

*Workers of All Countries, Unite!*

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

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## **IN DEFENCE OF TRADE UNION UNITY!**

The remarkable growth of the forces of democracy, tempered in the fire of the great liberation war of the peoples against fascism, was accompanied by the further extension and consolidation of the trade union movement throughout the world. Learning from the bitter experience of the pre-war years and first years of the war, which revealed the disastrous consequences of the working class forces being scattered, a fact which made it easier for the German imperialists to launch World War II, the working people began in the very process of the struggle against fascism to create united national trade unions. And these national trade unions grew and subsequently developed in a united world trade union movement, which culminated in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. For the first time in the history of the labour movement the trade unions appeared on the world arena as a united body representing the working class of 58 countries.

The WFTU, uniting over 70 million organised workers became a serious factor in the struggle for a lasting peace and democracy. Basing themselves on the support of the World Federation the national bodies started an active struggle to secure the democratic gains won in the war against the fascist invaders, and to improve the standard of living of the people. In the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe the trade unions played a decisive role in building up the new democracies. They were, and are the mass base of the most consistent democratic forces. The struggle of the trade unions of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland and the recent stand taken by the trade unions of Czechoslovakia, will go down in the history of the world labour movement as a striking example of defence of the vital interests of the people. Having secured the political gains of the people, the trade unions devoted their efforts to the economic recovery of their countries and helped secure a rapid improvement in the wellbeing of the people.

The trade unions of France and Italy fought the attempts of the French and Italian capitalists to place the entire burden of the post-war crisis on the shoulders of the working people. The strike action of the French and Italian workers at the call of, and under the leadership of their trades

unions, demonstrated that any attempt by the ruling classes of France and Italy to lower living standards meets with resolute resistance. Simultaneously, the trade unions of France and Italy rallied to the banner of struggle, raised aloft by the Communists, for the national independence and sovereignty of their countries, which have been betrayed and bartered to American imperialism by the French and Italian capitalists.

The trade unions of Germany, with the support of the World Federation, are trying to make contact outside the zones, despite the obstacles placed in their way by the Angle-American and French occupation authorities.

Even the trade unions in Britain and America, whose leaders are now opposing the World Federation, played a much bigger role in their own countries and beyond their confines when they cooperated loyally with the other national trade unions instead of trying to foist their will on them, as is now being done by the venal right-wing leaders of the British and American trade unions. The British trade unions, for example, played a decisive role in the smashing defeat of the Conservatives in the 1945 election. And by the same token the voice of the CIO was heard far beyond the confines of the USA and found a ready response when it backed the progressive measures of the late President Roosevelt.

The experience of the war and postwar years has shown the working class that united trade unions constitute a powerful, invincible force in the struggle for lasting peace, for genuine democracy, for the national independence and economic and cultural regeneration of nations.

It is precisely for this reason that American imperialism, preparing for new military adventures and striving for world domination is going all out to weaken the trade unions, to render them harmless and, if possible, to make them tools of their aggressive policy. Mounting its offensive against the trade unions American imperialism is operating along two lines: it is trying to weaken the national trade union bodies on the one hand on the other, to smash their international contacts.

In the attempt to weaken the national trade unions the agents of American imperialism are seeking to split their rank and to get progressive leaders removed from office. In France, for instance, an American intelligence officer, representing himself as a trade union leader, Irving Brown, engineered the split in the General Confederation of Labour by bring the corrupt trade union leaders Jouhaux and his followers. But the American agents and their French hirelings miscalculated: only a handful of trade unionists followed the splitters. They met with another defeat in Britain where the Secretary of the Labour Party, Morgan Phillips and the leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Deakin, acted as the American agents. Their call to keep Communist trade unionists out of the executive organs, and thus split the trade union movement, was contemptuously rejected by the British workers. In America a veritable purge was carried out in the trade unions. Almost all the democratically-minded persons on whom the late President Roosevelt relied in his progressive policy, have been removed from the executive organs of the CID. The CID is now run by men who uphold the imperialist course of the US State Department.

In their endeavour to break international trade union ties the agents of American imperialism directed the full blast of their drive against the World Federation of Trade Unions which they tried to turn into an arena of dirty intrigues, political machinations and anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda. Aware, however, that a strong and united World Federation would quickly expose and put an end to these intrigues and machinations, the stooges of American imperialism directed their main blow against trade union unity and working class solidarity. And with this in view Marshall and Bevin, Green and Deakin pooled forces. In the same way that a military operation is prepared they planned their attack on trade union unity in the greatest secrecy. To the British TUC was assigned the ignominious role of the main splitter. The pretext for the split was — the "Marshall Plan".

The whole world is a witness today of these splitting endeavours. The right-wing leaders of the TUC followed their ultimatum to the World Federation to discuss and approve the Marshall Plan at once, by announcing their intention to summon a trade union conference of the 16 countries which have agreed, at the price of their independence, to accept the aid of the "Marshall Plan". Camouflaging their splitting tactics and dictatorial methods the TUC chieftains alleged that the Soviet trade unions were hampering the WFTU from discussing the "Marshall Plan".

The leaders of the Soviet trade unions exposed the machinations of the splitters to shift the responsibility by clearly stating that the Soviet unions, even though they consider the "Marshall Plan" an American imperialist undertaking designed to enslave the peoples of Europe economically and politically, have no objection to the national trade union bodies and the World Federation discussing the "Marshall Plan".

The working people of the world indignantly condemn the intrigues of American imperialism and its agents in the camp of the right-wing Socialists to weaken the trade unions and to

undermine the organised working class.

In exposing the foul manoeuvres of the stooges of American imperialism inside the trade unions, the working class will more vigorously weld-trade union unity on a national and international scale, for trade union unity is the guarantee of their strength and power, it is the guarantee of success in the struggle against reaction.

The Communists will set an example in the struggle to preserve and cement trade union unity, will denounce and expose the machinations of the splitters and will continue to lead the trade unions along the glorious path of struggle to safeguard national sovereignty, for peace and democracy.

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## **FOR UNITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES, AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

### **FORMATION OF DEFENCE COMMITTEES IN FRANCE**

The movement for the setting up of Defence Committees is growing throughout France. These Committees are taking the form of unions for the defence of French industries (film, aircraft, automobile, etc.), Committees for the Defence of the Republic, and Committees for the defence of the common interests of workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, shopkeepers. All these bodies, the leadership of which is elected democratically, pursue the common aim of safeguarding the economic and political independence of France against the predatory onslaught of Anglo-American imperialism.

In Paris the Committee for the Defence of the Film Industry, which unites all film personnel (producers, script writers, actors, technicians, workers, and studio owners), has issued a manifesto calling for energetic measures to save the French film industry whose existence is threatened by American competition due to the disastrous Blum-Byrnes agreement.

Committees for the Defence of the French Aircraft Industry, which recently held a congress in Issy les Moulineaux, are functioning in 72 aircraft factories among them the Gnome and Rhone

plants, the Morane, Saulnier, Bronzavia, Ispano and Suiza plants. Committees are being set up in the automobile, building and clothing industries and in the electrical goods industry, which is particularly menaced by American competition.

Shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and professional workers are uniting in defence of their interests, which have been gravely affected by the Mayer plan, the product of Wall Street. A large number of these Committees have been set up in Paris, in the Paris district, in the departments of the Seine and Oise, in Bordeaux, Marseilles and elsewhere. On February 15 a congress of the Defence Committees of Saint Denis was attended by delegates from 35 Defence Committees for Industry, and by representatives of the Defence Committees of shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, apprentices and tenants.

A similar movement for safeguarding the interests of French agriculture is spreading in the countryside.

## **CONSOLIDATION OF THE YOUTH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**

The seventh plenum of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth was recently held in Rome, attended by delegations from the USSR, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Britain, Australia, Norway, Canada, Italy and the liberated areas of China.

In his report to the plenum the Chairman of the Federation, Guy de Boisson, said: "The principal task of the World Federation of Democratic Youth is to weld together the forces of the youth in the struggle for peace. The Federation must combat the attempts of reaction to form a Western youth bloc. The Federation must become an active organiser, which will effectively fight for the future of the youth."

The delegates expressed themselves in favour of increased aid to the youth of India, Viet Nam, Greece, Spain and China who are courageously fighting for freedom.

The Executive Committee of the Federation welcomed the decision of the Yugoslav section to call upon the youth of 40 countries to help in the rehabilitation of Yugoslavia.

The Secretary of the Federation, Herbert Williams, announced that very soon the World Federation of Democratic Youth will have its organisations in Ireland, Great Britain, Guatemala, Australia, India and Brazil.

## **ACTIVITY OF THE YOUTH OF BULGARIA**

A session of the Executive Committee of the Union of Bulgarian youth was held recently in Sofia. The meeting summarised the results of the youth labour activities during the past 12 months. By means of voluntary work the young people built the Hannbogas pass, the Pernic-Voluja railway, the Mesdra—Sofia—Plovdiv electric line, and 25 kilometres of highway; they built 165 bridges and irrigation channels with a total length of 30 kilometres etc.

By their voluntary work the youth of the country saved for the Government over a thousand million levs.

The meeting decided to involve another 250,000 young men and women into the voluntary youth labour brigades. These young patriots will continue the building of the youth city named Dimitrovgrad, the "Rosiza" reservoir, the Luvech—Trojan railway and a number of electric power stations.

In the countryside local youth brigades will build hospitals, bridges, cooperative clubs and other structures.

The meeting also adopted a number of measures for the further development of sports and physical culture among the youth of Bulgaria.

## **AID TO THE GREEK PEOPLE**

The people of Greece, fighting against the American and British imperialists and their puppets,

the monarchist-fascists, enjoy the sympathy of all honest people. In many countries people are devoting themselves to securing aid for the heroic people of Greece.

In Paris, for example, a "Committee for Aid to Democratic Greece" has been formed. Jean Guignebert, Madelene Braun and other well-known public figures have been elected to the Committee. A call, issued by the Committee, stresses that "after their heroic struggle against Hitler and Mussolini, the people of Greece are now compelled to fight for freedom and national independence, against the Anglo-American invaders. To defend Greece means to defend peace". This call found a willing response among workers, peasants and the intelligentsia who are contributing to the "Aid to Greece" fund.

In Warsaw a "Friends of Democratic Greece Society" has been formed by the democratic parties, public bodies and cultural organisations. The poet Wladislaw Bronewski is Chairman of the Society.

In Rumania workers employed in the oil industry contributed a half day's wages to the Greek fund; metal and textile workers in Ploeshti contributed 450,000 lei; textile workers in a Bucharest factory gave over 1,000 metres of fabric; at a big locomotive works the personnel worked a total of 75,000 extra labour hours and devoted the money thus earned to the Greek fund.

A report by the Hungarian National Committee for Aid to the people of Greece says that by February 21 the Hungarian democrats, workers and intellectuals had contributed 11/2 million forints to the Greek fund. At one coal mine the miners collected 110 thousand forints.

"Aid Greece" committees have been formed throughout Yugoslavia and in many other countries.

Trade unions, youth and women's organisations are actively helping in organising assistance for the Greek people. A conference of Balkan youth and also the Executive Committee of the World Federation of youth have addressed a call to young people throughout the world to support the people of Greece. The Anti-Fascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia has sent a letter to the International Women's Federation requesting the organisation to "appeal to the national sections of the Federation and to all women's organisations for aid in the liberation struggle of the Greek peoples."

## **SIXTH PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED TRADE UNIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA**

The sixth plenum of the united trade unions of Yugoslavia, recently held in Zagreb, was addressed by the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Louis Saillant. In his speech Louis Saillant stressed the need of waging a vigorous struggle against those who are trying to split the WFTU.

In a telegram to the World Federation of Trade Unions the plenum condemned the manoeuvres of the AF of L leadership and reactionary elements in the CIO leadership who, with the help of the reactionaries in the British TUC are trying to smash the international unity of the working class .

The plenum mainly discussed organisational matters.

The united trade unions of Yugoslavia have a membership of over a million.

Seventy-five percent of all the Yugoslav workers are taking part in the labour emulation in industry.

## **CALL OF THE PROGRESSIVE YOUTH OF IRAN**

Following the publication of the Iran-American treaty, the Executive Committee of the People's Youth of Iran addressed a "call to the progressive and patriotic youth of Iran. The call denounces the enslaving character of the treaty and calls upon the patriotic youth to struggle for the annulment of this document that enthrals Iran and thus combat the imperialist conspiracy against Iran."

## FIRST CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF RUMANIA

The first congress of the Workers' Party of Rumania at which the fusion of the Communist and Social Democratic parties took place, was held in Bucharest on February 21-23.

The congress was attended by 820 delegates.

The congress was preceded by extensive organisational and ideological work in all the organisations of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties. The programme of the Workers' Party, adopted at a joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the two parties, was explained in great detail at meetings and in the press.

The actual fusion of the two parties, which took place prior to the congress, was effected on the following basis:

recognition of the need for Rumania to take an active part in the struggle against the imperialist, anti-democratic camp;

the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism is the basis of the ideological principles of the Workers' Party; vigorous denouncement of, and irreconcilable struggle against the treacherous policy of the right-wing Social-Democrats;

to promote the economic development of the country and consolidate the people's democracy.

Greetings were brought to the congress by representatives of the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Austria, Belgium, Greece, France, Holland, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Palestine.

The congress closely followed reports made by the representative of the Communist Party of Greece, Comrade Lefteri Apostolu and the EAM representative, D. Fotopulos, who told of the heroic struggle being waged by the Greek people for their freedom and independence against the monarchist-fascist and Anglo-American imperialists.

Amid stormy and prolonged applause the congress addressed a telegram of greetings to Comrade Stalin.

The three items on the agenda of the congress were:

1. Formation of the Workers' Party of Rumania and its immediate tasks. Reporter—Comrade Georgiu-Dej.

2. Approval of the Statutes of the Workers' Party of Rumania. Reporter —Comrade Lotar Radacanu.

3. Elections of the executive organs of the party.

An abridged version of Comrade Georgiu-Dej's report appears in the current issue of this paper. The debate on Georgiu-Dej's report reflected the determination of the Communists and Social-



Democrats to consolidate the unity achieved and continue the struggle to build up the People's Republic of Rumania. Many delegates observed that the rank- and-file Social-Democrats had realised the need for unity with the Communist Party long ago but that the Rights, who were not interested in the victory of the democratic regime, hampered all measures to put this unity into effect.

Comrade Z. Bicks in his reports spoke of the enthusiasm displayed both in political life and in industry by the workers and peasants in connection with the fusion of the two parties.

