

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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

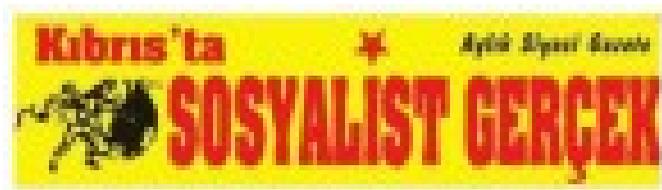
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THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Ever wider sections of the people are joining the struggle for a lasting peace and democracy, for their freedom and national independence.

The working class of France is rebuffing the Blum splitters, the reactionary Schuman clique and, together with all genuine democrats and patriots, are fighting for the security of France, for her independence and democratic development. The people of Italy have denounced in no uncertain terms the activity of the reactionary de Gasperi Government which is in the pocket of the Americans, and which is transforming the country into a colony of American imperialism and into a base for new military adventures.

The people of Britain, who refuse to accept the fate that is being prepared for Britain by the Right Labour leaders, Attlee and Bevin, who are leading the country to national disaster, are raising their voice in loud protest.

The struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist dictatorship of Franco, the struggle of the Greek democrats against the monarcho-fascists and their masters, the American imperialists; the democratic movement in China which is hitting out at the venal anti-popular Koumintang clique—all this speaks of the steady growth of the democratic forces, of the consolidation of the democratic camp.

The experience of the popular struggle during World War II and the post-war struggle for a lasting peace and a people's democracy, have convincingly proved the strength and the need for people's unity. This struggle has produced new forms of organising and uniting the people, forms which correspond to the level of democratic development, political conditions and historical traditions of the given country. The people's front and the democratic bloc despite the differences existing in the various countries, express the predominant principle—unity of

the people in the struggle for their vital interests.

In the new democracies, where political power belongs to the people the People's Front, and the democratic party bloc, constitute the corner stone of the people's power and are the medium for drawing the people into the administration of the state; they give expression to the social and political life of the country. In the ranks of the Front the people are working for the speedy economic and cultural development of their countries, for the independence and sovereignty of these countries.

In Yugoslavia the People's Front, which today has a membership of 7 million, was created and tempered in the fire of the national liberation war as a mighty political organisation of a fighting people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and guided by the Party's correct and consistent policy, the People's Front after the war became a stable, political organisation of the people, a strong bulwark of the people's power, a united political movement of the peoples who are working for the further development of democracy and the construction of socialism.

In Bulgaria the Fatherland Front is becoming a mass organisation which is drawing wide sections of the population into active social-political life, into building a new democratic state, and deciding matters of State.

The People's Front in Albania, which constitutes a solid bulwark of the people's power, is growing stronger.

The unity of the Polish people is reflected in the bloc of democratic parties, based on the united front of the workers' parties—the PWP and PSP. By purging its ranks of the foreign agents of Mikolajczyk, and waging a struggle against the enemies of working-class unity, and thanks to its solid alliance, with the peasantry, the bloc of democratic parties is rallying the people of Poland around its programme for a new democratic Poland.

In Rumania a People's Democratic Front has been established following the formation of the Workers' Party.

“The Rumanian Workers' Party, Ploughman's Front, People's National Party and Hungarian People's Union,” states the

Manifesto of the Front, “which represent the interests and will of the people, have decided to merge their forces into a People’s Democratic Front,—a Front powerful in its unity,” which works for the flowering of the People’s Republic, for its progress, for its economic and political development and for a better life for all working people.

In Hungary the National Independence Front has united the democratic forces of the country and after purging its ranks of pro-fascist, reactionary elements is developing from the former coalition of top government parties into a genuine front of the people.

The National Front of the Czechs and Slovaks is growing stronger in the struggle against reaction and for the freedom and independence of their country. The recent events in Czechoslovakia show that a National Front, which does not rely on the broad masses of the people and which is honeycombed with elements hostile to democracy, cannot cope with the tasks entrusted to it by history.

The creative initiative of the masses, who resolutely combated the machinations of the imperialists and who everywhere set up Action Committees laid the foundation for a genuine National Front, which embraces the majority of the people. The basis for the onward march of the people’s democratic order of Czechoslovakia along the path to socialism has now been provided.

In the countries where power is in the hands of a handful of monopolies, bankers and industrialists the People’s Front is a medium of struggle for the vital interests of the people is the main weapon of defence against the encroachment of American imperialism on freedom and national independence.

In France the unity of the people is being effected through the Committees for Defence of the Republic, which are being formed in factory and office, in the towns and countryside. These Committees are uniting all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people who oppose the neo-fascism of de Gaulle and the third force” of Blum and Schuman—the men who are clearing the way to power for neo-fascism and who are

bartering France to American imperialism.

In Italy the unification of the vital forces of the nation is embodied in the People's Democratic Front of Struggle for Peace, Work and Freedom. This Front is being joined by all those who are fighting against Italy being transform into an America colony, by all who are striving to introduce democratic reforms, which would place Italy among the peace loving democratic nation on the international progressive democratic of democracy.

Thus, the People's Front is formed and develops in each given country in accordance with the concrete conditions and level of development of democracy.

The formation of a people's front, which unites in its ranks millions of working people who are active in the social and political life of the country and in State administration testifies to the genuine democracy of these countries. What can the advocates of so-called Western democracy offer in place of the organised participation of the people in the administration of the State? Perhaps they consider "democracy" to mean the removal from office of the biggest parties which enjoy the confidence of the people: the Communist Party in France and the Socialists and Communists in Italy?

The strictly centralised, corrupt apparatus of the "Democratic" and "Republican" parties in the US, which dominate every aspect of life in the country, or the monarchist-fascists in Greece who, with the support of foreign bayonets are waging civil war against the people, are a travesty and mockery of democracy.

The people's front signifies genuine democracy, it embodies the militant and growing unity of the people who are fighting for their freedom, for peace and progress. The people's front is born of the masses, on their initiative, supported and further developed by the Communist and other genuine democratic parties and organisations. It reaches out to all sections of the population—workers, peasants, intellectuals, small handicraftsmen and employers, all honest patriots—women, the youth, trade, union, and other mass organisations; it

supports their just demands, and defends their interests. The Front's programme is a common anti-imperialist programme, which reflects the vital interest of the people.

The imperialists see in the people's unity the main obstacle to the realisation of their plans. That is why they are trying to smash this unity by slander, bribery, intimidation and provocation. They plant their stooges in the People's Front in order to disrupt it from within, use their lackeys—the right-wing Socialists—to split the people, intimidate the people with talk about “Communist dictatorship” and slander about “totalitarianism”. The stream of filthy insinuations and lies which the imperialists have unleashed against the vanguard of the people—the Communists—is explained by the fact the Communists are the most consistent and resolute champions of the people's unity of that militant unity which the imperialists, who are losing ground, fear most of all.

The Communist Parties are persistently and stubbornly fighting to rally the people for the solution of the tasks confronting the given country, the promotion of popular initiative, for decisive measures against the right-wing Socialist provocateurs and reactionary pseudo-democrats for their exposure and isolation from the people, for rallying all genuine democratic forces into a united front of the people. They are waging a struggle for the honour and independence of their countries at the head of the people and together with the people, whose respect and gratitude they have won by their selflessness and devotion.

The imperialist front is opposed by the front of the people! Truth, power and the future are on the side of the people. And the people's front will triumph!

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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN ITALY

During the war Italian women played a major part in the resistance movement. 35,000 women fought in the ranks of the partisans, and of these 500 held the rank of column commander.

The Fascists arrested, tortured and sentenced 4,653 women partisans, and many more were killed and wounded on the field of battle.

The first Congress of women partisans, which was a demonstration of the fighting spirit of the women of Italy, was held recently in Turin. The 5,000 delegates decided amid great enthusiasm to join the People's Democratic Front. Among the speakers at a great public demonstration which followed the Congress, were the partisan leaders Luigi Longo and Sandro Pertini. At a congress held in Naples, the Organisation of women workers of Southern Italy, likewise unanimously decided to join the Front.

FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

“SERVE POLAND” YOUTH ORGANISATION

A new organisation known as “Serve Poland”, has been set up in Poland with the participation of all democratic youth organisations of the country.

The main purpose of the new organisation is to draw the entire youth of Poland into the work of carrying out the Three-Year Plan, develop all-round professional training, physical culture and sports, inculcate a spirit of genuine democracy and to promote military training.

The new organisation has started organising youth brigades which this summer will devote a total of 11 million labour hours rebuilding Warsaw, Stettin harbour and on construction sites in Silesia. The youth will also help build clubs and schools in the countryside and will help in the work of rural electrification. To achieve this aim the “Serve Poland” organisation will organise each month “three-day youth campaigns” which will involve young men and women between 16 and 21. During these campaigns the youth will devote daily 6 hours to work and professional training and the

rest to mass educational work and military training.

The “Serve Poland” organisation will work in close cooperation with teachers, trade unions and the Peasant Mutual Assistance League. The Government is giving every support to the new organisation and has credited it with 1,500 million zloty.

The creation of the “Serve Poland” organisation represents a very important forward step in the ideological rapprochement and practical cooperation of all democratic youth organisations in Poland.

WAR AGAINST ILLITERACY IN ALBANIA

The People's Republic of Albania inherited much cultural backwardness and illiteracy. The people who only now in their people's state have found opportunity for study, are learning eagerly at special courses for illiterates. Last month in 42 districts of Albania there were 3,500 such courses with a total register of 52,000.

MIDDLE CLASS OF FRANCE OPPOSES MAYER PLAN

Middle-class opposition to the Mayer plan is spreading throughout France.

Shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and small and medium industrialists are setting up Defence Committees with the object of combating a policy that spells bankruptcy and ruin for them. Never before have traders meetings in France been so well attended and so militant as they are now. Nearly 60 Defence Committees have been set up so far in the Paris district. The movement is developing vigorously in the provinces. The Defence Committees in Marseilles, Bordeaux, Strasburg and Chalonsur—Saone number some 2,000 people in each. In the smaller cities the Defence Committees range from

400 to 1,500 members.

The signatures to a protest petition initiated by a number of traders in Toulouse show that 95 per cent of the traders oppose the Mayer plan.

