s assistants shamelessly swore by, was rejected even by the British capitalist press which, it is true, was outraged not so much by the forgery itself, as by the crude manner in which it was presented. “Protocol M” has shown to what a sorry state the “art” of forgery has fallen in the Foreign Office, although it was never known to be on a high level.

The American falsifiers, evidently fearing a repetition of the Bevin fiasco in forgeries which dealt with current problems, have chosen history for their object.

The US State Department has issued a volume of materials allegedly captured in the German archives. By publishing these tendentious materials the State Department is trying to absolve America and Britain of responsibility for the preparation and unleashing of World War II by Hitler and to slander the foreign policy of the Soviet Union during the period 1939-41.

The Soviet Information Bureau has exposed the provocative designs of the American falsifiers of history, who are endeavouring to use the tendentious compilation to foment anti-Soviet feeling and facilitate their aggressive plans.

The statement of the Soviet Information Bureau notes that the Soviet Government will publish documents concealed by the

government of Britain, France and the USA and which establish the historical truth. These documents will throw light on the actual preparations and growth of Hitler aggression and will expose the criminal role of the American and British monopolists and ruling cliques in the preparation and unleashing of World War II by Hitler, a war which cost mankind millions of lives.

**Jan MAREK**

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## **Editorial Board**

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