For the working people this fusion is a sign of the growing strength of the young People's Republic. "Our province" continued Comrade Bicks, "was one of the first to be liberated by the heroic Soviet Army from the fascist invaders. The Soviet Union and its Soviet Army saved the lives of thousands of Rumanian peasants and workers from fascist barbarism; the Soviet Union helped to save the country from the disastrous consequences of the post-war drought. In conclusion Comrade Bicks called upon the peasantry to rally around the working class and its vanguard—the Workers' Party.

Comrade Matiescu, an oil worker from Ploeshti described how these oil fields were exploited by the West European capitalists prior to the war. During the war the venal Rumanian bourgeoisie helped the German fascists in every way to increase the output of oil. Now, after the establishment of a democratic order in Rumania the bourgeois-reactionary elements are trying to sabotage work in the oil fields. The speaker called for vigilance and a ruthless struggle against the enemies of the new Rumania.

The Statutes of the Workers' Party of Rumania, which were unanimously adopted by the congress, are based on democratic centralism, inner Party democracy, the active participation of every Party member in the work of the Party, on criticism and self-criticism.

Membership of the Party, states the Statutes, is open to all, regardless of sex, nationality or race, who have reached the age of 18, who accept the programme of the Party, work in one of its organisations, and submit to Party decisions and pay membership dues.

Persons belonging to the exploiting class cannot be members of the Party.

The statutes demand that members of the Party raise their political level, master the principles of Marxism-Leninism, strictly observe Party discipline, actively take part in the political life of the Party and the country, put into practice the policy of the Party and decisions of the Party organs, and defend the unity of the Party against all who threaten it.

The group is the basic organisation of the Party; the group, is formed of no less than three members of the Party. Organisationally the Party is based on the territorial production principle.

On February 23 the congress unanimously elected the Executive Committee of the Party composed of 41 members and 16 alternate members.

At its closing session the Congress received a telegram of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). After the telegram had been read the delegates accorded a stormy ovation in honour of Comrade Stalin, the glorious Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union.

The closing speech was delivered by Comrade Anna Pauker who, in summarising the results of the congress, noted the exceptional unanimity of the delegates in the discussion and approval of decisions. "The formation of the Workers' Party of Rumania," said Anna Pauker, "is further proof of the growing strength of democratic Rumania and a new blow at the imperialists and their agents."

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On February 24 at its first meeting the Executive Committee of the Workers' Party elected a Political Bureau of 13 members and 5 alternate members.

Comrades Georgiu-Dej (General Secretary), Anna Pauker, Vasili Luca, Teohari Jorjescu and Lotar Radacanu were unanimously elected secretaries of the Executive Committee.

# **AGAINST THE IMPOVERISHMENT AND AMERICAN COLONISATION OF BRITAIN**

## **20TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN**

The 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain ,was held in London over the weekend February 21-23.

Nearly 1.000 delegates from all parts of Great Britain and fraternal delegates from the Communist Parties of France, Italy and other countries, were present. A telegram of greetings was received from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In his opening remarks Gallacher, President of the CPGB, noted that the congress was being held at a time of profound crisis for the workers of Britain. "The economic crisis," continued Gallacher, "cannot be separated from the pro-American policy of Churchill, which has been taken over by Bevin and the Labour Government. During the past 21/2 years this Government has become increasingly dependent on the American monopoly capitalists".

Gallacher noted that a Sam Berger, Labour stooge of American' imperialism, who has been assigned to work in the US embassy, is actually dictating the policy of certain right-wing union leaders in Britain. Similar stooges are at work in other American embassies. If the trade union movement of Western Europe can be broken by means of the Marshall Plan, Gallacher said, no dollars will be spared in attaining this goal.

Referring to the Labour Government's betrayal of working-class interests Gallacher declared: "Shinwell was ousted from the Ministry of Fuel because he maintained close contact with the miners; Dalton had to go because he was not sufficiently linked up with the Federation of British Industrialists. Cripps who succeeded Dalton is carrying out the policy of the Federation of British Industrialists and is trying to solve the crisis at the expense of workers' wages."

## **HARRY POLLITT'S REPORT**

After Gallacher's speech, Comrade Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the CPGB delivered the main report. Pollitt began by saying: "The difference between the Communist Party and all other political parties on the vita issues confronting Britain is that the Communist Party alone has a programme capable of solving the crisis in the interests of the people..."

"Our congress," said Pollitt, "is concerned to give a positive answer and show a positive way forward in this crisis. We must give such an answer as will evoke a willing response from all who bunt up the Labour movement: an answer that will arouse all who work in the mine, mill add shipyard; in office, steelworks and docks; on railways and on the land; technicians and professional workers and young and adult citizens, alike—in a word all who love Britain, who are jealous of its good name and who are concerned about its present position..."

"The path traced by Churchill, Attlee and Bevin is the path to the colonisation of Britain by the United State. If we want to remain an independent country and not become the 49th or 50th state of the US then we have to fight the biggest political battle of our lives. There is no middle, way between colonisation and resistance to US imperialism."

## LABOUR POLICY — ROBBING THE WORKERS AND INCREASING CAPITALIST PROFITS

Pollitt drew attention to the high rate of capitalist profits in Britain and the shrinking of the standard of living. Last year's profits after tax deductions showed an increase of 24 per cent. While indirect taxation, which falls heaviest on working-class budgets increased by £240 million workers' wages increased during 1947 by £ 11/2 million weekly, or a total of £78 million for the year. During January and February of this year increases in the price of eggs and bacon will cost consumers another £60 million pounds. Thus we have increases in the price of consumer goods amounting to £300 million.

"The average food consumption per person in Britain in terms of calories is cut by 10 per cent. This reduced food supply is not equally distributed among people according to need and in many poorer families malnutrition is again making itself felt ...

"There is the problem of fighting inflation. We are told by the Government that there is too much money chasing too few goods. The Government's, "White Paper" on personal incomes deliberately creates the impression that inflation danger is due almost entirely to workers' demands for increased wages. Nothing could be more viciously untrue. The supply of money in the hands of the workers even after wage increases has just been enough to enable them to buy the same amount of goods as before the increases.

"If all prices were 100 per cent effectively controlled then increased money would not directly affect prices—inflation would be suppressed. Inflation, therefore, shows itself in price rises of non-controlled goods... and in the growth of the black market in controlled goods. Growth of inflation means growth of the forces, which are undermining controls and leads to a situation in which all markets become black markets ...

"Bank deposits are swollen as a result of years of record profits, which in 1947 were running at 30 per cent above the pre-war level."

In order to avoid the real danger of inflation, Pollitt said, the Communist Party demands measures such as: reducing the armed forces the upkeep of which costs £ 900 million per year; reducing the accumulation of excess purchasing power in the hands of those who have it — the capitalists. It is necessary to exercise control over bank deposits; to restrict dividends; to issue compulsory loans at the expense of undistributed company profits; increase the tax on profits and institute a yearly tax on saving of £10,000 and over.

## THE MARSHALL PLAN—A MENACE TO PEACE

Referring to the Marshall Plan Pollitt said: "The over-riding motive behind the Marshall Plan is not to help Europe help herself, but to help American financiers and industrialists to help themselves to Europe's markets, strategic materials and overseas colonies. and to build up a Western bloc war base against the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

"At the Paris conference last summer the representatives of the 16 nations were permitted to amuse themselves with imaginary targets ... Yet their, shopping list', as it was cynically called in the US press was very soon drastically amended, and from the fulsome praises of Bevin and Blum the Marshall Plan emerged for what it really was—an instrument of US foreign policy.

"At the moment US Congress is being asked to authorise 6,800 million dollars for 1948-49. Any further sums will be decided from time to time as the Americans think fit... Congress will dole out such sums as it decides year by year and thus a perfect instrument of blackmail and pressure has been evolved which can be used in case any of the countries turn nasty.

"Tobacco and dried eggs for Great Britain alone account for £262 million of the £625 million aid spoken about as coming to us. On the vital questions of steel and steel-making machinery Britain is to receive just over £2 million a year or £81/2 million over four years, which is just one-quarter of the cost of a modern integrated steel plant. Over four years we are to receive 2,183,000 tons of steel, or less than one-quarter of the total we requested. At the same time we have been ordered to cut down our shipbuilding industry, and Cripps has obediently followed out this order by cutting steel allocation by 20 per cent, which will throw fifth of the workers in this vital industry out of work.

“...The Communist Party calls upon the British people to reject the Marshall Plan, which economically takes away more than it gives and politically is a menace to the national independence and peace of the world. All pretence that Britain is pursuing an independent course neither tied to the United States nor to the Soviet Union’ as the Ministers used to claim, has now been abandoned. Britain is openly ranged in the imperialist camp as a willing accomplice of the USA. The Labour Ministers have thrown off the mask and come out in full support of Churchill’s Fulton policy, which called for an Anglo-American military alliance and for war against the Soviet Union .

“Churchill congratulating his colleague Bevin declared that he could not help feeling content to see that not only the British but the American Government had adopted to a very, large extent the views that he had expressed at Fulton nearly two years ago.

“The Western bloc is nothing but an attempt to revive the Munich combination and Hitler’s pan-Europe in a new dress. It is an attempt to partition Europe in order to bolster up the old capitalist order in Western Europe and to prepare aggression against the Soviet Union and the new democratises in Eastern Europe.

“Therefore it is no matter for surprise that these moves are accompanied by the most reckless war talk on the part of Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and Churchill. This violent and undisguised war propaganda of leading circles in Britain and the USA is not evidence of the strength of imperialism. On the contrary it is evidence of the increasing desperation of the imperialists in the face of the continuing advance and strength of the democratic forces throughout the world.

## TREACHERY OF RIGHT-WING SOCIALISTS

Characterising the policy of the right-wing leadership of the Party Pollitt said:

»Bevin, Attlee, Morrison and Cripps, the right-wing leadership of the Labour Government, are consistent both in theory and practice in their capitulation to their own capitalist class. By their very nature they see the principal enemy in the class-conscious workers of their own country. For them the enemy is on the left. In the same way they hate the Socialist Soviet Union with a bitter hatred. They have become the organising centre of the whole of European right-wing social-democracy—Blum and Saragat, Schumacher and Prieto, Payer and Schaerf, who aim at splitting the working clan of their own countries. They oppose, calumniate and try to disrupt the work of the Socialist parties of Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria together with the Socialist of Eastern Germany, who see the main enemy as the Right, and work in close unity and cooperation with their fellow Communist and workers.”

Speaking on the trade union movement Pollitt continued:

“The main task and purpose of the trade union movement today as always under capitalism, is to defend their members living standards, to improve wages and resist all worsening of these standards by rising prices. The fact that on this occasion the attack on standards is being launched by the right-wing of the Labour Party makes no difference to this primary task of the trade union movement.

“It is because we Communists will fearlessly stand by the unions in this fight, because the Communist TU militants are the best fighters for wages and conditions that the Morgan Phillips’ circular was launched. This is a deliberate attempt to split the TU movement all part of the strategy of attacking wages and conditions.

“We are proud that 10 many prominent trade unionist have rejected this attack and that there is widespread realisation that such a course would be disastrous for the movement. We welcome the fact that in so many recent TU elections workers have demonstrated their understanding of this by once again electing fellow trade unionists, who are Communists, to positions of trust and responsibility in the unions. The policy of the right-wing Labour leaders has also serious international implications. It is against the WFTU that reaction is now aiming some of its strongest blows”.

“The British TU movement, which did so much to bring the WFTU into existence, has the right and duty to fight against any attempt now to split it. The General Council is attempting to split the WFTU on the issue of the Marshall Plan. The TUC is therefore joining with the arch enemy of the WFTU, the American Federation of Labour, in destroying world trade union unity. They do this without consulting the rank and file trade unionists in Britain who will oppose any attempt to disrupt world trade union unity..”

In conclusion Pollitt said that since October 1947 no less than 7,000 new members have joined

the Party.

A large number of delegates took part in the discussion that followed Comrade Pollitt's report. A resolution unanimously adopted by the Congress stressed that the working class of Britain is faced with the responsible and difficult task of saving the people from the destruction which dying capitalism brings with it, of ensuring the independence of Great Britain from aggressive American imperialism.

The resolution on the Spanish question demands that the Labour Government break off trade and diplomatic relations with Franco.

The Congress also adopted a resolution on combating fascist organisations and anti-semitic propaganda in Great Britain, resolutions on the question of agriculture, old age pensions, etc. Two new members were elected to the Executive Committee.

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## **VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

The powerful mass movement in Czechoslovakia against the recent attempt of home and foreign reaction to bring about a coup d'état, demonstrated the ability of the people to safeguard their national independence and to deliver a crushing blow against home-bred reaction and its imperialist patrons.

Immediately after the reactionary ministers handed in their resignation, trying thereby to provoke a Government crisis and prepare the ground for a putsch, the masses took to the streets in organised fashion and insisted on accepting the resignation of the 12 ministers, the leaders of the National-Socialist, People's and Slovak Democratic parties. The demonstrations spread all over the country. The 8,000 delegates present at the congress of factory committees called upon the working class to support the Gottwald Government and the measures advanced by the Communist Party. The 2 1/2 million factory and office workers, who staged a one-hour general strike demonstrated the will and determination of the people to put an end to the subversive activities of reaction. In their mass the peasants supported the call of the working class to bring into the Gottwald Government men worthy of the confidence of the people.

During those decisive days for the future of Czechoslovakia the creative initiative and might of the popular masses, who rallied around the Communist Party, were demonstrated in striking fashion. Action committees were formed in every town and village. The committees became the authoritative organs of the united people and formed the base of the regenerated National Front. Together with Communists and left-wing Socialists, these committees united the representatives of the other political parties who remained loyal to the programme of the National Front. The action committee immediately set about purging the administrative apparatus and political organisations of reactionaries and traitors, and supervised the carrying out of the measures outlined by the trade union congress.

From the very outset the Communist Party, came forward as the genuine leader and organiser

of the popular movement. Unity of action between the Communists and honest Socialists was effected in the course of the struggle. The movement threw overboard the Right Socialists, headed by Mayer who, together with the reactionary ministers, had tried to secure the resignation of the Gottwald Government by creating an anticommunist bloc. The popular movement is being joined by all Czechs and Slovaks to whom liberty, democracy and national independence are dear. Big changes are taking place in the National Socialist, People's and Democratic Slovak Parties. Rank and file members of these Parties, shocked at the treachery of their leaders, are replacing them with left progressive elements who are to the programme of the regenerated National Front.