Defence Committee Delegations are visiting municipalities and Parliament demanding the withdrawal of the Mayer plan.

COOPERATION OF THE BALKAN YOUTH

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Balkan youth Federation, held in Belgrade, discussed the experience gained in mutual work, especially during the building of the Shamac—Sarajevo railway in Yugoslavia. An Albanian delegate said that the experience gained there helped the Albanian youth in building the Drach—Albasani railway. In Bulgaria, too, youth labour brigades, numbering over 100,000, carried out considerable work. In Rumania youth labour brigades worked in the coal mines and laid 114 kilometres of railway.

With the aim of exchanging experiences and strengthening the bonds between the young people of the Balkan countries the Executive Committee adopted a resolution which calls for an exchange of brigades between the youth organisations of the various countries. For example, some 500 young men and women from the Balkan countries will work in Hungary while the same number of young Hungarians will work in other countries. About 700 Rumanian youth will work in Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria, where 250,000 young people will work in the construction of the new city Dimitroffgrad will send some 800 young men and women to other countries.

On the lighter side, with youth groups from all countries taking part there will be a great youth festival in Yugoslavia, the centenary celebrations of the 1848 revolution in Hungary and a festival in Sofia to coincide with the second congress of the Balkan Youth Federation.

II. TRADE UNION CONGRESS IN BULGARIA

The second congress of Bulgarian trade unions took place recently in Sofia. Delegates attended from the World Federation of Trade Unions and from the trade unions of Yugoslavia, France, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, democratic Greece and Trieste. The congress noted the profound changes that have taken place in the working class of Bulgaria. The working class, the resolution says while marching at the head of all the working people in realising the programme of the Fatherland Front, and in fulfilling the national economic plan, must redouble its efforts to put an end to the economic backwardness of the country, to improve the wellbeing of the people and strengthen the defence of the country. Addressing the congress the Prime Minister George Dimitroff emphasized that the working class of Bulgaria "has always linked defence of its social and cultural interests with defence of the interests of the entire people, of the new democracy. A people's democracy is possible when the leading role belongs to the working class".

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FORMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN RUMANIA

The inaugural meeting of the People's Democratic Front of

Rumania took place in Bucharest on February 27. The four parties which comprise the Front—the Workers' Party of Rumania, the Ploughman's Front the National People's Party and the Hungarian People's Union each nominated 3 candidates for the Council of the Front. Dr. Petru Groza was elected Chairman, Vasili Luka—general secretary and I. Kishinevsky—deputy secretary.

The delegates of the four parties reached agreement on the principle of cooperation based on a unified programme, put forward a joint list of candidates for the election and decided to set up district and local Front councils.

A manifesto issued by the Council stated that the People's Democratic Front is cementing the political and moral unity of the people, is working for the strengthening and development of the People's Republic, for the welfare and prosperity of the working people in town and country and that will draft bills for consideration by the Great People's Assembly.

The Manifesto devotes special attention to the new Constitution, which will secure the democratic gains of the people and will lay down, the guiding principles for the further development of the people's democracy. “The Constitution declares that power in the Republic belongs to the people and is exercised through organs elected by the people. The Constitution will guarantee the fundamental democratic rights, complete equality for all citizens and protection for mother and child.

The implementation of the new Constitution will be ensured by means of reform of the administration. People's councils “elected by the people and responsible to the electors” will become the basic form of municipal organs. Educational reform, likewise, will be carried out with the aim of putting an end to illiteracy, and also a tax reform based on progressive taxation.

The Manifesto calls upon the workers, peasants and intelligentsia to work and fight for the “transformation of Rumania into a leading industrial country with a prosperous agriculture.” The democratic government will defend the

working people from exploitation, will develop and extend the State sector in the national economy and in this way raise the standard of living and cultural level of the people. The People's Democratic Front aims at creating conditions for a planned national economy so as to accelerate the development of all the branches of industry; it will encourage labour emulation and will stimulate the people's initiative.

Stressing that chief attention will be devoted to lowering prices and raising the standard of living the Front calls upon the working people to display greater labour productivity by means of rationalisation, better discipline and a lowering of production costs.

Addressing the peasants the Manifesto says: "The Front will devote itself to the task of developing the farms of the peasantry, to the task of modernising agriculture and providing the peasant tillers with machines and equipment, with selected seed and pedigree cattle, and will help develop agricultural cooperatives and secure a better exchange of goods between town and countryside ..."

The programme contains a number of measures for improving the conditions of handicraftsmen, art workers and scientists the youth, women and men in the army. It defines the general policy of the Front thus:

"The People's Democratic Front is an expression of the firm determination of the people completely to eliminate all fascist and reactionary remnants in our country and to prevent any attempt on their part to stage a comeback.

"The People's Democratic Front consistently pursues the policy of defending peace and our independence, and of safeguarding the people's interests against imperialist machinations."

"The People's Democratic Front stands for friendly relations with all peace-loving countries, for the development of friendly relations and cooperation with neighbouring democratic countries and in the first place, with our great friend — the Soviet Union."

The establishment of the People's Democratic Front, and its programme were enthusiastically welcomed by the working

people of town and country, who know that the Front corresponds to their vital interests.

They understand also that the Front will be able to rally the people for the democratic reforms, against bourgeois landlord reaction, for a lasting peace and progress. On the initiative of the workers of the "Voina" iron and steel works in Bucharest, the personnel of all the industrial enterprises are working extra hours and contributing the proceeds to the election fund of the Front.

The General Confederation of Labour, the Women's Democratic Union, the Workers' Youth Union and other public organisations of Rumania also approve and support the Front programme.

The establishment of the People's Democratic Front is a new forward step in the democratic development of the People's Republic of Rumania, in improving the wellbeing of the working people.

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COMMUNIST AND SOCIAL- DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN HUNGARY FORMING JOINT COMMITTEES

A meeting in Budapest of the Contact Committee of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, has decided that the fusion of the two parties should be effected not later than the 1st July.

A general political meeting consists of: Rakosi, Sakasic, Gere, Raik, Ronal, Marosan, Farkas, Revai, and Vaida.

Joint Committees of the two parties will be elected also at district, local, town and factory level.

R. SLANSKI. THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY†

After May 9, 1945 reaction in Czechoslovakia suffered a severe setback which undermined its economic and political power and deprived it of important positions. However, the reactionaries tried hard to restore and strengthen their forces. They infiltrated into the Government parties, entrenched themselves there and influenced the policy of these parties. This refers, above all, to the Slovak Democratic Party which was particularly influenced by members of the former Hlinka Party. It refers to the National-Socialist Party, whose policy was influenced mainly by the landlord and fascist elements from the dissolved parties, and also to the Czech Catholic

†(Speech delivered at the conference of functionaries of the Regional Committees of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia).

party. After the congress at Brno the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party was likewise influenced by reaction and Czech social democracy moved to the Right.

It is sufficient to recall the outburst made by reaction during the trial of the members of the protectorate government; then in the autumn and winter of 1946-47 we had to wage a sharp struggle inside the Government in connection with the economic difficulties.

Simultaneously the struggle against international reaction sharpened: on the one hand was the camp of the imperialist and anti-democratic forces and on the other, the democratic camp. In our country the struggle of the two camps was expressed in the opposition with which reaction responded to our foreign policy. It expressed itself at the time the agreements were signed with Yugoslavia and Poland and during the talks concerning a treaty with France. The struggle to influence foreign policy became particularly acute when the question of the "Marshall Plan" came up. When the country was hit by the drought and the subsequent poor harvest reaction reckoned that the time had come to realise its plans. These plans, however, were foiled. Thanks to the support of the Soviet Union and simultaneous measures to tax the millionaires we were able to help the peasants.

Reaction took heart again during the Social-Democratic Party congress in Brno, which elected right-win elements to the Executive Committee. Relying on the support of the Social Democrats the reactionaries started preparing for an anti-Communist and anti-Democratic bloc. Meanwhile, the outstanding successes and growth of the Communist Party made it easier to carry out the task raised by Comrade Gottwald at the January meeting of the Executive Committee, namely, to win the majority during the free democratic elections. Fear of a possible victory for the Communist at the election hastened the outcome of events. American reaction prompted the Czechoslovak reactionaries to forestall a

Communist victory at the election, and to bring about a change in the relation of forces before the election. Reaction's puppets in the government organised a bloc against the Communists and, being in the majority in the Government outvoted our proposals. This opposition showed its hand during the debate on municipal and civil servants; afterwards the Rights attacked the Home Ministry and security organs. This goes to show that the reactionaries wanted to stage a coup' d'état and seize power before the election.

The Government crisis was brought to a head by a very minor incident—the transfer of eight high police officials to other work. The anti-Communist bloc in the Government demanded that this decision be cancelled and that the Home Minister, Comrade Nosek, be forbidden to make any personnel change in his Ministry. Using the transfer of these eight officials as a pretext the Rights provoked a Government crisis. The real aim of this reactionary manoeuvre was to aggravate the conflict, with the help of the anti-Communist majority, in order to raise the question of confidence in the Gottwald Government and thus compel its resignation, following which a new, reactionary government would be formed. But these plans were frustrated and reaction defeated.

Reaction slipped up on the relation of forces — it over-estimated its own forces and under-estimated the forces of democracy. The reactionaries hoped to win the majority in Parliament; what's more they were urged on by foreign reaction which promised them all-round assistance.

Reaction underestimated the strength of Czechoslovak democracy, it did not know the people, was unaware of their aspirations; they gauged the feelings of the people by their own environment. In particular reaction blundered about the strength of a working people united, the strength of the trade unions, the strength of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party brilliantly stood the test of the Government Crisis. We are proud of the Party's achievements in those days. We would not have achieved such results, without the support of the masses, without the initiative displayed from

below. The Party displayed Bolshevik determination, Bolshevik ability to rely on the working class, on the alliance with the peasants, ability to rally the masses in defence of their democratic gains.

The events surrounding the Government crisis showed up the complete isolation of the Czechoslovak reactionaries. In Prague, where the National-Socialists were strongest they were left without support. A few hundred students appeared on the streets but immediately dispersed when they saw the columns of workers. The Communist Party, on the other hand, demonstrated its great strength and determination, showed itself as the organised force of the working class. Moreover a considerable part of the peasantry marched shoulder to shoulder with the workers. The bourgeoisie was particularly impressed by the factory workers' militia when they saw them marching along the streets of Prague after order had been restored.

Reaction has suffered defeat after defeat. On February 21, Comrade Gottwald addressing a vast mass meeting in Prague clearly stated that the agents of foreign and home reaction will not dare to return to the Government. On February 22, Comrade Gottwald addressed the congress of works councils representatives. That same day he spoke at the congress of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship where he clearly formulated the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia. Reaction realised that a decisive struggle was being waged. On February 23 the Central Action Committee of the National Front was formed. On February 24 all factories in the country declared a one-hour strike in support of the demands and decisions of the works councils. On February 25 resolutions came pouring in from the factories demanding that the resignation of the Ministers be accepted and their place taken by men pledged to defend the interests of the people. The workers warned that a general strike would be staged if the will of the people was not carried out. That same day the workers came out onto the streets. The

interests of the republic demanded that an end be put to the crisis: it was necessary to act swiftly and resolutely. At 5 p.m. the President informed Comrade Gottwald that he accepted the proposal to bring new Ministers into the Government. Comrade Gottwald thereupon left, for Watslaw Square and reported to the masses gathered there on the solution of the crisis and the composition of the new government. The news was, enthusiastically received by the people, Thereafter Action Committees were formed everywhere; radical changes were made in the various Ministries, National Committees and institutions; special representatives were dispatched to factories employing more than 50 workers and scheduled for nationalisation in keeping with the decision of the congress of works councils. Action Committees were established in all local organisations, in, the peasant cooperatives, the union of Czech peasants and in the cooperative organisations. The National-Socialist and Czech Catholic parties began to disintegrate. The Social-Democratic Party too, was shaken by profound changes. The developments revealed that the relation of forces was changing in favour of the working people. Reaction suffered a crushing defeat, while the people won a brilliant victory. The people foiled the attempt of reaction to overthrow the Government, to undermine, the National Front and set up a reactionary government.

The Government crisis was solved in a democratic way. There was no change in the State structure, no putsch; we shall continue to move along the peaceful path of further developing and consolidating the democratic order, along the path to socialism. We shall now be able to move faster since we have dealt a crushing blow to the forces which obstructed national development. Reaction's attempt to launch a coup d'état was frustrated, Reaction wanted to change the system of the people's democracy, to restore the pre-Munich order. Reaction wanted to deprive our people of their economic and political independence, wanted to restore industry to the capitalists, to

hinder the realisation of the new land reform and revision of the initial reform wanted to deprive the peasants of the land they had received, to place the country under a government of their puppets, to change our foreign policy and take the path leading to a new Munich. It is interesting to note that all these measures were favoured by the very same people who way back in 1938 surrendered the republic to Hitler and capitulated to German fascism, in other words by the Munich men. They tried to put this through at a time when a new pan-German state is being set up in Western Germany under the auspices of American imperialism, a state which will be called upon to reconsider, in particular, the question of the Sudeten Germans. Thanks to the people's victory we have frustrated the plans to destroy the democratic order, we have reinforced this order, and we have strengthened the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia which favours an alliance with the USSR, with the Slav and other people's democratic states. We have guaranteed the security of our republic once and for all.

The reactionaries wanted to smash the National Front as the alliance of workers and peasants, handicraftsmen and intelligentsia. We averted this danger and preserved the unity of the peoples by imparting new forms to the National Front and thus creating a regenerated National Front. The reactionaries wanted to deprive the people of their democratic rights guaranteed them by the new democracy. We averted, this danger also and the people by their own efforts, by forming Action Committees, purging the public bodies of reactionaries provided the prerequisites which allows them to enjoy their rights on an even wider scale than hitherto. Our people have never enjoyed such rights as they do now, after this victory, and their rights will grow with time. The reactionaries wanted to change the relation of forces in their favour, but we changed it in favour of the working class, in favour of the people. The people, the Republic and the new democracy have triumphed.

It would be wrong to think that we can now rest on our laurels,

that everything will go smoothly. Reaction has been deprived of important positions, but the reactionary elements have by no means disappeared, they have merely gone underground. They will now establish still closer contact with their foreign patrons and launch an even more vicious struggle than hitherto. In their desperation they will resort to every means including active sabotage and banditry. That is why it is necessary to be even more vigilant.

All this raises certain major tasks. The National Front is today the supreme organ in the social life of the country. As the representative of the unity of the people it will carry out the purge and follow the activity of the political parties and public organisations. The Front has already taken important decisions concerning the establishment of a united youth league and the unification of the various sports organisations within the framework of the "Sokol"; it is likewise devoting attention to the composition of the National Committees and the activity of the economic institutions. The Action Committees are permanent bodies; a General Secretariat of the National Front is being formed with permanent commissions and regional secretariats. The National Front will spearhead the creative efforts of our people. In their activities the political parties should place main emphasis on work to promote the wellbeing of the country.

The second task is to destroy the political influence and support of reaction, to convince and morally unite our people. The purge must be carried out thoroughly and consistently. Unquestionably reaction will resort to underhand methods. It is therefore necessary to increase our vigilance, to guard the plants and property of the Republic, and protect the peace of the people. We shall increase our creative efforts and inspire the people to unprecedented labour enthusiasm; we shall meet our obligations and present the Republic with 30 million volunteer labour hours; we shall organise "victory shifts" and surpass the existing level of labour productivity. Special attention must be paid to construction. We must economise raw materials everywhere. In agriculture we must attain additional

meat deliveries for the consumer. Estates exceeding 125 acres will be handed over to the people's authorities if there is a danger that these estates will remain uncultivated.

The Communist Party must be strengthened organisationally and politically. We set ourselves the aim of bringing the membership up to 2 million. We are confident that in the forthcoming democratic elections the overwhelming majority of our people will place their trust in our Party.

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CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL- DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY

The 36th, special congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary was held in Budapest from the 6th to the 8th of March.

Some 383 delegates were present. Among the guests were delegation from the Socialist Parties of Czechoslovakia, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Holland, Belgium and Palestine; representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Workers' Party of Rumania and the Greek National Liberation Movement were also present.

Congress debated the political report delivered by the General Secretary of the Party. Arpada Szakasits and adopted a resolution moved by Szakasits, authorising the new leadership immediately to begin talks with the Communist Party concerning the creation in Hungary of a united party of the working class. This resolution was acclaimed by the delegates with rounds of applause.

Each of the speakers in the debate expressed wholehearted and unanimous support for the idea of a single working-class party, for a strengthening of the people's democracy. The delegates denounced the treacherous policy of the Rights and their imperialist protectors, and criticised the vacillations and past mistakes of the Left Social-Democrats.

All the resolutions submitted to the congress were adopted unanimously. Keen enthusiasm was displayed in electing the new Executive Committee. Voting was by secret ballot and the candidates polled a 99 per cent vote. An atmosphere of sharp and frank criticism and self-criticism prevailed at the congress. An indication of the close link between the congress and the mass of worker members of the party, can be gleaned from the fact that resolutions were submitted to the congress by most of the Social-Democratic branches in the factories. The factory workers demanded the expulsion of the Rights and the setting up of a single party of the working class. A resolution moved by Marosan calling for the expulsion of 37 prominent Rights, found unanimous approval.

Spokesmen for the visiting delegations welcomed the decisions of the congress. The representatives of the Belgian and Netherlands Social-Democratic parties, who behaved like "third force" observers, were far from pleased with the congress decisions. The hostility with which the British Labour leaders reacted to the congress was correctly characterised by a number of the delegates who described the provocative attempts of the rights in Britain to drag the Hungarian Social-Democrats into an alliance with reactionaries, including the Vatican, for the purpose of waging a struggle against democracy and peace.

When the result of the secret ballot was announced it showed that among those elected to the Executive Committee were: Arpad Szakasits, Sandor Ronai, Istvan Rlesz, Gyorgy Marosan, Pal Yuszttus; Imre Vajda, Ference Revesz, etc. A final speech by Szakasits brought the congress to a close.

FROM THE SPEECH OF SZAKASITS

In his speech Szakasits, referring to the situation in the Social-Democratic Party described it as a process of ceaseless struggle between the Rights headed by the traitor Peier, and the Left elements. There were, in effect, two wings inside the Social-Democratic Party as far back as the time of the Horthy counter-revolution: the opportunists, led by Peier, and the Left Social-Democrats who worked together with the Communists. During the German occupation the Social-Democrats reached agreement with the Communists concerning joint action and future fusion. But the Rights, who coined the false slogan about party loyalty, declared war not only on the Communists but also against the Lefts.

What can only be described as an inexcusable mistake was committed by the Left leaders who, aware of the danger from the Rights, failed nevertheless, consistently and resolutely to combat them. Indeed, we could have accomplished much more for democracy in Hungary had we not been forced to waste considerable time and effort battling against the policy of sabotage pursued by the Rights. Instead of expelling Peier, the Lefts proceeded to compromise with him and his supporters—Selig, Kelemen and Kethly. This compromise left its impress on the entire future policy of the Lefts who hesitated and vacillated on matters of exceedingly vital interest to the country. These vacillations of the Left proved most dangerous at the time of the anti-Republican conspiracy and again during the general election.

After the election the Rights wanted to exclude the left wing from any share in the leadership and to place the entire party at

the disposal of internal and foreign reaction. History will record that no greater injury has been done to democracy than the crime committed by the right-wing Social-Democrats—a crime that merits the most severe punishment.

But thanks to the far-sighted policy and friendly help offered us by the Communist Party, and because of the correct attitude of the Left Social-Democrats the party survived this crisis.

The blows with which the Budapest party organisation countered the Rights, initiated the process of regeneration in the Party. And now it can make its own decisions—decisions worthy of its revolutionary traditions. We ask the congress to endow the party leadership, with authority to conduct negotiations with the Communists for the fusion of the two parties. The party is striding firmly along the Lenin and Stalin path, the path of fusion, because it is our firm conviction that by taking this path we can best serve the cause of peace and socialism.