The powerful popular movement accelerated the overcoming of the Government crisis, frustrated the plans of home and foreign reaction and made possible the formation of a government that will lead the country along the path of further development and consolidation of the people's democracy. ,

Neither declarations nor streams of slander by the imperialist and their right-wing Socialist hirelings will disguise the complete failure of their designs to enslave the freedom-loving Czechoslovak people. In their demented fury, these gentlemen try to depict the debacle of the reactionary coup d'état, inspired by themselves, as the destruction of democracy Czechoslovakia. At least, that is the essence of the declaration, issued by the Anglo-French-American ruling circles. Who are the genuine representative of democracy—the 12 reactionary minister who sabotaged the Government measures and their accomplices—the conspirators, saboteurs and black marketers, or the people who rallied en masse to the support of the Gottwald Government? Who really represent democracy — the handful of Munich men who are acting on other people's orders and who failed to muster any significant support, or the workers who are leading the national movement, and who displayed splendid unity and organisation during the general strike?

The victory won by the people of Czechoslovakia was warmly welcomed by the working people in the countries fighting against reaction and imperialism. The defeat suffered by reaction in Czechoslovakia has resulted in added strength to the anti-imperialist and democratic camp throughout the world.

The struggle of the democratic and patriotic forces in Czechoslovakia is guided by the Communist Party in whom the people see a staunch champion of national independence and a resolute fighter for their interests. The prestige of the Communist Party has grown considerably and more and more people are joining its ranks.

The Communist Party intends to secure the realisation of the full programme of the new National Front. It calls the people to constructive labour and to observe vigilance against the likelihood of new manoeuvres of reaction.

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## **FOR THE COMPLETE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**

### **From the Speech of Klement Gottwald to the Congress of Peasant Committees**

On February 16, 1948 we opened a new chapter in the history of our Republic. On that historic date there was formed the government of the new, regenerated National Front. Czechoslovak

and foreign reaction, which had joined forces, were defeated. The history of the reactionary conspiracy against our people's democratic Republic is known. This conspiracy had been prepared long in advance by the capitalists and landlords who had been deprived by the revolution of May, 1945 of political power and the nationalised part of their property. The conspiracy had been plotted by people who united with the enemies of the Republic abroad, primarily with those who ten years ago bartered our Republic to Hitler. The object of the conspiracy of the Czechoslovak and foreign Munich men was to overthrow the National Front Government at all costs, to set up a new reactionary government, which would gradually destroy the gains won by our people starting with May 1945, that is from the day when the valiant Soviet Army, under the leadership of Generalissimo Stalin (cries of "Long live Stalin!") liberated our Republic and completed the debacle of Hitler Germany.

The members of this reactionary conspiracy wanted the land received by our peasants in the central areas of the country and in the border regions, to be returned to the landlords. They opposed the law on the new agrarian reform according to which all estates exceeding 125 acres are to be divided up among the small peasant households. They were out to restore our nationalised industry and banks to the Czechoslovak and foreign capitalists. In a word, they wanted the people of town and country to be harnessed once again to the yoke of political and economic bondage. A hundred years after the abolition of serfdom they tried to shackle our people with the chains of capitalist slavery. Such was the meaning and purpose of the attempted coup d'état.

Today we can declare with satisfaction that the reactionary conspirators suffered defeat, that the people, the Republic, and truth, have triumphed!

I won't be exaggerating if I say that the past week was a test Of the ability of our people to govern the State. And our people—both Czechs and Slovaks—have come through with flying colours, winning the admiration of our allies and throwing our enemies into a fury. Let the enemy rave and fume, we shall continue along the path we have outlined.

The people, the Republic and truth have triumphed in this battle with reaction. However, we are not accustomed to resting on our laurels. What is needed to secure the victory of the people and prevent the possibility of a new conspiracy of reactionary forces?

The first step is to uproot that from which grew the weeds of reaction. The capitalists and landlords were the principal inspirers of the reactionary conspiracy, They were not content with the fact that the people and the Republic left them in peace after the May revolution. While our people were toiling in the factories and on the fields to heal the wounds of war and enemy occupation, the exploiters and speculators were accumulating millions, and, wherever possible, were robbing the people and the Republic. They were out to get more—they wanted to bring back the old times when the masters held unrestricted sway over the people and when the people's only right was to serve in silence.

The experience of the past few days teaches us that the blow must be struck at the most vulnerable point of these gentlemen, that your demand, the demand of the working people of the countryside, to revise the first agrarian reform must be put into effect. It is imperative to enact a law, and thus comply with your demand, that the land shall become the property of those who till it and that all private estates exceeding 125 acres be divided among the peasants.

We fully support the demand of the congress of factory councils and trade union organisations that wholesale trade be nationalised and imports and exports be a state monopoly. We support the demand for the nationalisation of all capitalist enterprises employing more than 50 workers. Simultaneously, we shall demand that the new Constitution contain the proviso that private enterprises employing less than 50 workers shall not be nationalised. We want an end put to the reactionary whispering that somebody is out to nationalise small trade and handicraft production. The property of our peasants, small tradesmen and handicraftsmen will be guaranteed by the Constitution; our peasants and handicraftsmen will, once and for all, be rid of the danger of bankruptcy arising from the competition of capital, the banks and taxation.

The experience of the last few days has also shown that it is necessary to distinguish between the existing legal political parties and all other legal organisations and the illegal agents of home and foreign reaction. One of the reasons for the crisis is that in May 1945 the defeated but not uprooted, reaction, gradually infiltrated into the different legal political parties and organisations.

From this it follows that all agents of home and foreign reaction must immediately be expelled from these parties and organisations. If anybody thinks that it is enough simply to remove a few people, operating behind the scenes and leave everything else intact, he is very much mistaken. I say in all seriousness that we shall be most firm in purging the legal parties and organisations of illegal reactionary agents, for none of us wants the crisis of the past few days

to repeat itself several months hence for the same reasons. We want the purge to be carried out also in our administrative apparatus so that our Republic should no longer harbour a snake in its bosom and so that it can have the utmost confidence in its office employees and workers in everything and everywhere.

The conspiracy has been crushed and the Government crisis has been solved by democratic, parliamentary means. The new government is a government of the regenerated National Front, which bases itself on all the healthy forces of the people in the political parties and organisations. We shall continue our advance along the constitutional, democratic and parliamentary path even if we drive our own reactionaries and their foreign patrons frantic with helpless rage.

The government of the regenerated National Front sets itself the task of securing the fulfilment of that section of the Government programme, which has been supplemented with the demands submitted by the congress of factory councils and trade union bodies, as well as the demands which will be raised by the present peasant congress.

The Government will likewise take the necessary steps to see that the new Constitution is drafted and approved. The Government will submit this programme to Parliament shortly, and will demand that the programme be carried out, that new laws are enacted without delay and that a new democratic election be held on the date fixed by law.

Great tasks face us. We must secure at all costs the fulfilment of the Two Year Plan in industry and agriculture and in construction work, not to mention the other branches of our economy. Yours is the honourable task of supplying the factories with provisions (cries of "we shall"). Thanks to the generous aid of the Soviet Union (cries of "Long live the Soviet Union!") our grain supplies are, in the main secured. However, there are still difficulties in the supply of meat. I appeal to you with the call—do everything in your power to raise livestock breeding, do everything to help the countryside carry out the plan of food deliveries: cattle, milk, eggs and other agricultural produce (cries of: "we shall").

The unity of the people of town and country was brilliantly demonstrated during the crisis. The reactionary conspiracy which, incidentally, speculated on our people being disunited, ended in a fiasco precisely because of the unity of the people. The National Front, a real national front, has been born. National Front Action Committees are being formed in the localities, districts and regions.

The constructive initiative of our people during the recent critical day is worthy of admiration. Through their respective organs the people immediately took the necessary measures; they acted correctly when, in accordance with the law, they directed national administrators to the factories where production and public interests were threatened. Also the Action Committees set up in the factories and in the countryside are acting correctly in recalling leaders who have not justified the confidence of the people, and replacing them with able and loyal persons. The victory over reaction must be such as will make it impossible for reaction ever again to plot another counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

We have lived through truly historic days when reactionary plotters wanted to turn back the wheel of history. Just a week ago, speaking on Staromet Square I said: be united and resolute and truth will triumph. Truth has triumphed. (Applause.) Today I say: close ranks, be as one and more resolute and your will, the will of the people will be law in this country! (Stormy applause.)

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## **G. GEORGIU—DEJ. THE FORMATION OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF RUMANIA AND OUR TASKS.**

**(From the report to the first congress of the Workers' Party of Rumania, February 21, 1948)**

In the opening part of his report Comrade Georgiu-Dej dwelt on the great significance of the



first congress of the Workers' Party of Rumania. The congress was preceded by extensive ideological educational work among the Party masses and by comradesly rapprochement with the Social Democratic Party, a rapprochement welded in common work and struggle. "We are all now members of a single party, there is but one party of the working class, its Marxist-Leninist vanguard—the Workers' Party of Rumania," stated the reporter. Comrade Georgiu-Dej then spoke at great length on the international situation of Rumania. After a detailed analysis of the political and economic achievements of democratic Rumania, he devoted the second part of his report to the urgent economic tasks, and to questions concerning the Workers' Party and the People's Democratic Front.

## Economic Tasks

The economic restoration of the country and its further progress must command the major attention of the Workers' Party.

In order to better understand the specific nature of the process of democratic development in our country account should be taken of the fact that Rumania advanced towards a people's democracy much quicker politically than economically.

This economic backwardness is due to a number of reasons.

August 23, 1944 saw the political collapse of the fascist dictatorship, but the economic structure of the country did not undergo any essential changes. The key positions in the economy remained in the hands of the same classes and individuals who were closely linked with the foreign imperialists.

This circumstance was the main obstacle in the way of the economic restoration of our country. Economic chaos was the weapon of big capital, the landlords and the reactionary circles as a whole in their struggle against the democratic forces.

Moreover, industry and transport were in bad straits and the stocks of raw materials exhausted as a result of the Hitler war. Then came two years of drought in succession which not only brought famine to certain regions. With inflation rampant due to the bad crop and the disorganisation of the entire economy the successful rehabilitation of the country was impossible.

The principal means of combating inflation was to secure the necessary conditions for economic recovery.

The carrying of the Communist Party's measures for the economic development of the country yielded considerable success both in industry and finance, but we mean to improve on them.

Despite the fluctuations still to be observed in a number of industries, and despite the fact that the rate of output is by no means satisfactory, the level of industrial output is steadily approaching the 1938 figure.

The trade agreements of February 20, 1947 and February 18, 1948 between the USSR and Rumania, have contributed greatly to the restoration of our industry, have secured the country large quantities of coke, pig iron, steel cotton and other essential raw materials.

The industrial indices for the second half of 1947 compared to the second half of 1938 showed the following: iron ore 86; steel 79; lead 93; basic chemical industry 100; cement 105 and pulp 94 per cent.

In August 1947 the monetary reform was introduced, the beneficial results of which are plain for all to see. The gold and commodity coverage of our currency is now much more stable and the prices of staple commodities are dropping.

Such is the situation in our country today, while in the countries subservient to American imperialism—France, Belgium, etc.—there is a devaluation in the rate of exchange. This but proves once again how closely economy and politics are linked. The example of these countries shows that the democratic orientation in politics corresponds to the vital interests of the people and the national interests of the given country.

Although Rumania is still experiencing shortages and difficulties we can say that the supply of agricultural products to the towns and industrial goods to the countryside has improved considerably.

Rumania's economy consists of small commodity production, the private capitalist sector, the sector of State capitalism (industrial councils, etc.) and Socialist elements.

The private sector is still predominant in the economy. But thanks to the political positions held by the working class and its allies, and the control and restrictions imposed on profits, capitalism has been kept within certain limits by the State.

In these conditions private capital is afforded the opportunity of making a certain profit. The bourgeoisie, however, continues to sabotage and disorganise industry and encourage the flight of capital from industry. There are increasing instances when enterprises are simply abandoned by their owners, thus compelling the State to take urgent measures to save these factories. As regards the small producers they play, and will continue to play an important role in our economy. Hence, they should be given every support by the State organs.

State-owned industry plays a considerable role in the economic recovery of the country. It contributes 20 percent to the iron and steel output, and from 30 to 40 per cent of the output of the processing industries.

But the significance of the State owned enterprises lies not so much in their contribution to the general output, as in the prospects of their development, in the training of technical and administrative personnel, in more rational organisation which will provide conditions for the industrialisation of the country. The natural preconditions for the development of industry in Rumania are most favourable. They make it possible to build up a powerful chemical industry, based on natural gas, oil, coal and salt.

The conditions are at hand for the development, on the basis of modern technique and the mining of hitherto untapped ore, of one of the decisive sectors of industry—ferrous metallurgy. No less important is the reorganisation of the production of crude oil. Steps have already been taken in this direction. Measures to prospect oil deposits will make it possible to determine the natural resources of the country and hasten their exploitation.

The country possesses the means with which to secure the fulfilment of the historic task facing the democratic system and the democratic forces, namely to abolish economic backwardness and transform Rumania into a leading industrial-agrarian country, and to secure a high standard of living.

There can be no industrial development without considerable capital investments. This calls for a regime of economy, the utilisation of unused labour power, especially in big public works, increased labour productivity, and a growth in the volume of exports, which, in turn would make it possible to import the necessary equipment. The tax policy, based on new principles which will provide the State with considerable funds for capital investments will contribute to the new distribution of the national income.

Production costs are still very high. This hampers economic recovery and is detrimental to the interests of the working people. Vigorous measures must be taken to lower the cost of industrial output.

It is likewise necessary to adopt a number of administrative measures to accelerate the rational distribution of labour power and to introduce order in the factories. Here big responsibility rests on the members and branches of the Rumanian Workers' Party. Every factory group, every Party organisation and Party branch must pay due attention to production matters.

The trade unions, for their part, must take an active part in industrial life. They must regard the introduction of strict discipline in industry as their permanent duty, a duty assigned them by the democratic order of the country.

Labour emulation, which has already taken root in our industry must be further encouraged. Emulation stimulated increased output, and increased output means a higher standard of living for the people.

The youth, and especially the League of Working Youth, give us their voluntary labour. This is a striking example of the new attitude to labour.

Three big undertakings—the Agnita-Botorca and Chanul-Mara-Kluj gas pipe lines and the Maria sanatorium, built in the main by voluntary labour, are indicative of the turning point in the consciousness of the people, and above all, of the new attitude towards labour.

The reforms and other measures introduced in the country are creating the pre-conditions for the planned organisation of economy. All material, financial and human resources must be concentrated for the speedy economic rehabilitation and further development of Rumania.

As stated earlier we want to secure the industrialisation of the country and turn it into an industrial agrarian state. This means that parallel with the intensive development of industry, it will be necessary to put an end to backwardness in agriculture, to build this agriculture on modern technical foundations, provide the necessary technical means, select seed and pedigree cattle.

The land reform has resulted in the predominance of the small peasant household in agriculture. Simultaneously there exist the capitalist elements who, through hired labour and being in possession of the means of production, are the main suppliers of agricultural produce to the cities.