The Right Social-Democrats did not want to devote themselves to the service of people's democracy. Consequently, we shall combat the lie peoples in the same way that we combat all enemies of the new democracy.

Then Szakasitz sharply criticised the policy of the Right Social-Democrats in the West and said that the USSR is heading the powerful peace front and is defending the independence and freedom of nations from the provocative actions of American imperialism.

FROM THE SPEECH OF GYORGY MAROSAN

In his speech the Deputy General Secretary of the S. D. Party, Marosan stressed that the struggle of the Lefts was supported by the broad masses of workers. In the course of the past few weeks, unprecedented in the history of the party, we have abolished the onerous heritage of decades. We have expelled from the party the politicians who lived at the expense of the party, but never for the party.

The Rights used every opportunity to disintegrate the party. Such was the case at the last election when they foully betrayed the working class and violated the oath. The lessons of the Brno and Wroclaw conferences of the Socialist parties have helped us understand that there are reactionary forces, supported by imperialism in the ranks of the Socialist parties, and especially in their leadership in the West European countries. At Brno, together with the Left wing Polish and Italian Socialists we opposed the leaders of other Social-Democratic parties in Europe and raised the question: isn't it time to establish unity of the Socialist and Communist parties? They refused to give us a clear answer to this. We say here and now to the leaders of these parties that we consider as false and contradictory to the interests of the working class a policy which regards the Communists, and not the capitalists, as the main enemy.

Marosan reported that the leader of the party, Szakasits, prior to his departure for Moscow had deputed all authority to the leadership. Using this authority the leadership purged the party of the active right wingers. Marosan then went on to say that all measures taken by the leadership would be submitted to the congress. We have accomplished a veritable revolution in the party during the past few weeks. This was no putsch of party secretaries but a revolution of the party masses who demanded that the party take a clear stand on internal party matters and in relation to the Hungarian working class.

None has caused the Social-Democratic Party more harm than Antal Ban, the spiritual father of the policy which advocates that the Social-Democratic Party must have its "special features". This policy meant breaking off relations with the Communists and fighting them. Ban's role became particularly obvious after the Parliamentary election when he openly engineered the treachery of the Rights. The treachery of Kethly is all the greater since she enjoyed the respect of the Socialists and abused our confidence in her.

Explaining the need for resolute action Marosan stated that the party suffered greatly by keeping silent about its mistakes. It

lacked the courage to discuss a single serious problem. We are now entering a new epoch, stated Marosan in conclusion. The united workers' party will serve lofty interests it will be the monolithic champion of the working class.

FROM THE SPEECH OF MATHIAS RAKOSI

Addressing the congress the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Hungary, Comrade Rakosi, noted that the congress of the Social-Democratic Party opens a new epoch in the development of democracy and the people of Hungary as a whole. The time is drawing to a close when the working people of Hungary opposed each other in the ranks of two different parties. Reaction has lost yet another opportunity to weaken the forces of the people.

Rakosi then dwelt on the treachery of the Right Social-Democrats in Hungary.

After the liberation of the country the Communists immediately raised the question of the Rights, but the Left Social-Democratic comrades failed to grasp the full significance of the matter.

Several months after the liberation from the Hitlerites we were able to see at every step that the Rights were systematically capturing new positions in the party and at the end of 1945 it was difficult already to prevent the election of Peier to the party leadership. Since then the right wing operated, in agreement with representatives of the old regime, fought in a united front with Bela Kovac and Ferenc Nagy. This became clear when the anti-Republican conspiracy was exposed.

The Social-Democratic newspaper "Nepszava" vainly wrote about the insignificance of the conspiracy, about the willingness of the Social-Democratic Party to mediate between the conspirators and Communist Party. The Communist steadily continued to wage their struggle. The latter was brought to an end by the resignation of Ferenc Nagy. The Social-Democratic right wing, however, continued to

collaborate with reaction.

The reactionary plans of the Rights were foiled by the resolute stand of the Communists and the opposition of the Left Social-Democrats. The defeat of Hungarian reaction, finally forced them into the open. The Right Social-Democrats, in their attempt to save the Pfeiffer party, exposed themselves as the auxiliary of Hungarian and international reaction.

We, Communists, were often dissatisfied with the slowness of the Left in the struggle against the Rights. Nevertheless, when reviewing the path traversed, it can be said that the Lefts took a correct stand on the majority of decisive questions and together with us dislodged the Rights. The indisputable merit of the Left Social-Democratic comrades lies in the fact that the united front of the two parties did not disintegrate and remained the driving force of Hungarian democracy.

When the rank-and-file Social-Democrats saw for themselves the great harm caused by the Rights they insistently demanded that working-class unity be established. They simultaneously recognised the correctness of the Communist Party's policy, a policy aimed at all enemies of the people, at the betrayers of the interests of the working class. Hence the mass influx of workers into the Communist Party.

This came about because the forces of democracy are on the offensive throughout the world whereas the imperialists are now compelled to throw into battle their now exposed auxiliaries such as the Right Social-Democrats. And the minute the latter are forced into the open they are defeated.

Comrade Rakosi then dwelt on questions relating to socialist ideology and theory, and stated that there is only one consistent revolutionary theory—the theory of Marx-Engels, developed by Lenin and Stalin in the epoch of imperialism and enriched by them with the experience of Socialist construction in the USSR.

The Lenin-Stalin theory stood the test of World War I, grew and gained strength during the building up of the Soviet Socialist State and during World War II, and also in the struggle against the American imperialist drive for world

domination. Only the theory of Marx-Lenin can be the theory of the progressive party of the working people of Hungary. Only now can the people of Hungary advance along the straight road that stretches out before them; only now can we realise that which the great predecessors of our people—Kossuth, Petofi and Tancsics—inscribed on their standards a hundred years ago.

To us, to the united party of Hungarian workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals has fallen the historic task of leading our long-suffering people along the path to a happy world.

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

The 36th congress of the party stigmatises and denounces all those who, during the past years and months have been opposing the party policy and who, serving alien interests, have been supporting the anti-labour, anti-democratic policy of the imperialist instead of fighting for the liberation of the working class. The congress expresses, gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Budapest party organisation for its resolute and conscious revolutionary attitude, which led to the exposure of toe traitors of the working class and to the purging of the party.

The congress has considered and approved the measures taken by the Secretariat of the party in the period from January 1 up to the present time and endorsed the expulsions from the party during this period. The congress obliges the new leadership vigorously to continue purging the party, to rid the party of all remnants of the right-wing influence and regardless of any circumstances relentlessly and in a revolutionary way to remove those who are responsible for the ideological and political deception of the working people and who are not worthy of being in the ranks of Socialist workers.

The congress declares that, in considerable measure, preconditions for creating a united worker' party exist in the country and authorises the new party leadership immediately to start negotiations with the Communist Party with a view to

creating the necessary ideological, political and organisational prerequisites for establishing a united workers' party. The new leadership must see that a special party congress is convened for the purpose of forming a united-workers' party. The policy of the party during these negotiations should unswervingly pursue the aim of strengthening Hungarian democracy, improving the wellbeing of the working people—consolidating friendship with neighbouring countries, in the first place, with the Soviet Union and thus contribute to securing peace in Europe. The congress hereby states that the party rejecting all opportunist and reformist traditions, adheres to the great genuine revolutionary traditions of the international working class and the working class of Hungary and recognises as its principles the principles of Marxism-Leninism—the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

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ITALY ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS. Juiliano Pajetta

The election campaign now underway in Italy has brought to the fore the new relation of political and social forces in the country. The struggle of Italian democracy for victory at the forthcoming election is an expression of the vigorous struggle which the people of Italy have been waging in the spirit of unity for work, bread, freedom and national independence.

The growing opposition of the Italian people to this policy is causing alarm among the American imperialists who fear for their positions in Italy. Some 8-10 months ago they were sure that they were firmly entrenched in the country and could dictate their will.

Last autumn and winter the people of Italy passed over from resistance to a counter-offensive- answering reaction's challenge with strikes and demonstrations of a social and political character. This struggle of the workers, agricultural labourers, and landless peasants was joined gradually by new social strata: peasants, handicraftsmen, office workers, small shopkeepers, small and medium industrialists and the intelligentsia.

Indignant at the domination of Italian big capital and at the results of American "aid" the people are resorting to struggle.

During recent months industrial output has dropped from 75 to 60 per cent compared to 1938, the internal trade turnover has dropped by 40 per cent compared to the summer of 1947; the fall in wholesale prices for agricultural produce, which, in the main, affected the peasantry, has not been followed by any reduction in retail prices. The total sum of earnings has considerably decreased of late due to the shorter working week and to the army of unemployed, which now numbers almost two million persons.

Despite the heavy taxation the budget deficit approximates to 600,000 million lira, while the Treasury's short-term debt reaches 450,000 million lira. Last December notes in circulation increased by 85,000 million lira.

The Political and Government apparatus of the Christian-Democratic Party is utterly corrupt and closely interlinked with the capitalists and landlords. Commenting on this Palmira Togliatti wrote in the magazine "Rinacita" (No. 2. 1948):

"A large number of representatives of the Christian-Democratic Party today, hold positions in the capitalist apparatus similar to those formerly held by the fascist rulers. Naturally, the key positions are, as before, in the hands of the big monopolies, but the intermediate posts, which are most lucrative—and this is

important—are staffed with Christian Democrats instead of the former fascist swish bucklers.”

The same holds true for the Saragat party, which is openly financed by the US while its leaders are in the pay of Italian big capital (Ivan Matteo Lombardo is supported by the Milan capitalists, Tremelloni by the Genoa oil magnates, Corsi by the Sardinia coal industrialists, etc.) Perhaps the most glaring of these corrupt practises in high Government places was the scandal of the distribution and actual selling of the goods received as “presents” from the US.

Linked together by a chain of treachery this handful of people today in power, are awaiting uneasily the result of the election, despite all the advantages which give them full control of the Government apparatus and despite the unrestricted support of the Vatican and the United States.

In the course of their struggle for bread, work, independence and freedom the people of Italy have not only replenished and tested their forces, have not only foiled the plans and upset the hopes of the reactionaries. They have also created a new political organisation—the People's Democratic Front.

A powerful alliance of the working people, whose activities are varied, has taken root in Italy. The Front is waging a daily struggle for the solution of important national problems and the introduction of social reforms which Italian public opinion, disillusioned in the Christian-Democratic government is pressing for.

The appearance of the Front on the political scene and its participation in the election campaign, on the basis of common lists, has started a panic in the camp of reaction and the bourgeois parties. The lists include Socialist and Communist candidates, not to mention the names of representatives of the Democratic Labour Party, the People's Republican Alliance, the Social-Christian Party, the Christian Movement for Peace, the Sardinia Action Party and outstanding figures in science, culture and art. In presenting its concrete programme the Front has exposed the members of the Saragat party and the Republican renegades.

All the democratic and progressive forces of the Italian people are joining the People's Democratic Front. The forces of reaction the enemies of democracy and progress on the other hand are grouping around the Christian-Democratic Party. The election campaign is actually being fought out between two blocs—the People's Democratic Front and the Christian-Democratic bloc on which all the Right, monarchist and pro-fascist parties are relying.

On the “left” flank of the Christian-Democratic bloc are the Saragat men and Government Republicans, on the Right—the monarchists, various nationalists and outright fascists from the “Italian Social Movement”. Their collaboration takes the form of coordinated election propaganda, agreed lists of candidates and in some provinces in drawing up common lists of candidates for the Senate.

The Saragats and Republicans for whom all observers predict a complete fiasco at the elections, have announced their readiness to collaborate in the Government with the Christian-Democrats after the election. This would deprive them of any possibility of “left manoeuvres”.

Hence, all the efforts of the Government parties, and above all, that of the Christian Democrats, aim to avoid any discussion on the record of the government, headed by it, or on the responsibility of this Government for the collapse of the national economy and the future programme of the Italian Government.

De Gasperi and, his party are contesting the election without any constructive programme. Their election manifesto, published on March 5, consists of general phrases and makes no mention of the question of reforms.

Typical in this respect are de Gasperi's words in Turin when he said: “Boldly cast your vote, have no qualms about the morrow!”

In their propaganda the Christian-Democrat leaders are sporting a feigned optimism. As a matter of fact their behaviour, the, tone of their press, the sudden switch from threats, intimidation and police force to an open appeal for US

military aid show that de Gasperi and the Vatican, together with their American friends, are very uneasy about the results of the election. The London "Times" has already predicted the possibility of a Front victory, while the "New York Times" think that the Front will poll 45 per cent of the vote. Even de Gasperi allows for the Front receiving a comparative majority of votes. However, in an interview granted to the reactionary newspaper "Tempo" he hastened to declare that at any rate the formation of the government after the election should be entrusted to him. His election speeches are the fruits of his fear and naked clerical-fascist behaviour. In Rome he said: "I have given the Communists freedom, even though they don't deserve it ... " In Taranto: "If it is necessary to give battle, better start now. Let heads fly ... We hold power and we shall use it." In Ancona. "We must win, no matter the price... ", etc.

These statements, which have been denounced by the Parliamentary commission on the election truce between parties, not only reflect the confusion and panic of de Gasperi but also fully coincide with the general line of action, outlined by the Christian-Democratic Party during the election struggle. The entire propaganda of the Christian-Democratic Party is being conducted in pursuit of three main aims; creating panic in the country, influencing the electorate by means of clerical terror and blackmail, trying to frighten the people with possible loss of "American aid". In their endeavours to bewilder and stampede the electorate, the reactionaries have seized upon the events in Czechoslovakia to let loose floodgates of vile and poisonous calumny and falsehoods.

The clergy are the most active canvassers in the election campaign. Many bishops are already carrying out Cardinal Schuster's directives denying religious rites to the Front supporters, and exorcising all except the Christian-Democratic Party ...

The religious terror of the Catholic Church, widely utilised by the Christian-Democrats, aims at preventing the carrying out of reforms that would deprive Italian reaction of its economic positions, and which would cut into such a financial force as

the Vatican whose “worldly” interests have been vividly revealed in connection with the recent sensational scandal concerning Cippico and Guidetti.

The Christian-Democratic leaders have become quite shameless in their propaganda in favour of American imperialism. The American Ambassador, Dunn, is actually canvassing for the de Gasperi party. Dunn is so blatant that even the Saragat newspaper “Italia Socialista” counselled him recently to speak less about Italian affairs...

“America is providing the most generous aid; Italy cannot manage without this aid; nobody else can help Italy... America will stop all aid if the Front wins”—such are the “arguments” of the Christian-Democrats and the Saragat group. However, very few nowadays believe in the generosity of the American rulers. The national dignity of the Italians is deeply hurt by this constant blackmail. On the other hand, the economic and financial position of Italy instead of improving, has worsened precisely since the beginning of “American aid”. This “aid” has already reduced industrial output in Italy while the peasants are horrified at talk about the import of 280 thousand tons of potatoes from the US. The people are becoming increasingly indignant at the servility of de Gasperi and Sforza to the American expansionists, at the exclusive orientation of Italy's foreign trade on the US and at the growing hostility of the de Gasperi Government towards the Soviet Union and the new democracies. The economic successes of these countries have made a big impression Italian public opinion.

The People's Democratic Front stands for peace and cooperation between all peoples; zealously defending the political and economic independence of Italy, the Front is winning new successes in the struggle against the enslavement of the country by American capital. The Front does not confine itself merely to election propaganda, it is conducting all-round activity in defence of the vital interests of the working people, and has achieved major successes in this sphere.

Trying to preserve power in their hands, the Christian-Democrats, as stated by de Gasperi himself, are ready for

anything: for provocations, for a direct appeal for help to the American marines. In particular they have already made use of the Institute of Statistics, which is now under their influence, for the purpose of adding to, or decreasing, insofar as this suits their election interests, the number of deputies in certain constituencies.

The people of Italy are watching vigilantly the manoeuvres of internal and American reaction, and they will never allow themselves to be put under the yoke of colonial bondage and slavery. April, 18 will bring victory to Italian democracy, a victory that will be a big contribution to the common struggle for democracy, progress and peace.

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AGAINST SPLITTING THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS!

At the present time international trade union unity as expressed in the World Federation of Trade Unions is facing the danger of being split open. It would be wrong to ignore this danger. On the contrary, the working class in all lands should be thoroughly acquainted with the danger and roused to overcome it.

The enemies of trade union unity are using the so-called Marshall Plan in order to smash the WFTU. For this purpose a special conference has been convened in London with the participation of the trade unions of those, countries supporting the "Marshall Plan".

The very fact of convening this conference over the head of the WFTU constitutes a flagrant breach of trade union discipline and is fraught with danger of splitting international trade union unity.

Trying to justify this breach of discipline the initiators of the conference invoke the aid of dates. But, this excuse is absolutely groundless since the General Secretary of the WFTU suggested to the British unions that a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the WFTU be held on April 1, while the London conference was scheduled for March 10. It is quite obvious that a difference of 20 days would not have mattered much and therefore cannot be made an excuse for the splitting activities of the enemies of trade union unity.

It is worth nothing that the London conference was attended only by trade union representatives of those countries whose governments have approved the "Marshall Plan". Evidently, this was done in order to get the trade unions in one group of countries to support their governments and thus oppose the other group of countries.

By inviting the trade unions in the American and British zones of Germany, the organisers of the conference violated the unanimous decision of the 1947 Prague plenum of the General Council of the WFTU to the effect that the trade unions in the four occupation zones of Germany may be admitted to any international conference only after they have welded into a single confederation.

France was represented by the breakaway group. "Force Ouvrier" which is not a member of the WFTU, Italy by the representatives of the trade union minority who comprise a mere 15 per cent of the membership of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. Can there be any doubt after this that the whole business was started with the aim of smashing the trade union movement at international level and separately in different countries?

In these circumstances the Executive Committee of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, by a overwhelming majority, decided against taking part in the London conference, thus "confirming its determination not to take any step that would undermine unity of the WFTU."

The whole monarchist and pro-fascist press in Italy launched a violent campaign against this decision, at the same time praising the minority who, in violation of trade union discipline, took part in the London conference. The attitude of the reactionary press, which is in the pockets of the Confederation of industrialists and Landowners should have provided food for thought for the organisers of the conference and for the minority in the Italian trade unions. The significance of this press campaign was not lost on the working people of Italy and other countries.

The pro-fascist press charged the Italian Confederation of Labour with subordinating the vital interests of the Italian people to the "formalities" of trade union discipline. But the workers of Italy are aware that the London conference will not safeguard their interests and will not secure them bread and work. They know also that the conference discussed the "Marshall Plan", which was drafted not by the trade unions but

by the American imperialists who have passed anti-labour laws against the right to strike, against the trade unions and against the American people.

It is surely an absurd situation when trade union unity is endangered because of a plan conceived without the working people and their trade unions.

Vigorous opposition to the “Marshall Plan” is growing and making itself felt among the people in different countries. It is clear, therefore, that any attempt to compel trade union approval for this plan means in effect an attempt to split the people's unity.

No one objects to discussing the matter of European aid in the WFTU, which is the only body capable of outlining a common line of the working people in the framework of its programme. But in the event of serious differences in opinion regarding the economic and political consequences of the “Marshall Plan” for the different countries each trade union centre must be free to take the attitude that in its view corresponds best to the interests of the people and to the national independence of the given country.

International trade union unity can be secured and strengthened provided that there is a common basis acceptable for all and given goodwill and concern for the interests of the working people and the cause of peace.

And the working people will spare no effort to isolate those who show no such concern and who by their activities endanger working class unity.

GIUSEPPE DI VITTORIO

Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions

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THE “THIRD FORCE” IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM. Pierre Hentges

The servile Schuman Government in France is subordinating its activities to the dictates of Washington. It is pursuing a policy of inflation, currency devaluation and price increases at

a time when unemployment menaces French industries more and more especially those industries feeling the pinch of American capital and competition.

In an endeavour to play its role in the plans of aggression against the Soviet Union this Government is sacrificing the national independence of the country, burdening the French people with growing military expenditures, ignoring the interests of the masses and annulling the gains won after the liberation of France. Such are the activities of the reactionary clique beginning with the puppet of the iron and steel trusts Schuman and ending with the hangman of the workers, Jules Moch—now active under the mask of the so-called third force.