The small producer must be helped economically, his interest protected against all form of exploitation and his share in trade with the city increased; it is also necessary to develop

cooperative trade and assistance to the poor peasants.

Special attention must be paid to the State-owned farms, to which there will now be added the Royal estates. These farms must not only help improve supplies to the cities; they must also influence small-scale agricultural economy by applying modern methods of agriculture and what is most important, by organising machine and tractor stations.

Important, too, is support and encouragement for the agricultural cooperatives. Under conditions of the people's democracy the cooperatives must safeguard the interests of the peasants, shield them from exploitation and impoverishment, help promote agriculture, increase the crop yield and improve the material and cultural level of the peasantry.

## **Formation of the Workers' Party of Rumania**

The creation of the Workers' Party of Rumania, the united party of the working class, should be regarded as another, big victory of the Rumanian working class in its work of building up the people's democracy.

We are all aware of the disastrous consequences that the split in the ranks of the working class had for the workers and for the people as a whole. Mankind would have made much greater progress had the ranks of the workers been united, had the Right elements, who have sold themselves to the landlord-capitalist clique and their governments been prevented from disorganising and disintegrating the ranks of the working class.

Working class unity is particularly essential when the country, led by its proletariat, has to effect profound social and economic reforms. Comrade Stalin teaches us that the workers can be victorious if they are inspired by one and the same will, if they are led by one party which enjoys the undisputed confidence of the majority of the working class.

In order to successfully carry out the role of the leading force, the hegemony of the democratic camp, in order to draw the entire people into the democratic development and economic reconstruction of Rumania the working class must be guided by a united general staff.

The Workers' Party of Rumania is this general staff of the working class today.

Working class unity is the outcome of a long process. It was a matter of vital concern to us just how this unity would be achieved. We were guided by the class principle in our endeavours to create the Workers' Party of Rumania. Unity was welded in an irreconcilable struggle against the right-wing Social-Democrats — the agents of the class enemy, the enemies of working-class unity. The right-wing Social-Democrats, obeying instructions received from abroad, tried to isolate the Social-Democratic Party from the rest of the democratic forces, and in the first place from the Communist Party of Rumania and to turn the Social-Democratic Party into a tool of the propertied classes. The political and organisational unity of the working class would have been retarded and hampered had the Rights not been exposed and isolated, had there been no vigorous struggle against traitors, such as Titel Petrescu and his followers.

Organic unity was our second guiding principle when creating the Workers' Party. We don't want a party, such as the Labour Party, which consists of different autonomous and heterogeneous organs.

That is why the present congress was preceded by a long period of ideological explanatory work, comradesly rapprochement and joint activities by the Communists and Social-Democrats. Organic unity in the ranks of the Workers' Party is now an established fact, and our prime duty is to strengthen and protect this unity as our most prized possession.

This congress is the culminating point of a constructive process of organisational unity of the Rumanian proletariat. This ends the task of the two committees, that is, the EC of the Communist Party and the EC of the Social-Democratic Party of Rumania. It now rests with the delegates to elect the Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of Rumania.

Since it was a matter of vital concern to us how the united party would be formed, it goes without saying that we are just as vitally interested in the ideological foundations on which we are building the Workers' Party.

The programme of the Workers' Party, adopted by the two Executive Committees, reveals that the Workers' Party of Rumania is based on the class ideology of the proletariat—the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We declared that the underlying principle of the Party's activity will be the victorious doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, which has been tested in the struggle and in the process of Socialist construction.

The Workers' Party of Rumania is being built up as a party of implacable struggle against all exploiters, as a party to promote the further development of the people's democracy, which we

consider to be the path leading to our great ultimate goal — a socialist and Communist society. It is being built up as a party of struggle against imperialism, which threatens our political and economic independence, the national sovereignty, peace and security of all nations. The Workers' Party will vigorously combat the right-wing Social-Democratic traitors, who are poisoning the minds of people and who are pursuing the pernicious object, as correctly pointed out in the programme of the Workers' Party, of "strengthening the forces of imperialism and weakening the forces of democracy and the working class."

The Conference of the nine Communist Parties, held in Poland, pointed out to the need of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp welding its ranks, of elaborating a platform of concerted action, and tactics of struggle against the main forces in the imperialist camp, against American imperialism, and its British and French allies, against the right-wing Socialists, especially in Britain and France.

The Workers' Party of Rumania must take an active part in this concerted action against imperialism and the instigators of a new world war.

Such are the ideological and political principles of the Workers' Party of Rumania, as outlined in the draft statutes of the Party which will be submitted for approval to the present congress.

## People's Democratic Front

One of the big questions that will have to be tackled by the Workers' Party is the question of consolidating relations with the allies of the working class, above all, with the peasantry.

The alliance of the working class and peasantry always constituted one of the main tasks of our policy. Thanks to the resolute struggle waged by the Communist Party in defence of the vital interests of the peasantry, the working class has merited the role of leading force in the alliance of workers and peasants. Every peasant knows that the peasant revolt of 1907 against the landlords was crushed because the movement was not led by a revolutionary working class. After World War I, when King Ferdinand and the Bratianu Party deceived the peasants with a make-believe land reform, the Communist Party was the only party which had the courage to insist on a genuine land reform.

In 1933 when the workers employed on the railways and in the oil industry protested against the notorious Geneva Plan, foisted on them by foreign bankers and submissively accepted by the Maniu Government, they were fighting not only in their own interests but also in the interests of the peasant mass.

After the downfall of the fascist regime in August, 1944 the Communist Party called upon the peasants to carry out the land reform, regardless of the Radescu Government. The peasants have not forgotten the fraternal aid rendered by the workers in effecting the agrarian reform at the expense of the landlords. They also remember the extensive assistance rendered by the workers during the difficult drought years, not to mention a number of other instances. They see the stubborn fight being put up by the workers and their vanguard to supply the countryside with increasing quantities of industrial commodities at lower prices, and to supply agriculture with machinery.

That is why the broad masses of the peasantry regard the workers and their party as a brother, as a loyal helper and defender of their interests, as the leader who is guiding them to a better and brighter future.

There is no such thing today as two different paths in our country—one for the peasantry and the other for the workers. Both follow the same path, for the peasants, too, are interested in consolidating and promoting the regime of the people's democracy which has given them land, and the right to govern the State, peasants, too, are interested in abolishing all exploitation of man by man.

The Workers' Party of Rumania, being the vanguard party in our country, is the staunch defender of the peasant's interests, is the tried leader of the peasant.

Hence the close cooperation between our Party and the Ploughman's Front—the organisation of the peasantry—headed by the chairman of our democratic government, Dr. Groza.

The Ploughman's Front, as stressed in the decisions of its leadership, is the organisation of the peasantry who do not exploit the labour of others. The Front recognises the leading role of the working class and the need for a stable alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

This close cooperation must help as safeguard the peasants, from exploitation by the capitalist elements in the countryside; it must correspond to the interests of the peasantry; agriculture must be reorganised on modern principles and cultural measures promoted in the countryside.

All efforts must be made to weld the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for this alliance is one of the cornerstones of the people's democracy, one of the main guarantees of success in the struggle to eliminate reaction in the political and economic spheres.

The workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intelligentsia—all these classes and social strata who constitute the overwhelming majority of our people, are deeply interested in seeing our People's Republic develop and gain in strength.

It is imperative to form a political organ which would unite all these classes and strata into a powerful and monolithic movement.

This organ will be embodied in the People's, Democratic Front.

Consisting of the Workers' Party of Rumania, the Ploughman's Front, the People's National Party and the Hungarian People's Alliance the National Democratic Front must become the political expression of the unity of our people in their struggle to consolidate the People's Republic of Rumania.

The Great People's Assembly will be elected during the forthcoming elections. This Assembly will give the country its new democratic constitution.

What must be the characteristic features of the constitution of the People's Republic?

Firstly, this constitution must express the new character of our State—a State of working people of town and country, in which all power comes from the people and is administered through organs elected by the people.

Secondly, the constitution must reflect the changes in the social and economic structure of the country. It must guarantee, along with private property, also cooperative property is a new form of property—public property, the property of the people.

Thirdly, the new constitution, as the fundamental law of the people's state, must not be a mere formal registration of the different civic rights, as is the case with bourgeois constitutions. The old constitution of Rumania, too, proclaimed on paper the rights and liberties of Man. You are aware of the fate suffered by these liberties in the past.

In the capitalist countries the people are deprived of every material opportunity to enjoy their rights unhampered. Our constitution, the constitution of the people's democracy will not only inscribe on its pages the rights of Man—it will guarantee these rights.

Our constitution will guarantee rights that are not provided for by the constitutions of any of the pseudo-democratic capitalist countries; the right to work, the right to leisure and the right to education. In capitalist countries the governments even refuse to recognise such rights of the working people. Our Government, despite the very great difficulties, spares no effort to ensure the realisation of the right to work, to education, to leisure and to social security.

The new constitution of Rumania will differ, as night from day, from the constitution foisted on the peoples by the ruling classes of the capitalist countries.

Administrative reform is one of the most important changes which we shall effect in the near future and which is envisaged by the new constitution. New organs of local authority must be set up, organs that will replace the out-moded administrative bodies inherited from the time of Napoleon.

New municipal organs will be introduced in the form of people's councils, elected by the people themselves for the hamlets, communities, districts and provinces. The new municipal bodies will signify the drawing in of the popular masses into the work of ruling the country.

Concerning the People's Democratic Front, I must add that this Front will have nothing in common with those party blocs in which we participated in the past, not to mention the bloc of the democratic parties in which we had to reconcile ourselves temporarily, with the presence of the Tatarescu capitalist-landlord group. Take, for example, the People's Democratic Front, created in September 1944. This body was composed approximately of the same parties that will form the People's Democratic Front. However, since then our country has passed through a deep process of democratic development.

The People's Democratic Front will be a new, higher stage of cooperation between the democratic forces, a higher stage in the development of political life in the democratic Rumania.

We regard cooperation in the People's Democratic Front as cooperation at all organisational levels from top to bottom.

With the Workers' Party at its head, the Front will be a splendid instrument for rallying the broad popular masses for the economic rehabilitation of the country, an instrument for the political activation of the people of town and countryside; an instrument for involving all the people in the struggle against reaction.

The successes won by democracy in Rumania are great and significant. However, we must not get dizzy at our successes. Sometimes some comrades whose heads are turned with success, resort to wishful phraseology declaring, for example, that "reaction is completely defeated",

that “the last bastions of reaction have fallen”, etc. Such an attitude tends to demobilise the people and lulls vigilance with regard to the enemies of democracy.

It is true that in our country home and foreign reaction have suffered serious defeat. However, it would be naive to think that reaction will not try again to raise its head, that reactionaries, the “Iron Guard”, spies and wreckers will abandon their aims and crafty methods of struggle against the people and their liberties.

The People’s Democratic Front reflects the resolute determination of the working people to struggle for the economic and cultural development of the country, and to raise the standard of living. The Front expresses the determination of the people resolutely to safeguard our independence and democratic gains. The Front will resist the foreign imperialists and their mercenaries, and will fight to secure the necessary conditions for our constructive labour.

Comrades!

The ideas of Marx and Engels, further developed and enriched by Lenin and Stalin, have found practical application in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the first socialist state in the world. These ideas are an inspiration to the people of the new democracies in their struggle for Socialism. The idea of replacing capitalism by a new, higher social system— by a socialist system—has taken deep root among millions of people all over the world. We are living in an age that marks a new epoch in the history of mankind. To us has been granted the good fortune to observe the magnificent spectacle of the unfolding of Man’s creative forces in the country where Socialism has triumphed, and where the gradual transition towards Communist society is underway, that is, in the Soviet Union. It is our good fortune to be able to utilise the rich experience and wisdom of the glorious Party which is leading the Soviet people from success to success, the experience and wisdom of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), headed by the brilliant teacher of the working people of all lands, the disciple of the immortal cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin, J. V. Stalin. (Stormy applause and ovation in honour of Stalin).

The teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin are as a beacon light illuminating the path of the Workers’ Party of Rumania, the path leading to further successes by the people’s democracy—the path to a socialist Rumania! (Loud applause).

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## THE INVINCIBLE MIGHT OF THE PEOPLE’S FRONT OF YUGOSLAVIA. B. Zicherl

The People’s Front, the mighty political organisation of a fighting people, came into being in the course of the national struggle against the fascist invaders and their hirelings. In the post-war period the People’s Front crystallised into a united political movement, became the main strength of the people of Yugoslavia who are further extending and consolidating their democratic gains, and who are building socialism.

The process of setting up the People’s Front in Yugoslavia contains useful lessons for those who today are leading the masses in the fight against American imperialism and its hirelings.

What factors contributed to the formation of the united People’s Front?

### I. MAIN PREREQUISITES FOR THE FRONT

The **first** prerequisite was the correct and consistent policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

In the course of some twenty years every political party that held power in Yugoslavia, with the exception of the Communist Party, actually carried out the same reactionary policy. The Communist Party was the only party which roused the masses against the three rotten pillars of

old Yugoslavia, the only party which ceaselessly pointed out that the **oppression** of the minorities in Yugoslavia, the political **inequality** of the people and the unrestricted **exploitation** of the working people by the capitalists and landlords were leading the country to disaster. When the danger of Nazi invasion loomed over Yugoslavia the Communist Party, inspired by the liberation ideas of Lenin-Stalin and led by Tito, consistently denounced the treacherous home and foreign policy of the pro-fascist rulers—Stojadinovic, Tsvetkovic, Macek and Koroshets who, with the help of their Italo-German “allies” strove to preserve for Yugoslav reaction the right to plunder “its” people, and to barter their vital interests wholesale and retail. In the struggle for a new, democratic and federative Yugoslavia the Communist Party was always the driving force of the popular movement against the reactionary grave diggers of the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia.

The **second** prerequisite was the utter disintegration of the Yugoslav reactionary parties, both government and others which during the pre-war years had timidly opposed the regime in power.

The attack on Yugoslavia by Hitler Germany in the spring of 1941 marked a turning point in the process of disintegration of the old parties and the formation of the People’s Front. Stalin’s words that the war had torn asunder all masks and had laid bare all relations aptly fitted the political set up in Yugoslavia., arising from fascist occupation of the country in 1941.

Because of the major inner contradictions, national and social, aggravated by the criminal policy of the reactionary rulers the old Yugoslav State crumbled at the very first jolt from without.

Many leaders of Yugoslav reaction lost little time in adjusting themselves to the new situation. Some of them entered the service of the invader and were given posts in the enemy apparatus or in that of the Quislings. Others, with the King at their head, fled from the country abandoning the people to the mercy of fate. Taking shelter in Great Britain and the United States they settled down to wait until the Anglo-American imperialists would restore the reactionary regimes in war devastated Europe.