In fact this “third force” camouflages the manoeuvres of reaction. The traitor Leon Blum is the spiritual father of this foul manoeuvre which, according to its author, must prevent the unification of the democratic forces, must split them. The “third force”, out to isolate the vanguard of the working class—the CGT and the Communist Party—aims to sweep away all barriers to the political, economic and military subordination of France to foreign imperialism.

The Socialist leaders, from Blum to Guy Mollet, opposed united action, fought against the rank and file members of the Socialist and Communist parties establishing contact. The traitors did everything to abolish the coordination committees and, finally, on orders from Washington, expelled the Communists from the Government. Meanwhile, the bonds linking the reactionaries, clericals and Right Socialists were strengthened.

The common political line adopted by the Government coincided with the rapprochement between the MRP and the Socialist Party. The MRP organ “Obe” reported last November that the Socialist Party leadership had instructed its branches to “establish contact in the lower organisations such as exists in the leadership”.

During last year's strike Blum, after directly contacting John Foster Dulles, together with the strike-breaker Jouhaux prepared the split in the CGT and actively guided his party

along the path of still closer collaboration with clerical reaction.

In January it was officially announced that the “third force” had taken organisational shape with a temporary bureau composed of Blum, Bidault's old crony Francisque Gay, the Trotskyite Marceau Pivert and the Jesuit from the newspaper “Figaro”, the professional anti-Soviet evangelist, Academician Francois Mauriac. A month later Blum, continuing to consolidate the alliance with the reactionary clericals, proposed the setting up of a “third force” arbitration council. However, despite Blum's persistent efforts it is obvious that the sponsors of the “third force” have made little headway in reaching agreement on all questions.

The past week has revealed that all is not well inside the “third force”. This is the result of vigorous working-class opposition to the policy of Schuman and Moch, the result of the unpopularity of the Government. These difficulties are also the outcome of the contradictions between the US and Britain on currency matters. But despite existing disagreements the Socialist leaders and the MRP are agreed on one thing and that is subservience to the dollar, which calls for a crusade against the people whose interests are defended by the Communist Party.

The essence of the “third force” and the real aims of its spiritual father, Blum, come to the surface on this question. As far as Blum is concerned it isn't just a matter of supporting the fiction about a group combating de Gaullism and Communism alike, as he falsely claims; no, he is trying to head reaction and lead it in an offensive against the democratic forces. Incidentally the Socialist leaders have always, in every fundamental issue, supported the candidate for dictatorship. In the 1945 referendum, they supported de Gaulle for the purpose of restricting the rights of the Constituent Assembly in favour of executive power which, at the time was wielded by de Gaulle. This alliance was repeated time and again. The Socialists and de Gaullists shared the mayor ships alter the municipal elections last October; they jointly advocated force

against the strikers, and they jointly approved the Schuman Government.

Actually it is impossible to draw a line between the policy of the “third force” and the policy of the American party as a whole. Blum is acting not only as the most consistent representative of the “third force” but also as its “theoretician”. He has tried to formulate the doctrine of the “third force” but this doctrine is, as a matter of fact, the doctrine of the American party.

The overriding principle of this doctrine is to lower the standard of living of the working class and to justify this on the pretext of the imaginary “vicious circle of wages and prices”, to justify American imperialism and its expansionist and aggressive plans by advocating the false theory about “peaceful imperialism”.

“Wage increases give rise to higher prices; the sliding wage scale eventually leads to wage increases” is what Ramadier and later Schuman declared after Blum, in order to put through their policy aimed at lowering the standard of living and transferring the burdens of the crisis onto the shoulders of the people.

The Communist Party replied to this in the words of Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, who said that wages can be increased without raising prices on condition that capitalist profits are curtailed. Blum, however, developing the theory of the vicious circle defends the ideological stand of the French monopolies and their patrons—the American monopolies, and warmongers.

In the international field Blum has become the advocate of an “international third force” which idea has been taken up by the Pope, Franco, Attlee and all the Socialist Parties which advocate the “Marshall Plan”. This merging of forces is significant in itself. Just as the “third force” in France is trying to obstruct the unification of the working people and all republicans against the de Gaulle danger, is shielding the activities of the American party, so, too, it is trying on an international scale to split Europe into two hostile camps and

thus make it easier for the American imperialists to prepare a new war, and to enslave, the people of Western Europe.

In their plans to enslave France the Americans have found in the person of Blum their most passionate defender and zealous salesman. After his talks with Byrnes in April 1946 and with Bevin in January 1947 Blum set about to subordinate the policy of France to the policy of the American imperialists. These talks seriously affected the interests of French industry.

Simultaneously, Blum tried to present the crude demands of the American imperialists as generosity. With utter shamelessness he claimed that the US isn't in need of exports, that the Geneva Customs Agreement, drawn up under the auspices of the American trusts and which has caused great damage to France's industry and agriculture "augurs international socialist order". By further developing this thesis Blum reveals himself in his true colours as the staunch defender and ideological support of imperialism. He is repeating what has been refuted by life, namely, Kautsky's notorious theory about "ultra imperialism", about peaceful imperialism which, it is alleged, is capable of organising a world capitalist economy without acute contradictions between classes and states. By singing the praises of the "generosity" of the American monopolies and by attacking the Soviet Union and the new democracies Blum is demonstrating that he is fighting, and will continue to fight for the restoration of capitalism where it has been destroyed.

Blum has become the open champion of the "Truman Doctrine" and "Marshall Plan". His disciples in the "Revue Socialist", developing the ideas of their mentor, are tilting their lances at the sovereignty of nations which, in their opinion "is an anachronism, an archaic and dangerous prejudice in the epoch of continental systems". They condescendingly go on to explain that "the European nations are an ideal economic, geographic and strategic complement to America, without which its international policy is not feasible". They proclaim the "super sovereignty of the international community".

In propounding their imperialist thesis against sovereignty and national independence Blum and his cohorts go so far as to

portray the aggression and conquests of the fascists as a step forward in the development of history.

“At the time the Nazis were defeated,” writes the “Revue Socialist”, “Europe was united... was it worthwhile, after victory, returning to the obsolete form of sovereign national states?”

“A century or two hence,” exclaims Blum, “when in complete tranquillity thinkers will study the events of our age, maybe they will see that Nazism and Fascism played their role in the providential march of progress.”

In the struggle of the democratic and imperialist camp Blum is openly and consistently siding with the imperialist camp. His statements on wages and prices and on US policy are enthusiastically welcomed by inveterate reactionaries and fascists. Blum is actually their mouthpiece on all questions. In order to remove the obstacles standing in the way to rapprochement with the reactionary clericals. Blum is reiterating the platitudes repeatedly used against philosophical materialism. In his book, “A l'echelle humaine”, in articles and speeches at Socialist Party congresses he avers that “socialism can be applied only in the sphere of apostolism and spiritual conquest.” “Populaire” however extols the “democratic” and almost “socialist” spirit of the MRP .

“The Roman church,” writes Blum, “arising from its attitude towards property and labour during the past 50 years... is displaying a trend similar to Socialism, the possibility of united effort.”

Blum's tactic is obvious. It ill to pin the Socialist label onto everything that plays a role in the policy of American expansionism.

This is the lie that constitutes the foundation of the “third force” theory. In elaborating this theory the Socialist leaders tried to promote the policy of French reaction in the struggle against the democratic forces, to provide a base for its close collaboration with the international anti-democratic forces.

But there can be no compromise between the forces of democracy and those of imperialism, between the champions

of peace and the warmongers either in domestic or international politics.

The working class has exposed the lies of the Right Socialists, has forced the inspirers of the “third force” to show their hand as the splitter of the working class, as the accomplices of reaction, the advocates of the policy of national enslavement. With every passing day the democratic forces of France are resolutely rallying around the party which is leading all working people, all republicans and all patriots in the struggle against imperialist reaction and for national independence—around the Communist Party. (page 3)

BELGIUM IN THE VICE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. E. Lalmand

During World War II the trusts compelled the national economy of Belgium to serve the German war machine on the pretext that this would provide work and prevent the mass deportation of Belgians to Germany. Simultaneously, the bourgeoisie reached an agreement with the Anglo-Saxon powers whereby they promised to place the rich mineral resources of the Belgian Congo at their disposal.

After the liberation the Government returned from London and requested the Anglo-American occupation forces in the country to help disarm the Resistance movement and in this way disrupt the democratic movement, which played a leading role in the struggle against the invaders and for the liberation of the country.

In November 1944 the members of the Resistance Movement, responding to the call of the Independence Front, held peaceful demonstrations in the streets of Brussels. Without any pretext whatsoever. the gendarmes. on the direct orders of the Government (there were no Communists among them at the time) opened fire on the demonstrators and wounded many of them.

On the following day Field Marshal Montgomery dispatched his Chief of Staff, General Guingan, to Belgium to inform the

leaders of the Resistance Front, the trade union movement and the Communist Party that in order to “protect” their communication lines the Allies would not hesitate to use force against any popular movement.

This was the first grave violation of national sovereignty.

Immediately after the liberation Belgium’s economy benefited from a number of factors: the entire territory was liberated in the course of a few days; Antwerp was the only large sea port between Spain and North Cape which remained intact; the factories and railways had suffered comparatively little damage; a large number of Allied troops were quartered in the country and the Allies placed big orders with our industry. When President Truman ended the Lend-Lease agreement Belgium was in debt to the USA. The latter, however, contrary to the spirit and letter of the agreement cancelled our debt. Later it turned out that this “generosity” was merely part compensation for the secret agreement, signed during the war, which gave the United States complete control of the entire uranium output of the Congo.

WESTERN EUROPE PROPOSES BUT WASHINGTON DISPOSES

As Bevin conceived it the Western bloc was designed to help Great Britain to offer within the framework of collaboration with the US, a certain resistance to American pressure. But Washington thought differently. And Spaak, who at the time was chairman of the UNO General Assembly, soon became aware of this and by the time he returned to Europe the erstwhile Anglophile had become a 100 per cent Americanophile. And so Belgium became one of the first countries to fall in step with Truman's policy.

Last March, due to the direct interference of Spaak, the Communists were forced out of the Government.