The notorious traitor, Mihailovic, was the liaison agent between the two “camps” of reaction, between those who remained behind and those who had fled abroad, between the puppets of Western imperialism and the hirelings of Hitler and Mussolini.

The withdrawal of the people from these parties and their leaders was a striking indication of the disintegration of the old parties. Indignant at the treachery of these parties the people saw through the real colours of Yugoslav reaction.

The masses resolutely turned to those who for years had been fighting reaction. They learnt from their own experience that the Communist Party was pursuing a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the fascist invaders.

The people, who had passed through severe trials, regarded the struggle against the occupation forces as an integral part of the struggle for a New Yugoslavia. In 1942 Comrade Tito wrote: “Our people’s liberation struggle would not have been so tenacious and so successful had the peoples of Yugoslavia not seen, in addition to victory over fascism, also victory over what had been created by the former regimes, victory over those who oppressed and who are still trying to oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia.”

The rallying of the people of Yugoslavia around the Communists who “proved to be reliable, courageous and selfless champions against the fascist regime and for the freedom of nations” (Stalin), was the natural process of the political development of Yugoslavia. All honest patriots of different beliefs and political convictions joined the People’s Front. **The People’s Front of Yugoslavia is the outcome of the colossal regrouping of political forces, which took place in the course of the national struggle against the foreign imperialist invaders and their agents.**

The People’s Front was formed on the platform of struggle against the occupation forces and their accomplices. Active struggle for the complete liberation of the people was the only true criterion of loyalty to the cause of the people. The struggle against the invaders was at the same time a struggle for the unity of the national liberation movement, a struggle to expose and completely isolate the enemy elements, all those who only in words supported the liberation movement while by their deeds they helped the enemy.

Because of this the reactionary leaders of the Yugoslav parties found themselves ostracized and thrown overboard by the people. The attempts of the Anglo-Americans in 1944-45 to implant representatives of the old order in the People’s Front met with utter failure. These representatives were exposed as the puppets of the foreign imperialists.

## 2. THE PEOPLE'S FRONT—A UNITED ALL-PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

In the course of the liberation struggle “**the masses realised the essential truth about the indivisibility of their common interests. Hence, the old party forms became superfluous.**” (Kardelj)

This factor determined certain specific organisational form of the People's Front.

The People's Front never took on the form of a party coalition. Even though the People's Front was not without certain coalition aspects, these were of a secondary and temporary nature. Practice showed the impossibility of a coalition in a liberation movement which had been joined by the broad masses in order not only to liberate and unite the country, after rejecting the old party standards, but also to carry out the task of creating the conditions for genuine freedom and democracy for the people.

Summarising the results of Yugoslavia's political development during the past ten years Comrade Tito in his report to the second congress of the People's Front on September 27, 1947, pointed to the complete worthlessness of coalitions of isolated political parties under conditions of socialist construction in Yugoslavia: “All the pre-war capitalist parties became bankrupt and have lost the right to speak for the people. They have demonstrated that they are incapable of governing the country, that their existence in the present new social order is not justified and that they have become superfluous. **The new social order in our country calls for a new form of political life... A unified economic programme calls for political unity.**”

This, of course, does not mean that the People's Front did not have, or has not got agreements with the representatives of the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. When uniting the Yugoslav masses for the struggle against the fascists the Communist Party of Yugoslavia always took into account definite positive traditions of the different old parties, the process of differentiation in their ranks and the influence of individual party leaders among the popular masses. The Communist Party not only always tried to draw the rank and file of the old parties into the anti-fascist movement but also their leaders.

At the beginning of the liberation struggle a number of prominent leaders of the old parties joined the people's movement; others came into the Front after the liberation.

In his report to the second congress of the Front Comrade Tito stressed the fundamental difference between the people's fronts, formed in some countries prior to the war and the People's Front of Yugoslavia. In the majority of the pre-war people's fronts “agreement was reached only among the leadership of the parties ... The people's fronts consisted of different parties, headed not only by vacillating but also by reactionary, treacherous leaderships which at the most decisive moment either retreated like cowards, or went over to the fascist invaders.” As a result these fronts were not a militant union forming a solid front capable of opposing at all costs internal reaction and the growing fascist war danger. As distinct from the pre-war practice of setting up people's fronts In some of the countries Comrade Tito advanced the outstanding features of the People's Front in Yugoslavia as a **united, stable, firm political organisation of the people**. He said: “Our People's Front also contains several parties. That is true. But the masses, that is, the supporters of these parties entered the People's Front together with some of their leaders before their top leaders did, during the war of liberation. After the war the leadership of these parties saw for themselves that the People's Front best expresses the interests of our people and so they joined. Today they hold responsible posts in the administration of the country. The presence of these leaderships in the People's Front will not weaken the unity of the Front as long as the leaders of these parties follow the programme of the Front, as long as they are in accord with the existing political and economic tenets and inasmuch as the leaders of the parties in the Front are mainly composed of progressives who want to make the biggest contribution possible to building up and enhancing the prestige of our country. Hence, their presence does not weaken the Front. On the contrary they strengthen this Front.”

The People's Front of Yugoslavia welded its ranks and triumphed primarily because its inspirers and leaders took the aspirations of the people into account, because they placed the emphasis on drawing the **masses** into the Front, and not on doubtful “unity” with all manner of vacillating **leaders** of different parties, because it preferred the former to the latter.

Emphasis on the masses likewise explains the organisational structure of the Front. In accordance with Article 4 of the Front Statutes, adopted at the first congress in August 1945, in addition to political parties and groups all trade union, cooperative, youth, women, cultural and other organisations which accept the Front's programme may join it.

The Statutes of the Front also allow for individual membership. Each member is issued a



membership card. There are no special Front organisations in the factories, institutions, schools, etc., where trade union and youth organisations of the people's Front exist. The remaining organisations are built on the territorial principle. The organisational and political unity of the masses in the primary organisations of the Front constitutes the backbone of the unity of the Front as a whole.

The mass organisations in the Front, which are united by a common programme of action, have carried out an enormous job of rehabilitation.

They have restored railways, bridges and stations, they have raised villages from the ashes of those laid to waste by the war, and they have rebuilt factories and mills.

The Front organisations are doing everything to secure the successful realisation of the first five-year plan (1947-51). The valiant labour of our youth in building the Brčko—Banović and Šamats—Sarajevo railway is known far and wide. These rail way lines connect the country with new coal and iron deposits, and with new sources of other raw materials. The Front organisations have given millions of voluntary labour days for the economic rehabilitation of the country. Members of the Front are building new hospitals, children's homes, nursery schools, schools, cooperative clubs. They are the sponsors of libraries and public reading rooms, and of thousands of educational circles for illiterates. In a word the Front organisation and their component bodies—the trade unions, cooperatives, etc.—are helping in big way in the economic and cultural development of the country.

The work of the Front has become an integral part of the daily life of the citizen of the new Yugoslavia. This is reflected in the Front's membership, which today reaches nearly seven millions.

No party coalition of the old type could realise the militant and labour unity of the Yugoslav peoples as embodied in the People's Front of Yugoslavia, which is led by the vanguard force of contemporary society, by the working class and its Communist Party.

The Front is a strong bulwark of the people's power in Yugoslavia. In Kardelj's words it is the "vigilant sentinel of the democratic and popular character of our system ... "

The Front organisations uncover the shortcomings in the work of the various State organs, convene meetings of electors to discuss important matters and to hear their deputies report on the work of the municipal and national authorities.

The Front is a ruling force in the political life of the new Yugoslavia. During the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November 1945, and also during the Parliamentary elections in the republics, during the elections to regional and local municipalities the electorate showed its confidence in the candidates nominated by the Front and elected the best representatives of the people. From 90 to 95 per cent of the electorate voted for the candidates of the Front.

The Front took part in the two month nation-wide discussion of the draft of the new constitution. In its organisational structure the Front reflects the equality and unity of the people of the country. Each national republic has its own Front organisation: Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, etc., all of which go into the United People's Front of Yugoslavia.

In the old Yugoslavia, which was based on the oppression of minorities, the establishment of an organisation of this kind was impossible. The various nationalist parties and political organisations imposed from above were always instruments of national oppression. On the other hand, the organisations set up by the minorities, but which were under the influence of reactionary leaders, frequently degenerated into separatist movements, and became tools of certain foreign imperialist groups concerned with the partition of Yugoslavia.

### 3. THE PEOPLE'S FRONT AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The setting up of a powerful all-Yugoslav, and at the same time a genuinely national-political organisation became possible thanks to the new social order in Yugoslavia, to the victory of the social strata to whom the idea of any national oppression is alien. The setting up of an organisation of this nature became possible because the Communist Party is the backbone and the prototype of the organisational structure of the People's Front. The Communist Party is the only genuine people's party, the only party that joined the national liberation movement **en masse**, and the only party that reflects the aspirations of all the people of Yugoslavia in general, and of each nation in particular. The reorganisation of the Yugoslav Communist Party, carried out in 1936 by Comrade Tito, effected according to the national-territorial principle and providing at the same time for the unity of its ranks on a national scale, was one of the vital factors in the going over of the popular masses to the side of the Communist Party, was one of

the decisive factors of the victorious forward march of the People's Front.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was, and is a vanguard detachment of the popular masses united in the ranks of the People's Front. In different ways the Front secures the contact of the Communist Party with the broad masses of the people. The Communist Party itself is a part, the leading part, of the Front. Addressing the second congress of the Front Comrade Tito said: "The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the initiator and organiser of the People's Front even before the war. It brought to the Front all its vast experience as organiser and leader of the struggle. It supplied the Front with cadres, steeled in the struggle, cadres who have always served as an example both during the war of liberation and in rebuilding the country. Thanks to these characteristic features the Communist Party continues to play the leading role in the People's Front. The broad popular masses have entrusted the Party with this role.

This is quite understandable. The experience of history and, especially, the experience of the victorious building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, has proved that only the Communists, guided by the great teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, are able to show the way out of the contradictions of imperialism, free the people from starvation, exploitation and oppression, and take them onto the high road of forward-looking social development. This is the essence of the programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. And it is precisely for this reason that the broad popular masses have joined the People's Front.

The Front vividly expressed the common tendency of our era, the tendency towards a closer **ideological, political and organisational** consolidation on the part of the decisive sections of the people for the struggle against reaction and imperialism, against the united front of the Trumans, Blums, Churchills and Bevins. The People's Front is a new, special form of organisation of those forces which, in the epoch of imperialism, are deeply concerned with putting an end to capitalist oppression and with the establishment of genuine popular power, with securing complete equality of nations and a social and economic system that will guarantee for the people an advance forward, towards Socialism.

For the popular masses there is but one way to complete liberation—the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of a socialist society. The people of Yugoslavia were aware of this during the grim days of the great liberation struggle of 1941-45, and this explains their strength, and is the basis of the ideological and political unity of the People's Front.

The formation of the Peoples Front opens a new era in the history of the political development of the people of Yugoslavia. The masses, united in its ranks, emerged victorious in the liberation war. Under the banner of this Front they are building Socialism in their country. The Front embodies the organisational consolidation of the people of free Yugoslavia.

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## **PARTY NEWS BRIEFS**

### **PARTY CONFERENCES IN THE SOVIET UNION**

Elections of executive Party organs were recently held in most of the group, branch and district organisations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The Party conferences in the rural areas demonstrated the increased political activity of the primary organisations and the major achievements of Soviet agriculture since the end of the war. The Communists in the countryside are in the vanguard of the campaign for a bumper harvest, take an active interest in the every-day work of the collective farms and are to the fore in all matters concerning the development of agriculture.

There was considerable discussion on the question of ideological and political work. Thus, for instance, at the Kiev conference the delegates sharply criticised the city organisation's poor leadership of Party propaganda. Some of the Party organisations in the city neglected to guide the political studies of the Communists.

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A recent conference of secretaries of the rural area committees of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and of chairmen of the Area Executive Committee was attended by more than 1,500 delegates. The conference heard the report of the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CP of the Ukraine, Comrade Khrushchev on the results of the 1947 agricultural year, preparations for the spring sowing and the further tasks of the Party organisations in the Ukraine in carrying out the decisions of the February 1947 meeting of the Executive Committee of the CPSU (B) concerning the development of agriculture in the post-war period.

Comrade Khrushchev outlined the concrete tasks of the Party organisations in the sphere of further rehabilitation and development of agriculture.

In the discussion that followed the delegates, while noting the successes achieved pointed out to the existing shortcomings in the political activities of the Party.

In a letter addressed to Comrade Stalin the delegates pledged to further develop all branches of agriculture in the Soviet Ukraine to be in the forefront of the socialist emulation movement for a bumper harvest.

### **FRENCH WOMEN JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON A LARGE SCALE**

There is a considerable influx of new members into all the department organisations of the Communist Party of France. About half of the new members are women—housewives and factory and office workers—people keenly conscious of the unpopular price-raising policy of the Schuman-Mayer Government.

Of the 13 new recruits to the party in Velleron (Vaucluse Department), 8 are women and of the 12 new recruits in Sorgues 9 are women. Women comprise more than half of the 100 odd new members made in the course of one week in the Vaucluse federation.

More than half of the 200 new members in Marseilles are women.

### **DECISION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM**

A resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on the report of the General Secretary of the Communist Party Comrade Lalman on the home and international situation denounced the Western Bloc as "a disastrous undertaking, which aims at carrying out the plans of the imperialist camp, increases the war danger, undermines the independence of Belgium and

imposes on the country a policy detrimental to its interests.”

The resolution pointed out that Belgium is menaced with an economic crisis and that in less than a year the cost of living has soared by 20 per cent.

The Executive Committee sent greetings to the working people who are resisting the capitalist onslaught on the standard of living. “The time has come,” says the resolution, “to unite all democratic forces and to prepare the way for genuine popular democracy, which will lead us to socialism.

## **THE WORK OF THE POLISH WORKERS’ PARTY AMONG WOMEN**

The lower organisations of the Polish Workers’ Party are paying close attention to educational work among women. Women’s departments have been, let up in 250 regional committees of the Party.

The number of women members in the Polish Workers’ Party hell grown from 82,000 at the beginning of 1947 to nearly 156,000 by January 1, 1948. Considerable improvement in the cooperation between the women’s department of the PWP, PSP and the Stronnictwo Ludowe is also observed.

The Polish Workers’ Party maintains close relations with, and gives much support to, the women’s organisation, the “Kobet League”. This league, which is over 700,000 strong, numbers in its ranks factory and office workers and housewives. So far the “Kobet League” has organised over 2,000 mass meetings.

Polish, women are also to the fore in the labour emulation in the factories. The women members of the PWP are displaying much initiative in the textile mills where they have started the movement for operating more looms.

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**INTIMIDATION BY THE ITALIAN LACKEYS OF WALL STREET**

The American imperialists make a lot of noise about their “democracy”, and that they uphold in other countries. Just what this “democracy” is and how the Americans uphold it can be vividly seen in Italy.

On February 2 the American ambassador to Italy, Dunn, and the Italian Foreign Minister, Sforza, signed a treaty of friendship trade and navigation in Rome.

The Telepress Agency reported that a secret military agreement also was signed, according to which Italy places at the disposal of US armed forces territory for military operations against a third power, gives the US complete control over Italian ports and air bases, and provides for the gradual reorganisation of the Italian armed forces, methods of training and tactics in line with US standards.

The ink has hardly dried on the Peace Treaty, which pledges Italy to a course of friendship with other nations and to renounce aggression—which has taken such a heavy toll not only of the Italian people but of the other European nations as well—and already the Christian Democrats are pushing the country into new military adventures and preparations for another war. Such is the “democracy” that is being transplanted onto Italian soil.

The real essence of this “democracy” can be seen from the preparations being made by the de Gasperi Government for the forthcoming election.

On February 13 the Minister of Home Affairs, Scelba, gave an interview in which he declared not without bombast that “everybody will vote freely or not vote at all,” on April 18. And to make it doubly clear just what he meant by “free voting” he went on to explain: “We are increasing the police force... This force will be better armed, will be equipped with 200 new armoured cars (the newspaper “Repubblica” reports that these armoured cars are American), and new automatic weapons. New mobile units of carabinieri and police are being formed.

In all, there will be about 150,000 men, not counting the armed forces...”

Scelba, however, does not seem to have any great confidence in this force and gloomily adds: “It is to be regretted that the situation has changed since the 1946 election, and that there are no longer expert Anglo-American troops in the country.”

What is this American-styled “democrat” Scelba doing? Is he preparing for a military campaign or for an election?

Surely this is a glaring example of the desire to set up a “police dictatorship” in the country, to create a “police state”. We don’t seem to have heard anything at all about democrats and patriots regretting the withdrawal of foreign troops from their country.

As for de Gasperi, speaking at an election meeting in Taranto, he openly threatened the country with civil war, declaring that he meant to “give battle to... a section of the Italian people”.

Such is the “democracy” which the American imperialists with the help of their lackeys Scelba, de Gasperi and Saragat are trying to install in a country liberated from fascism. American armoured cars, thousands of police equipped with automatic weapons. American warships in Italian ports—this is how the Italian Government plans to hold “free democratic” elections. The Italian lackeys of Wall Street are trying, through provocation, terror and intimidation, to demoralise the Italian people, to crush their resistance to the predatory plans of the US which aims to turn Italy into a colony and jumping-off ground for its military adventures. However, facts prove that the resistance of the people of Italy to the American imperialists is mounting, that the People’s Democratic Front, which unites the broad sections of the population, is gaining ground and growing stronger. The people of Italy will not allow themselves to be deceived by the hullabaloo about American “aid” or intimidated by the police measures of the fascist Scelba.

The recent municipal elections in Pescara where the People’s Democratic Front received the absolute majority of votes and 21 of the 40 seats is striking proof of this. De Gasperi and Scelba know that the people are against them. That is why the Italian reactionaries need the assistance of police equipped with American armoured cars and American warships, with guns trained on Italian towns, to stampede the electorate.

## **STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. Mitra Mitrovic**

This year's celebration of International Women's Day on March 8, will more than ever before be in the nature of a demonstration and a rallying of women for the struggle for a stable and lasting peace, democracy and the consolidation of all democratic forces against the Imperialist Instigators of a new war.

Much has changed in the conditions of women since the end of World War II.

In the countries of the new democracy women now enjoy equal rights with men, and like their Soviet sisters, who have enjoyed equal rights for the past 30 years, are taking an active part in political life and in building up their countries.

In capitalist countries millions of women have abandoned their apathy and lack of organisation and are now active in the democratic movement, combining their struggle for women's rights with the common struggle for democratic liberties. In Greece and China women are to the fore in the armed struggle for freedom and independence, against foreign intervention and the aggressive plans of imperialism.

The struggle for a lasting peace and democracy, and for the political and social emancipation of womanhood, gave birth to the powerful International Democratic Women's Federation, one of the bulwarks of the democratic anti-imperialist camp. The Federation is made up of the women's democratic organisations of 48 countries, covering more than 80 million women.

The valiant struggle of the women of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Albania, to strengthen the economic and political might of their countries, is a great contribution to the cause of welding the forces of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp.

The remarkable achievements of the women in the countries liberated from the yoke of capitalism serve as an inspiration to the people of France, Italy, China, Britain, India and other countries, in the struggle to emancipate women from exploitation and political injustice.

The women in the capitalist and colonial countries are beginning to realise more and more, that the struggle for the rights of womanhood is part and parcel of the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of their countries, of the struggle for a lasting peace and people's democracy.

Women all over the world clearly realise that American imperialism is threatening the world with another slaughter and with new devastation. That is why among the women's democratic organisations the determination is growing to resist the aggressive imperialist plans and to unite forces in the international democratic women's movement.

This is evident from the growing activity of women in the political struggle and political life, from the increasingly vigorous protests against the warmongers, from the participation of the women in Greece in the armed struggle for liberation and independence, from the struggle of the women in China, Spain, Indonesia and in other countries. This is borne out also by the growth of the democratic women's organisations in many countries.

In the capitalist and colonial countries millions of women, oppressed and deprived of their rights, look to the Soviet Union where women enjoy equal rights and are building a happy life for themselves and for the future generations. The example of the women in the new democracies where a new life, without exploitation and oppression is being built and where all paths for creative labour are open, is bringing more and more women into the struggle.

No matter how the imperialists and their servitors may strive to prevent the women from taking an active part in the democratic movement they will not succeed. For the women too, the world is divided into two camps: the Imperialist and democratic.

That is why all the attempts of world reaction to break the international unity of the women—which is growing stronger in the struggle against the war plans—and to weaken the unity of the International Democratic Women's Federation and the democratic women's organisations in the different countries, are meeting with failure.

During the past two years the world was literally flooded with all kinds of "international" women's congresses, convened with the aim of splitting the International Women's Federation. As if the women of the world, who so longed for the end of this most terrible slaughter in the history of mankind, had but waited in order to rally around outworn aristocratic women's organisations, or to be more precise, around the leaders of these organisations, which never moved a finger when millions were suffering under fascist brutality! These congresses had high-sounding names: The Congress of the Women's League of Peace and Freedom, the Congress of the International Women's Council in Philadelphia, the General Meeting of American Women, the International Peace Entente in Paris and, lastly, a more modest name the Congress of the Civil and Social Women's Union. The revival of the old and the setting up of new reactionary organisations for women pursues but one aim: to isolate even a part of the unorganised women of the world from the international democratic women's movement. With this aim in view the recent congress of the Civil and Social Women's Union declared itself "non-political". However, this "non-political stand" did not prevent them from slandering Soviet legislation concerning mother and child welfare.

The sorry calculation that the democratic women's movement would be the weakest link in the international democratic movement, and that reaction would be able, with the help of the splitters, to achieve success, yielded no results. The "international" congresses failed in their object. However, the fact that the attempts were made should strengthen the vigilance and determination of the democratic women's organisation to close their ranks to reactionary influence.

On March 8 the women will review the results of their struggle and labours, will assume new obligations and advance new demands.

Women can, and indeed, in many countries they have become a force to be reckoned with. Their strength lies in their ever growing consciousness. Women, above all, are vitally interested in securing a lasting peace, in strengthening the people's democracy and building friendship among the nations.

The Communist Parties can exercise a great role in the matter of deepening the consciousness of women. Heading the great movement of the people against the imperialist instigators of a new war, the Communist Parties must devote special attention to the democratic women's movement, the overwhelming part of which is rallying ever closer to the Communists, striving under Communist leadership to realise its aspirations.

The experience acquired by Soviet women in the revolutionary struggle and in building Socialism, and also the experience of the Yugoslav women in the national liberation struggle and in building the new democracy are a rich source of inspiration for the international democratic women's movement. This experience shows the way forward for all democratic women's organisations and proves that it would be a serious error to isolate the women's movement from the general struggle of the people, and confine it solely to feminine matters. The struggle for social and political liberation of women kind is closely linked with the struggle for peace and democracy.

Let the all-round development of the international democratic women's movement serve as a contribution to the cause of reinforcing the democratic camp, and yet another guarantee of its victory.

## **THE FALSIFIERS OF HISTORY CAUGHT RED-HANDED**

The historical material of the Soviet Information Bureau, which revealed the true picture of the preparations for and unleashing of World War II, and exposed the actual British, French and American inspirers of this war, caused no little confusion in the camp of the American falsifiers of history and among their Anglo-French press and diplomatic hirelings. It became clear to all that the publication of the tendentious compilation of Nazi documents pursued purely propaganda purposes, aimed at creating an anti-Soviet psychosis and facilitating the preparations for a new war. The documents about Soviet-Nazi relations, wrote the United Press Washington correspondent on February 11, were picked from tons of other papers, and their publication was part of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union.

Dollar diplomacy is waging this "cold war" with such poisonous and obnoxious weapons that even such a zealous troubadour of American imperialism, as Walter Lippman, objected to the crude historical forgery which, as stated in the Soviet Inform bureau's material, had a boomerang effect on the falsifiers themselves. In an article entitled "Propaganda that Hits Back", published in the New York Herald Tribune on February 12, Lippman wrote that the Nazi documents published by the US State Department were a classic example of bad propaganda. It was incompetent propaganda, wrote Lippman, because it hit back, causing more harm to America and its friends than to the Russians for whom it was meant.

The press of the countries bordering on Germany fully supported the Soviet indictment of American monopolists. Even a number of the American newspapers were compelled to admit that American and British monopolies had built up Hitler Germany industrially and placed it on the high road of military adventures. Hitler, wrote the New York newspaper, "P. M." on February 11, would have gotten nowhere without the long-term loans and capital investments of the American banks, which restored Germany's heavy industry and provided the foundation for the rearmament of Germany. The "Washington Post" agreed with "P. M.". On the same day the "Washington Post" declared that the shower of golden American dollars impregnated Hitler's war industry.

The "Ordre de Paris", was even more outspoken when on February 13 it said: "The United States has vast capital investments in German war industry, investments from which General Clay and the Wall Street banks hope to get interest. This is one of the reasons explaining America's' policy of restoring Germany."

The reactionary press in the US did not dare deny the responsibility of the leading British and French circles for their appeasement policy in relation to Hitler, a policy which led to the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and unleashed World War II. But the corrupt American press claimed that their "mistakes" should be relegated to history since the politicians responsible for Munich have long since departed from the scene. Reducing the shame and crime of Munich to individuals the pen coolies of the American falsifiers are trying to whitewash the question. The powerful "Federation of British Industrialists," and the "Imperial Chemical Co." in Britain, the "Comite de Forges" iron and steel concern in France, "General Motors" the Dillon, Reed and Co.



bank in the US, on whose orders the Governments of these countries practised a pro-Hitler, anti-Soviet and anti-popular policy, have preserved intact their positions in these countries, and continue to shape the policy of their governments. In the US, where big business has openly taken hold of the administration of the country, these concerns have dug themselves in. Forrestal and Draper, the owners of "Dillon, Reed and Co", which financed German industry and was the principal contractor for German firms in America, today hold leading posts in the Government. Forrestal is even mentioned as a likely Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency. As for the veterans who have retired, wrote the "P. M." on February 11, commenting on this, what is most disturbing to the mind is the fact that the persons named by Dulles and Forrestal, whose firms were so active in Germany during the '20s and '30s are not only still on the scene but are in power.

While the American press endeavours to shield the real sponsors of Munich by shifting the blame onto individuals, there has not been the same unanimity in the British press. For reasons of internal policy the Labour leaders admit the guilt of the British Munichites; the Conservatives, for their part, mumble about the mistakes of certain individuals, about the perfidy of Hitler, try to distort generally-known facts and present the obvious betrayal of the interests of peace as an attempt to settle the conflict with Germany through peaceful channels. The French press humbly admitted the guilt of the French Munichmen who facilitated Hitler's preparations for World War II. But it readily cedes pride of place to its British partners in the inglorious Munich transaction. Even Blum's "Populaire", which tries so hard to please London, wrote on February 13: "The whole world knows that until March 1939 Great Britain tried to reach agreement with Hitler and that the culmination of this policy was the Munich Agreement of September 29, 1938." "The British under Neville Chamberlain," wrote "Ordre de Paris", echoing "Populaire", "closed their eyes to the danger. The French agreed to everything and tolerated everything when they could have prevented it all, as Goebbels himself sardonically admitted later. And so, the coup d'état in Austria led to Munich and Munich—to war."

The falsifiers and their Anglo-French hack writers completely gave themselves away when the Soviet Informbureau published the final section of its historical material. The US and British governments did not pluck up the courage to answer the charges, confirmed by documents, that the Anglo-American allies, hoping to weaken the Soviet Union and bleed it white deliberately let the Soviets face Hitler Germany alone, that while at war with Germany in alliance with the USSR, they tried to come to an agreement with Hitler behind the back of their Soviet ally. They simply instructed their press to pass over in silence the Soviet expose. Neither the American, British nor French press gave any space to the fourth section of the historical material.

Asked about the Soviet disclosures the American Secretary of state, Marshall, tried to dismiss them by alleging that there was no proof to back up the charges. The American capitalist press merely denied the Soviet charges, without informing their readers of the essence of these charges.

The British capitalist press, reflecting Britain's dependence on Wall Street, handled the fourth section of the historical material in exactly the same way as did the Americans—they simply passed it over in silence. The "Daily Mail", organ of the champion of the Munich policy, the guest and admirer of Hitler, Lord Rothermere, devoted one phrase to this section, it announced that the Russians had published a fourth section. The "Times", which calls itself an independent organ, printed a brief resume of the material, but not before it had denied it. But the British press devoted considerable space to denials by persons, accused of maintaining contact with Germany during the war.

These gentlemen, however, have outdone themselves in their denials. For example, the "Daily Express" wrote on February 17 that Max Aitken, who had contacted Nazi agents in Lisbon, had never been in Lisbon. The "Daily Telegraph" on the other hand printed on the same day a denial by Aitken, in which he admitted being in Lisbon, although he claimed later than the date indicated in the Soviet material.

The French capitalist press, evidently acting on instructions from Washington, also kept silent about the fourth section.

But neither worthless denials nor stony silence can conceal from world public opinion the ignominy of the American falsifiers of history and their Anglo-French yes-men, who have been exposed by the historical material of the Soviet Information Bureau.