The Left government (Socialists-Communists-Liberals) was replaced by a Catholic-Socialist coalition, which Spaak presented as a fruitful alliance of Socialism and Christian

civilisation which will help save mankind.

The Truman Doctrine encouraged Belgian reaction, which had been badly shaken by the debacle of fascism. It has raised the hopes of the big economic collaborators that they will escape punishment.

In the sphere of international politics too, the Belgian Government is a most zealous champion of the “Truman Doctrine”.

As was to be expected the Marshall proposals delighted the Belgian bourgeoisie and their allies—the Right Socialists. And yet our country was in a better position than many others to withstand the temptation of American “aid”. At the time Marshall delivered his Harvard speech Belgium was not short of dollars; she had a stable currency and output was well in excess of the pre-war level. Belgium was a most profitable client, paying with cash for enormous Quantities of readymade goods and luxury articles which the US sold with difficulty in other countries.

And yet, the “Marshall Plan” advocates held it up to the Belgian people as the sole means of avoiding misery, hunger and chaos.

Washington has found loyal colleagues in the leaders of Benelux who are becoming the core of the new-style Western bloc, a bloc completely subservient to American imperialism.

Bevin had hardly finished his speech on January 22 when Spaak was already applauding: the Premier of Belgium knew that Bevin was acting on orders from Washington.

The Bevin agreement was to have an economic base. But it is clear that it won't be so easy to find such a base since US policy aims at sharpening the existing contradictions between the Western European countries.

But there is complete accord on the political line. The British and French suggested that Benelux be brought into the Dunkirk agreement. Benelux went a step further, and stipulated that the alliance be directed not only against Germany but also against

other aggressors.

Very soon the purpose of this definition became clear. By completely distorting the events in Czechoslovakia reaction aimed at sowing panic and to seize upon these events as a pretext for proposing a “five-power pact against Communism”. Speaking in the Senate on October 25 last year Spaak indicated the course which the US satellites were taking when he declared that “the Marshall Plan aims to arrest Communism and I approve of this initiative of the Americans.”

THE POLICY OF THE SOCIALISTS

The Socialist papers are competing with the ultra-reactionary press in the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign.

The Belgian Socialist Party is going all out to revive the Socialist International, which, as the Left Socialists have justly said would be simply a war machine in the service of American imperialism.

The leaders of the Belgian S.P. are doing their utmost to dislodge the Communists from the General Confederation of Labour. Socialists in the leadership of the Confederation are collaborating closely with Irving Brown of the American Federation of Labour whose assignment, as Truman's special agent, is to split the working class of Europe. During the recent big strikes in Belgium these trade union leaders supported the Socialist Minister, Van Acher who applied civil mobilisation against the strikers in the gas and electrical industry and sacked the postal workers in Brussels who had called a solidarity strike.

The Socialist leaders are holding up the unification of the democratic forces by systematically attacking the peasantry and middle classes as being responsible for prevailing high prices and thus shielding the capitalists who are the real culprits.

This policy is giving rise to disillusionment and discontent in the ranks of the Socialist Party and widening the gap between

the membership and the leadership.

THE PEOPLE PAY FOR THE PRO-AMERICAN POLICY

The “salvation” of Europe, as conceived by the American imperialists, foresees, above all, a rehabilitated German economy. The bulk of American “aid” is earmarked for Germany and at the same time the “Marshall Plan” suggests that the victims of the fascist aggression should relinquish any claim to reparation.

The damage caused Belgium by Germany exceeds 400,000 million francs, that is, almost double the 1946 national income. Yet the number of German enterprises scheduled for transfer to Belgium by way of reparation was cut by the Anglo-American occupation authorities by 60 per cent. According to the Inter-Allied Reparation Agency the 18 countries represented therein win not get even 200 million dollars.

Nor are things any better with regard to other items of reparation. Certain German goods, which we succeeded in getting had to be paid for at high prices and in dollars. Had Belgium been given Ruhr coal, electric power, machinery and patents to which she is entitled by way of reparation this would have helped reorganise our economy.

But far from providing Belgium with what she is entitled to the Americans are depriving her of what she already possesses. The assimilation of the Belgian Congo by the US is going on. According to a secret agreement signed during the war and which remains in force to this day, the US takes the entire uranium output of the Congo. The agreement will lose its validity with the signing of the Peace Treaty. However, on December 14, 1947, Williams Philipp, a State Department spokesman declared that the US Government will make sure of the exploitation of the uranium deposits. Senator Vandenburg, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, hastened to support this statement.

Not long ago US newspaper published the list of strategic raw materials which will be supplied to the US by the “Marshall Plan” countries. The list includes tin, cobalt, zinc, graphite, vanadium, asbestos, tantalum ore, nickel, cadmium, mica. Six of these raw materials are produced in the Belgian Congo. Consequently, Belgium will become the chief “strategic feeder” of the US. It would be wrong, however to imagine that the Belgians will benefit from this situation because there are grounds for believing that the almighty client will, unilaterally, declare the extent of imports and will name its price.

At the time of the ratification of the Soviet-Belgian trade agreement it was revealed that Belgium, this free and independent country, had first to receive US permission to supply the Soviet Union with 3,000 tons of tin.

On the other hand, it is confirmed that the “Geomine de Manomo” Company (Congo) is supplying the Chicago Fansteel Products Inc, with the entire output of tantalum ore.

This monopoly established by the Americans during the war is being maintained.

During the first 11 months of 1947 imports to Belgium from the US amounted to 19,697 million francs, while Belgium exports to the US for the same period were but 2,583 million francs.

This situation gave rise to serious alarm in industrial circles. The organ of the Belgian food industry stated recently that “the big producer of raw materials are steadily reducing stocks and substituting them with finished products which we could make ourselves and make even better.”

American competition has already aggravated the crisis in such branches of industry at knit goods, clothing, leather, footwear, food, etc. The iron and steel industry is also threatened with crisis. In view of this the vice-president of the Fabrimetal concern. Velter stated: “We shall find ourselves in the paradoxical situation of the Marshall Plan making our conditions worse instead of better.”

During 1947 Belgium exhausted her dollar reserve and exported gold to the value of some 6.000 million dollars.

What kind of “aid” does the “Marshall Plan” foresee for Belgium? The Americans will determine the amount of goods, the price, delivery conditions and credits. Belgium will be forbidden to export goods delivered by the US or even Belgian goods identical to those produced in the US. It will be more difficult than ever for Belgium to compete with America on the world market. The lack of balance in trade with the US is a grave threat not only to our economy but also to our currency. The carrying out of the “Marshall Plan” will worsen the financial position of Belgium.

But Mr. Spaak is not the least bit perturbed about this. According to him no matter how disadvantageous the American solution is there is no other way. “The USSR,” he asserts dogmatically, “cannot help us.”

Only incompetents or dishonest persons would assert that Belgium cannot establish advantageous trading relations with Eastern Europe. Recently the magazine “Mercury” recalled that before the war when East European countries sold to the West the same amount of goods as the US, they bought twice as much in return. At present the exchange of goods between the zones is but 30 per cent of the pre-war level.

The recent Soviet-Belgian trade agreement provides for shipments of grain and raw materials in exchange for industrial goods. The question is of a large-scale trade, the volume of which could be considerably increased.

The pro-American policy of the Spaak Government has proved to be disastrous for the working people. In the course of a year the purchasing power of the people shrank 15-20 per cent while company profits showed a 100 per cent increase.

There is every reason to believe that conditions in Belgium will get worse, and even now the capitalists are taking measures to place the entire burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people.

Guided by the example of its American inspirers reaction is demanding legislation to restrict trade union rights and especially the right to strike. They are thinking of applying the US “anti-red” methods against the Belgian “Communists”.

THE UNITY OF THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

Events at home and abroad show ever more clearly the inter-connection between the struggle of the working people for a better life and the struggle against the imperialists.

The working people of our country are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the deterioration in their condition is due to the disastrous policy of subservience pursued by the Spaak Government. Together with the working class, the peasants, small traders and handicraftsmen are the victims of this policy. The recent strikes were distinguished by splendid solidarity on the part of various sections of the population to whom national independence is dear. These initial forms of rapprochement must be developed and strengthened.

One of the main tasks facing the Communists now is to bring together the different strata of the working people. By uniting all the forces of democracy and peace we will rout those who are preparing to involve Belgium in a new imperialist adventure.

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THE UNITED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN RUMANIA. G. Apostol

From 1923, when the trade union movement in Rumania was split, until August 1944 the working class was oppressed and mercilessly exploited both by native capitalists and by the West European trusts and cartels which had made the country into a semi-colony. The best of the trade union leaders and other champions of the working class were thrown into prison or concentration camp.

The right-wing social-democrats collaborated with every reactionary and fascist organisation and regime, including Antonescu and the Iron Guard, and lent support to the measures directed against the workers and democracy.

The united workers' front which was formed,—it is true after considerable delay—on May 1, 1944, helped to weld the democratic and anti-fascist forces in the struggle against the Antonescu dictatorship and for the withdrawal of Rumania from the Hitler war.

The smashing of the German front at Jassy and the all-out offensive launched by the Soviet Army enabled the democratic forces, of the country, headed by the united working class, to win civil liberties and democratic freedom to overthrow the Antonescu dictatorship; to turn their arms against the German

army thereby hastening the day of victory over Hitler Germany. September 1944 saw the end of the split and the beginning of the movement for trade union unity, based on the principles of class struggle and working-class internationalism.

The free elections to the trade union executive bodies, the vigorous struggle against the chauvinistic, antidemocratic and pro-fascist elements, the active participation of the trade unions in the rehabilitation of the country increased the faith of the workers in their own strength. The trade union movement succeeded in bringing urban and rural workers alike into the General Confederation of Labour of Rumania, which today constitutes one of the main bulwarks of our people's democracy.

The trade union movement represents a solid force ready to combat any and all who would attempt to encroach on the democratic rights and liberties, won at such a costly price. The United Workers' Front, established by the Communist and Social-Democratic parties towards the end of World War II, played a decisive role in Rumania in uniting the working class. The Communists together with members of the Social-Democratic Party, promoted working-class solidarity and unity of action on a national and international scale.