**J. VOLSKY**

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## **THE FASCIST GOVERNMENT OF SALAZAR—A PUPPET OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CAPITAL (LETTER FROM LISBON)**

In their preparations for a new war the American imperialists plan to use Portugal as a strategic base. Support of the Salazar fascist regime is part of the imperialists' plan, just as is their support of Franco's dictatorship in Spain and the monarchist-fascists in Greece. This is quite clear from the policy of the Anglo-Americans in relation to Portugal, by their activity in the country, which for all practical purposes has become a colony of American imperialism.

Even though the country is ruled by a fascist government which, during World War II, actively assisted Hitler Germany, the Anglo-American representatives tried hard to stick a democratic label on Portugal with the aim of getting her into the United Nations. However, the representatives of the Soviet Union and Poland denounced these manoeuvres of the imperialists and frustrated their provocative designs, with the result that fascist Portugal was not accepted.

The British and Americans are vainly trying to justify their sympathy for the fascist government of Portugal, ostensibly on grounds of "democratic principles." These principles, however, are merely a cover for their imperialist plans.

The world knows that for the past 22 years the people of Portugal have been suffering under the fascist dictatorship of Salazar who has trampled underfoot the country's freedom and established a regime of terror. All democratic organisations have been banned. The only legal political party is the fascist party known as the "National Union". The press and cultural activities of the people are under strict police control. Following in Mussolini's footsteps, Salazar has set up government controlled trade unions which the workers are forced to join.

The fascist militia (Legiao Portuges) and the powerful political police (PIDE) formed along the lines of the German Gestapo, arrest and murder democrats, or deport them to the "Cape Green" penal settlement where they perish in camps, which in no way differ from the Hitler death camps. The Salazar

Government pooled forces with Hitler and Mussolini in the war against Republican Spain, supplied Franco with men and munitions.

During World War II Portugal, under cover of so-called neutrality served the Nazis as a transit centre for transshipping strategic materials from different countries to Germany. After Germany's defeat the Portuguese reactionaries looked around for new masters. They turned to Britain and then to the United States.

After voluntarily agreeing to serve the new warmongers, Salazar brazenly announced that he recognises the "leadership of the United States," and that in the future war "Portugal will not be neutral." (from Salazar's speech on November 9, 1946.)

This statement reveals that the Portuguese Government is placing the country at the disposal of Anglo-American imperialism, is subordinating the country's policy and economy to the interests of Wall Street. Even prior to the war much of Portugal's economy was in the hands of foreign capital, which reduced her to the status of a backward, semi-colonial country. For example, in railroad construction Portugal occupies last place but one in Europe. The explanation for this is to be sought in the fact that the railways are controlled by the powerful K. P. monopoly where foreign capital, which is not interested in new railways, predominates.

The same is true of the electric power industry, which is likewise dominated by foreign capital.

Although Portugal possess ample hydroelectric power resources, of the 660 electric power stations 551 operate on hard fuel, which means that the country is dependent on foreign coal. This hinders the electrification of the country. The predominance of foreign capital in the economy can be gauged from the following: The Lisbon-Porto telephone network belongs to the "Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Company". Lisbon's entire transport system is controlled by the "Carris de Ferro" company in which a majority of the shares are British owned.

Foreign capital likewise controls the mining industries. especially the output of wolfram.

After the war Portugal became more dependent than ever on foreign aid. In exchange for the political support of the American and British imperialists the Salazar government made a number of concessions disastrous for Portuguese economy. concessions which put the country in pawn to Wall Street and City magnates.

It began by the Salazar Government agreeing to sell to Britain, at ridiculously low prices. valuable Portuguese products such as canned foods, resin, cork-oak, etc. Later they signed a financial agreement with the British Government, which virtually liquidated the £80 million balance which the country had acquired during the war.

Now British influence is being thrust into the background by American penetration. The moment the United States headed the crusade against the democratic forces, the Salazar Government hastened to make Portugal and its colonies dependent on the strategic and economic plans of the American imperialists. The home market is flooded with American goods. This is ruining the national economy and is bringing about a severe crisis in industry and agriculture. New American companies and enterprises are being created in Portugal, such as the "Standard Electric." "Proamerica," "Automatica Portuguesa." etc. In the Portuguese colonies American monopoly firms enjoy big rubber, sugar-cane and cotton concessions. Thus Britain is being forced more and more to cede economic positions to the United States.

But the Salazar Government is not content with economic concessions alone. Its diplomatic organs have become a haven for conspirators who are in the service of the imperialists and the Vatican. The United States has received military-strategic bases in Portugal and its colonies-in Africa, Asia and in the Atlantic (the Azores). Portugal has in fact passed into the camp of the warmongers and is openly preparing for a crusade against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. The fascist government is spending nearly half of the national income on preparations for a new war—military expenditures in the 1947 budget of 3,142 million escudos amount to 1,430 million escudos.

The policy of the fascist government is encountering the resistance of the people, the resistance of the democratic forces in the country.

The Communist Party of Portugal is in the forefront of the democratic movement in the struggle for the unity of the democratic forces. Working class, unity which is the No 1 condition in organising. a popular anti-fascist front, took shape in the Unity Committees, formed on the initiative of the Communist Party to defend the interests of the working people. During the war these committees organised the mass protest movement against hunger and poverty.

Nor did the Communist Party spare any effort in organising and leading the struggle of the agricultural workers and in setting up special peasant Unity Committees, which operated jointly with the workers.

Despite brutal repressions by the fascist government (lockouts, mass dismissals, arrests, deportation to the islands, etc.) thousands of working people took part in the strike movement during the past few years in the south and north of Portugal. Some of the more important mass actions included the three-week strike at the dockyards and other enterprises in Lisbon in April last year when some 20,000 workers downed tools, the strike in Alenteio during May-June, involving 50,000 peasants.

In the course of this movement. in which the people rose UP against the fascist state, government representatives often were compelled to negotiate with the Unity Committees. The struggle for economic demands developed into a struggle against the existing regime. In a number of instances the workers supplemented economic demands with demands of apolitical nature. Thus, in the cork industry the workers' delegate committee, which unites a number of Unity Committees, covering 18,000 workers, demanded that the Government take measures to solve the economic crisis, these measures to include establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union and the new democracies. These demands were supported by some of the employers.

In combating the fascist regime the democratic forces make use of the Salazar "trade unions" membership of which is compulsory for every worker. It is to the credit of the Communist Party that it was the first to put forward the slogan of winning these trade unions and to wage a struggle for drawing them into the fight against the fascist regime.

Basing itself on the Unity Committees the Communist Party drew these trade unions into the

strike movement in support of the workers' demands.

The scale of the popular antifascist movement and the campaign for working class unity facilitated the formation in December 1943 of a United Anti-Fascist Movement (MUNAF) which brought together all anti-fascist parties and organisations. The powerful demonstrations which took place the day Germany surrendered—about a million people took part, were a token of the confidence which the people had in the United Anti-Fascist Movement.

In October 1945 Salazar announced that elections to the so-called National Assembly would be held. In making this announcement the Portuguese dictator had far-reaching plans: by means of a sham election he hoped to deceive the people, split the democratic opposition, secure the participation in the election of the vacillating elements and in this way prepare the ground for Portugal's entry into UNO.

As far as the official results of the election were concerned Salazar reckoned on the lists prepared by the fascist administration. But this time, too, the democratic front frustrated his manoeuvres. The anti-fascists, taking advantage of the opportunity to wage a legal struggle, set about organising a legal body—the Democratic Unity Movement which rallied all the democratic forces, workers and intelligentsia. The formation of the Democratic Unity Movement crowned the work of the underground MUNAF aimed at securing this unity.

The Democratic Unity Movement boycotted the election which ended in a fiasco for the fascist government. A mere 20 per cent of the electorate went to the polls. After this the democratic front, contrary to Salazar's expectations, grew stronger, while the Communist Party continued to head the popular anti-fascist movement.

The fascist government retaliated by banning the Democratic Unity organisation, arrested its leaders and took repressive measures against its members. However, despite government repression, the democratic forces did not cease their activities. Recently a United Anti-Fascist Youth organisation (MUDJ) was set up which unites the youth of different political trends—from Communists to Catholics.

The main object of reaction in Portugal and also throughout the world is to split the democratic movement. In an endeavour to isolate the Communist Party from the people, Salazar recently gave his blessing to the legal group known as the "Socialist Party of Portugal" (formerly affiliated to the II International). The leaders of this group are mercenaries of the US and British embassies in Lisbon. Despite his 1945 election debacle, Salazar, acting on orders from his American bosses is trying to set up among right-wing Socialists a "harmless opposition" for the purpose of misleading the people.

But the democratic forces in Portugal are frustrating these manoeuvres and sparing no efforts to build up and cement their unity, are ceaselessly fighting for democracy independence and peace.

**S. V.**

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## **THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY AND THE TASKS OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY<sup>1</sup>). Farkash M.**

The Communist Party was the first political party to raise the question of establishing a people's democracy in Hungary. For a long time we fought this fight almost single-handed but, true to the traditions of our Party, we resolutely and vigorously campaigned on this issue. And today we can say that the people's democracy has triumphed in Hungary—nearly all the parties in the coalition are supporting a people's democracy. This represents a great ideological and political victory for the Communist Party.

The laws of development of the people's democracy have inexorably transformed the political life of the country, the political essence of its parties. This is also confirmed by the recent crisis in the Social-Democratic Party.

The right-win Social-Democrats redoubled their struggle against the people's democracy especially after the defeat suffered by the reactionary wing of the Smallholders' Party, that is after a decision had been reached concerning the nature of the democracy to be established in Hungary. That was at the time when Hungary had already taken to the path of a people's democracy. That is why the subsequent defeat of the right-wing of the Social-Democratic Party shook that Party to its very foundations. As things stand at present the situation demands that the Social-Democrats not only combat the right wing; they must brook no delay in securing their removal from the party. Under the conditions of a people's democracy a party that is waging a struggle against internal reactionary forces must act swiftly and resolutely if it wishes to avoid complete disintegration.

### **SITUATION IN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Some three weeks ago when the Lefts in the Social-Democratic Party announced their victory in the struggle against the right wing, they thought that the struggle was over. This attitude threatened to have serious consequences since the Rights avoiding an open ideological struggle, decided to preserve their forces inside the party, and to effect an organised retreat by ceding insignificant positions wherever possible. The left wing took their victory too much for granted and this, evidently, made it easier for the Rights to carry out their plans. A cessation of the struggle at this juncture would have signified a victory for the Rights.

We could not adopt a neutral or Indifferent attitude in view of this danger since it was a matter of vital concern not only for the Social-Democratic Party but for Hungarian democracy as a whole.

We explained the danger to the workers with the result that the Left Social-Democratic workers went into action they insisted that the struggle be continued and that the Rights be expelled from the party.

The belated struggle against the right-wing, the vacillations of the Left and the growing discontent of the rank and file swayed the foundations of the S. D. P. It was in these conditions that Comrade Marosan made his well-known report at a meeting of the Social-Democratic leaders, a report which revealed a definite turning point in the policy of the Left Social-Democrats towards the right wing. This was the first public statement by a Social-Democratic leader which unmasked the right wing and exposed them as agents of Hungarian and international reaction. Comrade Marosan showed up the utter bankruptcy of the policy of the Right.

<sup>1</sup>) Abridged report delivered by the Deputy General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, Comrade Farkas, at the conference of Secretaries of Regional Committees of the Party.

## DIFFERENCES NARROWING BETWEEN WORKERS

The attempt by the right-wing to make an organised retreat was frustrated and the Lefts set themselves the task of defeating the forces of the Right. The recent meeting of the leaders of Social-Democratic Party made substantial progress towards the formation of a united workers' party.

Bearing in mind the decisive role of the Communists in the struggle against the social-democratic right wing, a struggle waged in the common interests of the working class and democracy, it was but natural that the alliance between the Communist' and Social-Democratic workers should have gained in strength and that the ideas of working-class unity should have gained ground. The removal of the Rights from leadership in the factories and in the Social-Democratic factory organisations broke down the barriers artificially put up by the Rights between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers during the past three years. Once again the Social-Democratic and Communist workers came together and pledged themselves to bring order into the ranks of the working class and do everything to create a single workers' party.

In this struggle the Social-Democratic active and workers made big strides forward optically. They have drawn closer to the Hungarian Communist Party, whose prestige among the mass of the Social-Democrats has increased immeasurably. The Communists did a splendid job. Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered they hammered away at the need to consolidate working-class unity and to intensify the struggle against the Rights.

As a result of the enhanced prestige of the Communist Party large numbers of Social-Democrats began to go over to the Communists. In fact this movement became so widespread that it threatened to have serious consequences for the Social-Democratic Party. Our struggle, however, was not directed against the Social-Democratic Party: we were fighting the right wing in the SDP. Had we under the circumstances encouraged the complete disintegration of the Social-Democratic Party this would have weakened the positions of democracy. Honest Social-Democratic workers, veterans of the party, would have turned against us and even the other parties in the coalition would have regarded the Communist Party with distrust.

This would not have favoured broadening out the mass base of Hungarian democracy. But our party cannot allow itself to be propelled by events: the Communists are consciously building a people's democracy. In carrying on its work our Party is guided not only by the interests of the moment; it takes into account also the historical development of events. That is why the latest decision of the Political Bureau temporarily not to accept new members into the Communist Party is absolutely correct.

## MAJORITY OF THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT

### THE COMMUNISTS

Today we can confidently declare, something we could not say even after the Parliamentary elections, that as a result of our struggle during the past few months, the Communist Party of Hungary is leading the decisive majority of the working class. More and more people acknowledge that the Hungarian Communist Party is not only the biggest party numerically; they acknowledge also that it has become the leading party of Hungarian democracy, the party that is firmly guiding the development of the country. The historic significance of the struggle against the right-wing of the Social-Democratic Party lies in the fact that the creation of a united working class party in Hungary has entered the period of its gradual realisation.

The decision of the Political Bureau to close acceptance into the Party until March 15, will enhance still more the prestige and authority of our Party. People will see that it is not so easy to become a member of the Communist Party. We have taken this measure in order to prevent the uncontrolled mass infiltration of alien elements into the Party. The Politbureau's decision has made a favourable impression also on the left-wing Social-Democratic workers who are cooperating with us; had their party organisations disintegrated these workers would in all probability, have fallen under the influence of the demagogues of the Rights.

Our major task now in relation to the Social-Democratic workers is to increase our ideological-

educational activities. Our policy should be made known to the Social-Democratic workers; it should be impressed upon them that it is a correct policy, a policy that corresponds to the interests of the working class. Educational work is a decisive part of the preparations for a united workers' party.

The Left Social-Democratic comrades should be helped in their struggle against the Right; it should be explained that their removal from the party is in the interests, primarily of the Left. A friendly atmosphere should be created in the relations between the two workers' parties. Our parties should establish closer ties with each other through general meetings and sessions of the local leadership. But all this can be successfully accomplished only if the theoretical and ideological training of our cadres is on the proper level.

The solution of the crisis in the Social-democratic Party has opened up new opportunities for the further development of the Hungarian National Independence Front. We shall make greater progress once the People's Front of Hungarian Democracy is established.

## **STRENGTHENING THE RANKS OF THE PARTY**

Hungarian democracy has entered a new stage in its development, which confronts our Party with new tasks. In order to cope with these our Party must consolidate its ranks. That is why we decided to have a verification of Party cards. It is necessary to check up and see whether any mistakes have been made in this work, whether any dross has gotten into the machinery of our Party and is clogging the fulfilment of the tasks set.

Anyone who in the least besmirches the honour of the Party must immediately be removed from our ranks. This will only further enhance the strength and prestige of our Party. At the same time we shall gladly accept into our ranks workers, peasants, intellectuals and handicraftsmen who want to become Communists and will work honestly for the welfare of the people. But we must not allow elements to infiltrate into our Party for the purpose of using the Party as a haven to further their own interests. One often meets people today who only recently held extreme right-wing views supported Pfeiffer or Payer and now suddenly want to join the Communist Party.

We are not going to organise a "general purge" of the Party in connection with the exchange of Party documents, but a certain sifting is necessary. A good job has been done so far in the exchange of membership cards. However, with the mass influx of new members last week, we are faced with the danger that not only will we be unable to cleanse our ranks of existing alien elements but that similar elements may continue to infiltrate into the Party.

In some places the exchange of Party cards is regarded as a purely administrative measure and not as a means of drawing attention to the education of the Party members. In other places the time limit fixed for the exchange was so short that it was impossible to do the job thoroughly.

So that we shall prove equal to the great tasks facing our Party extensive explanatory work, covering the entire people, must be carried out. It is necessary to explain to the people that the country belongs to them and that the recent changes have not only consolidated political power but have helped also to improve the conditions of the people. We must continue to move along the path of progress. The Communist Party of Hungary, welded with the people, will lead the country to prosperity.

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## THE PLATFORM OF THE LEFT-WING SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN HUNGARY

Addressing the recent enlarged plenum of the Budapest organisation of the Social-Democratic Party, which was attended by representatives from the main party organisations throughout the country, the Deputy General Secretary, Djerd Marosan, bitterly criticised the right-wing Social-Democrats and outlined the policy of the left wing of the party.

Marosan stressed that despite a party decision, adopted early in 1945 concerning cooperation with the Communist Party, the Rights, who dominated the party, refused to contest the 1945 election jointly with the Communists. This refusal caused great harm to the Social-Democratic Party. After the election, and due to the influence exerted by the right-wing group, the mistrust felt by the members of the party towards the Communists increased — a mistrust which promoted a rebirth of counter — revolutionary sentiments inside the party. Even then certain right-wing Social-Democrats insisted that the party had “special features” of its own, which in effect was the beginning of the policy of the “third force”.

Marosan pointed out that the Social-Democratic Party supplied the police and the army with people who carried on subversive work there. Certain leading Social-Democrats who were allocated to work in the army, took part in the anti-republic — an conspiracy, and under the cover of members of the Social-Democratic Party, engaged in espionage and other treacherous activity.

When the anti-Republican conspiracy was exposed many in the party asserted that the plot was but a figment of the Communists, and the Social-Democratic press tried to play the role of wise mediator, although it must be admitted, said Marosan, that the fate of Hungarian democracy was in the balance. Political double-dealing became a feature of the Social-Democratic Party. And it was in these circumstances that the 35th congress of the party was held, which elected the party leadership on a compromise basis. The Hungarian Social- Democrats didn't have the courage to throw overboard those who deserved it.

Marosan criticised also the behaviour of the party during the recent Parliamentary elections when the Social-Democrats again rejected a Communist Party proposal for an electoral bloc. After the election they tried to shift responsibility for their failure onto the left Social-Democrats whom they threatened to deprive of leading posts. The Rights wanted the party to become an opposition to the Government, although it was clear that being in opposition would have meant an alliance with the counter-revolution and the end of the party.

The Rights, said Marosan, have expressed themselves in favour of the “third force”. The attempt to realise this “third force” policy, which brought about the downfall of the French Socialist Party, galvanized the left-wing Social-Democrats into action, which led to the call issued by the leadership of the Budapest party organisation.

In the course of the past two weeks the party leadership proved unfit for the job “We have reached the conclusion”, said he “that it is necessary not only to clear the political atmosphere but also to purify the party”. Marosan then read the names of 35 leading Rights, among them members of the Political Bureau and the Executive Committee and trade union leaders, who have been removed from their posts, or who have resigned, and also the names of those expelled from the party.



## DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS ON THE QUESTION OF THE "MARSHALL PLAN"

**As earlier reported in the press the Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, James Carey and the Head of the International Department, Michael Ross, recently arrived from the United States to discuss the "Marshall Plan" with the All-Union Central Council of the Soviet Union.**

**The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere.**

**At the close of the discussion the AUCCTU submitted the following Declaration to the representatives of the CIO.**

Of late the reactionary press abroad and certain trade union leaders, especially in Britain and the US, have made a considerable fuss around the question of discussing the so-called Marshall Plan with the executive bodies of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The opponents of international working class unity are seizing on this question to sow confusion in the ranks of the World Federation and to impair its integrity. They are intent, above all, on slandering the Soviet trade unions. Distorting the position of the AUCCTU they slanderously claim that the AUCCTU is allegedly hampering discussion of the "Marshall Plan", and allege that the AUCCTU is trying to turn the World Federation of Trade Unions into its obedient tool, etc.

For the purpose of establishing the truth and of making clear the position of the Soviet trade unions towards the "Marshall Plan", and also their attitude to the World Federation, the AUCCTU considers it necessary to make the present declaration.

The AUCCTU categorically rejects, as premeditated calumny, the allegations that the Soviet union's wish to prevent the national trade union bodies and individual trade unions from discussing the "Marshall Plan".

The AUCCTU has always adhered to the opinion that the national trade union bodies should enjoy the right and opportunity freely to discuss all political questions, including the "Marshall Plan", if they so desire. All trade union organisations are free to express themselves "for" or "against" this Plan, and to decide accordingly.

Those who wish to believe in the beneficial results of the "Marshall Plan" are entitled to their opinion—that is their right.

As for the AUCCTU, it does not share these illusions.

The Soviet union's have always regarded economic aid by one country to another a perfectly normal procedure, and especially foreign credits as a means of improving the economic situation of the given country.

Consequently, only slanderers can claim that the Soviet union object in principle to any economic aid by one State to another, including, it stands to reason, also American aid.

However, in the opinion of the Soviet union economic aid by one State to another must preclude all conditions leading to the economic and political subservience of the state receiving this aid.

The "Marshall Plan" in no way corresponds to these conditions; on the contrary it pursues entirely different aims.

The "Marshall Plan" is a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of the West European countries. It is aimed at subordinating the economy of Western Europe to the interests of America's industrial magnates. It actually places the American monopolists in control of the industry, foreign trade, finances and currency of the West European countries.

In order to qualify for this so-called aid the American ruling circles make the stipulation that the West European countries renounce their sovereign right to independently assess their national output. In future this is to be agreed upon with the American administration.

Official documents of the US Government reveal that the "Marshall Plan" intends to "freeze" such essential industries in Western Europe as iron and steel, machine building and shipbuilding, which play a big role in securing the independence of these countries.

Simultaneously, American deliveries of essential equipment are deliberately restricted to the minimum.

Under pressure of the American multi-millionaires the shipbuilding industries of Britain, and Holland the automobile and aircraft industries of France, are curtailing output programmes. A consequence of this action is that hundreds of thousands of workers find themselves without work and are swelling the army of unemployed.

The "Marshall Plan" deprives the West European states also of their sovereign right to foreign trade. On the insistence of the American multimillionaires the West European countries must

considerably reduce tariffs on imports, while US import tariffs remain exorbitantly high. As foreseen by the Marshall Plan exports to Western Europe are nothing but the sheer dumping of goods, considerable quantities of, which are unsaleable in the States and, consequently, are shipped to Western Europe in the form of compulsory assortment.

In this way the "Marshall Plan" in effect, means the abolition of the national sovereignty of the countries of Western Europe, since in a very big way it is counterposed to the development of industry in these countries.

What does the "Marshall Plan" hold in store for the working class and the people of Western Europe? Since it does not promote the rehabilitation and development of Western Europe, since, on the contrary it restricts this economy and adjust it to the requirements of the American multi-millionaires, the "Marshall Plan" cannot but aggravate the economic crisis, worsen the already difficult conditions of the people, and lead to more hardships and mass unemployment. Moreover the "Marshall Plan" is not by any means confined to purely economic matters. As admitted in the report of the Consultative Committee on Aid to Foreign Countries, US interests in Europe cannot be considered only from the viewpoint of economic factors. They are also of a strategic and political nature.

The whole world today knows that the "Marshall Plan" places on the order of the day the creation of a military-political bloc of Western states, under US aegis, a bloc directed against the countries of Eastern Europe.

The US plans to utilise Western Germany, with its powerful military and industrial potential (the Ruhr area) as the main lever of its policy in this bloc.

That is precisely why the "Marshall Plan" is intent on splitting Germany and turning its Western areas into separate states under an American protectorate. A considerable share of the "Marshall Plan" allocations will be used in building a military-industrial base in Western Germany.

A special feature of the bloc being formed on the basis of the "Marshall Plan", is the conspiracy between the American financial magnates and the Ruhr industrialists who already twice in the lifetime of one generation, hurled the world into destructive wars. According to the "Marshall Plan" the countries of Western Europe must be ready, as in the case with Greece and Turkey, to place their strategic bases and strategic raw materials at the disposal of the United States.

From this it follows that this policy pursues the object of turning Western Europe into a springboard of the American warmongers.

By encroaching on the national sovereignty and independence of the countries of Western Europe the "Marshall Plan" would have these countries accept the American "way of life", which should be understood as the striving to foist their hegemony, their domination on the peoples of Europe.

In this way the American reactionaries want to deprive the peoples of Western Europe of their own way of life and of their own outlook.

It is therefore not at all surprising that quite a number of trade union leaders in Europe are strongly opposed to the "Marshall Plan".

The reactionary, aggressive nature of the "Marshall Plan" is coated with the smokescreen of anti-Communism. Like the dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries and German fascists, the American expansionists are using anti-communism as a screen for their policy of suppressing the national freedom and independence of the European countries, and their policy of struggle against democracy and progress.

Such is our view of the "Marshall Plan".

With regard to the question of the WFTU discussing the "Marshall Plan" the Soviet union are of the opinion that the "Marshall Plan" comes within the sphere of State and political relations between the US and the different European countries and involves such political matters concerning which each country and each trade union centre should be absolutely free to decide, in accordance with their independence and sovereignty.

Consequently, the "Marshall Plan" is not a matter on which the WFTU can reach decisions, obligatory for all the national trade union centres.

Nonetheless, in view of the persistent demands to discuss the matter in the executive organs of the Federation—and the Soviet trade unions are obliged to respect the viewpoint of the other trade union bodies in the Federation—the AUCCTU expresses its willingness to discuss in the near future in the executive organs of the Federation the question of the "Marshall Plan", raised by the CIO and by the General Council of the British TUC.

In the light of what has been said it is clear that in no circumstances can the "Marshall Plan" be a reason for splitting the international trade union movement, since each national trade union organisation is perfectly free to define its attitude towards the Plan.

The AUCCTU considers that international working class unity as expressed by the WFTU, is

based on the voluntary and free cooperation of trade unions which are non-partisan organisations and are guided by the aim of improving the standards of living of the working class. For this reason, the Soviet trade unions are of the opinion that the trade unions, which are not political organisations, should not become the arena of political intrigues and machinations. To forbid the trade unions to vote for members of the Labour Party, or for the Communists in Great Britain, for Republicans or Democrats in the US, for Catholics or Communists in France and Italy, would mean jeopardising the unity of the trade union movement. Similarly, to forbid the trade unions to vote for, or against the "Marshall Plan" would mean running the risk of undermining the unity of the international trade union movement. Each trade union centre is entitled to its opinion on these questions and to act accordingly.

In view of the foregoing, we consider as groundless the attitude of the General Council which, over the head of the WFTU, is convening an international trade union conference to discuss the "Marshall Plan". The AUCCTU believes that separatist action of this kind can but cause harm to the WFTU and will undoubtedly be utilised by the enemies of the working class.

As for the discussion of the "Marshall Plan" the Soviet trade unions consider also that it would be more democratic to have an exchange of views in the Executive Committee of the Federation, where the point of view of the trade unions would be more fully represented. Moreover, the AUCCTU will agree to a meeting of the Executive Committee at any date. Such is the view of the Soviet trade unions.

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## THE VATICAN'S ELECTION STUNT

Alarmed by the sweeping success of the Popular Democratic Front in Italy, which is being joined by an ever increasing number of people. Italian reaction, headed by the Vatican, is going all out, now that it has failed to postpone the election, to save the pro-American de Gasperi—Saragat bloc.

The Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Schuster, has issued a special diocesan encyclical denouncing the Popular Front and threatening all who in any way support the Front with a withdrawal of Church benefits. Cardinal Schuster's blackmailing threat is tantamount to excommunication. He also called upon the clergy to take a hand with all means at their disposal, pecuniary of his clerical canvassers, moral and material, in the election struggle.

Conscious that the deceived landless peasants no longer trust the Christian-Democrats and that more and more peasants are pinning their hopes on the Popular Front, the Vatican has hastened to support de Gasperi. In Southern Italy seventy-nine archbishops and bishops have issued a church message promising the peasants a land reform provided ... they do not follow the Popular Front.

In order to stimulate enthusiasm among the clergy the de Gasperi Government recently increased priests' salaries by 40 per cent.

Moreover, in accordance with the Government decree, increase is retrospective from July 1, 1947. In this way de Gasperi has shown his appreciation of his clerical canvassers .

The Vatican's interference in the election campaign has caused widespread indignation among all Italian democrats, right-wing liberals, in the Republican party and even among some of the Christian-Democrats. The Popular Front leadership in a special resolution has denounced the action of the princes of the Church and has delivered a protest to the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly drawing attention to the Vatican's violation of the electoral law, which forbids interference by the Church in election campaigns and the use of moral compulsion with regard to voting.

It is common knowledge that as a result of the referendum held in 1946, the Italian monarchy, Vatican support notwithstanding suffered defeat. The Vatican is certainly risking its prestige in the present campaign by upholding the puppets of Wall Street and of Italian reaction.

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### Editorial Board

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