The Organisation Commission of the Rumanian trade union movement, formed on September 1, 1944, was an expression of the United Workers' Front.

This Organisational Commission was composed of Communists and Social-Democrats. A resolution, drawn up by the Commission, defined the main principles of the new trade unions. These principles condemned the policy of cooperation with the capitalists and landlord, practised by the reformist trade union leaders. In the past the reformist trade unions, headed by the traitors Flueraş, Jumanca, Mirescu, Herman, and others, were used by the reactionary and fascist governments to break strikes and demonstrations organised by the legal and illegal revolutionary trade unions.

Educated in the spirit of militant unity our trade union members learnt to distinguish between the reformist,

treacherous elements in the old trade union leadership and the honest social-democratic workers with whom they would have to build up and consolidate trade union unity.

However, certain inveterate reformists and traitors such as Herman, Mustetsiu and Lacatosha managed to get a grip on the leadership of some of the trade unions which failed to understand the significance of trade union unity.

During the trade union elections in 1946 the right-wing Social-Democrats helped hostile elements and avowed fascists to infiltrate into some of the factory and trade union committees. Hence the great hopes placed by Rumanian and foreign reaction on right-wing social-democracy.

The French Socialist and British Labour leaders tried hard to get the Social-Democratic Party of Rumania into the orbit of imperialist circles and to use this party in the drive to enslave Rumania economically and politically. In agreement with the leadership of the former National Peasant Party the traitor Titel Petrescu one-time chairman of the Social Democratic Party, and several of his henchmen tried to split the United Workers' Front and trade union unity. But in March 1946 Petrescu and his accomplices were expelled by the congress of the Social-Democratic Party. The cooperation between the Communists and Socialists in the United Workers' Front and firm trade union unity checked the criminal activities of the Petrescu group. But their followers remained entrenched in the party.

Reaction used these elements to the utmost in several endeavours to split the trade unions. They resorted to every manoeuvre, tried intimidation and did everything in an attempt to smuggle into the leadership of the trade unions.

Throughout 1946 and during the first half of 1947, when the people of Rumania were in the midst of severe economic difficulties, the General Confederation of Labour was compelled to give battle on two fronts. Firstly, we had to combat such imperialist agents as the leaders of the former National Peasant Party and the Ministers of Tatarescu's party who openly obstructed all measures to check the famine in Moldavia and in the countryside.

Secondly we had to fight against the rightwing Social-Democrats who opposed the policy of the General Confederation of Labour, which aimed at increasing output; they refused to expose sabotage which they knew was being carried on and they refused to combat the profiteers. They tried to disrupt the measures taken to secure supplies for the people at the expense of the manufacturers. They urged and incited the backward workers and office employees to insist on wage increases. In all their undermining work the Rights were supported by the big industrialists and bankers, who tried to boost inflation and cause economic chaos.

Had we failed to take decisive action against the right-wing Social-Democrats the way would have been clear for reaction to take over power. This, in turn, would have undermined the democratic order, would have meant the expulsion from the government of the working class and peasant representatives, the disintegration of the United Workers' Front and a split in the General Confederation of Labour. However, these criminal designs were rendered abortive and the hopes of native and foreign reaction crumbled. The electoral victory won by democracy was another smashing defeat for reaction.

The nationalisation of the National Bank of Rumania, the reorganisation of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, the democratisation of the judicature, the introduction of the monetary reform, the elimination of the imperialist agency—the National Peasant Party—, the trial of and sentence passed on the spies and traitors in the leadership of this party, the removal from the Government of the Ministers belonging to the Tatarescu Party, the abolition of the monarchy and the setting up of the people's republic — all these changes were in a big way the outcome of the united action of the working class of Rumania.

The peasants supported the industrial working class. For their part the workers through the medium of the trade unions helped the peasants in the struggle for land, during the drought and at the time of the sowing when trade union groups carried out cultural-educational work in the villages.

The cooperation between the Communists and Socialists in the United Workers' Front and trade unions has grown and developed. Unity was the slogan of the trade union elections held last year. Thanks to the ruthless struggle waged against the enemies of working-class unity the trade unions were able to advance as leaders men who had proved their devotion and loyalty to the working class.

The open struggle against the right-wing Social-Democratic elements in the trade unions, their exposure and expulsion not only welded closer the cooperation and unity between the Communist and Socialist but gave the working class increased faith in their own strength and ability.

The second congress of the General Confederation of Labour held last November, (The first congress was held in January 1945) was attended by seven hundred delegates. A number of foreign trade union delegations, headed by the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Louis Saillant were present. The congress outlined the principal tasks confronting the trade union movement in Rumania, stressed the need to struggle for improved material and cultural conditions on the basis of a steady growth in the productivity of labour and increased output.

Among other matters the congress debated the question of labour emulation in industry, and expressing the will of the working people of the country, the delegates unanimously and resolutely rebuffed the attempts of American imperialism to foist the "Marshall plan" on Rumania, in other words rebuffed the attempt to enslave our people.

The congress elected an Executive Committee of 95 members consisting of Communists, Socialist and non-party people. The new leadership is distinguished by a unanimity of views concerning the need to safeguard the interests of the working class and of the people as a whole.

The Rumanian trade unions are an essential part of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a factor in the common struggle against the enemies of international unity, for securing the peace and independence of all nations. Our unions are

conducting a broad campaign of solidarity with the heroic peoples of Greece and Spain. This solidarity is expressed in the form of big demonstrations and meetings and the collecting of money with which to aid these peoples.

The membership of the Rumanian Confederation of Labour is over 1,340,000—organised in some 1,500 trade unions. In all industries, private as well as State, collective agreements have been Signed.

The big industrialists tried to sabotage the collective agreements, but faced with the united ranks of the workers and in view of the attitude of the democratic government, they were forced to retreat.

The anti-labour laws inherited from the former governments have been annulled and for the first time in the history of Rumania social insurance comes under trade union jurisdiction. Trade union representatives are taking part in drafting new labour legislation,

The CGT devotes close attention to raising labour productivity which is the key to the economic rehabilitation and development of the country, the key to improving the standard of living. “All for production” is the main trade union slogan.

Scientific organisation of labour, the rational use of machinery and fuel, encouragement of inventors and constant attention to lowering production costs—all facilitates increased labour productivity. Educational work with a view to securing better discipline in production is widely carried out. The unions are cooperating with the Government in the matter of allocating man-power to the various industries, both among different enterprises and within the enterprises.

The special production committees, composed of the best workers and technicians are of major importance in securing increased output. They consider all practical suggestions advanced by the workers and experts and supervise the carrying out of these proposals.

The masses of the people are becoming increasingly conscious of the decisive role they are playing in building up the new Rumania.

They understand that steady economic development signifies an improvement of the wellbeing of the people; they understand also that capitalist exploitation will soon come to an end. That is why a new attitude towards labour is spreading among the working class and why labour emulation is on the increase.

Labour emulation has already embraced a number of industries, including the biggest iron and steel enterprises, many engineering factories and textile mills.

Not the least interesting is the educational work carried on by the unions.

There are now 3,400 libraries with about 11/2 million books on their shelves. Under union auspices there are 980 choirs, some 1,400 amateur art groups, 7 workers' art schools, 222 trade union clubs and 118 cinema halls in factory clubs.

The CGT own two theatres in Bucharest, one in Ploeshti, the centre of the oil industry and one in the Jiu valley (a coal mining region). Elementary schools run by the unions for their members number 715. There are in addition schools under the auspices of regional councils of the unions for training trade union personnel for these bodies, and there is a three months course under Central Committee auspices for training leading workers.

A very considerable role in our organisational, economic, ideological and cultural work is played by the trade union press.

The total circulation of trade union newspapers is in the vicinity of 600,000 copies.

With the political fusion of the working class, expressed in the formation of a united working-class party, the General Confederation of Labour now constitutes a reliable bulwark of the new democracy. The CGT plays a major role in the economic rehabilitation of the country and in educating the broad masses of the workers in the spirit of socialism.

Such, in general outline, is the picture of the united trade union movement in Rumania.

Surmounting the difficulties and removing the shortcomings in

its work, the CGT will continue to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, will take a hand in the work of improving the material and cultural wellbeing of the people, in safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of the people's republic and for socialism.

(page 4)

BRITISH TRADE UNIONIST REBUFF THE SPLITTERS. Jack Bering

The working people of Britain, endowed with a sound and healthy class instinct, have rejected with scorn and contempt the attempt of the right-wing Labour leaders to remove Communist trade unionists from trade union posts and thus split the trade union movement. In fact the British workers have gone farther; they have elected to leading positions in the unions more Communist trade unionists than before and what is particularly significant, elected them with a higher vote than in any previous trade union election.

Some three months ago, on December 21, 1947, Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the British Labour Party, acting as a push button for his Wall Street and Washington masters, initiated the

witch hunt in the British unions.

With a complete disregard for truth the unscrupulous Mr. Phillips, reproducing in London the Un-American Committee's Hollywood farce, charged the Communists with "sabotage" in industry, with "intrigue" and "infiltration" and with wanting to "undermine and destroy the labour movement".

Hard-headed British trade unionists spurned with the contempt it deserved, the slanderous and splitting circular signed by push-button Phillips.

Let's see for example, what happened in Bevin's old union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the leader of which, Mr. Arthur Deakin, is crusading against the Communists.

The Communist Bill Jones was **unanimously** re-elected chairman of Central Bus Committee, one of the most important sections of Deakin's union. Jones was re-elected, also **unanimously**, chairman of the Greater London Passenger Transport Committee, representing **65,000 bus, tram and trolley workers**.

In Scotland, Lancashire, Belfast, Southampton and elsewhere, more Communist trade unionists have been elected to positions in Deakin's union than ever before.

In the Amalgamated Engineering Union the Communist L. J. Ambrose, was recently elected national organiser **with the highest vote ever accorded a candidate for that position**. Ambrose received 49,690 votes compared to his opponent's 18,909.

Also re-elected as national organiser for the same union and with an increased vote was Wal Hannington, the popular Communist leader. Hannington received 48,176 votes against 21,234 for his opponent.

Another well-known Communist, Walter Stevens, was elected general secretary of the important Electrical Trades Union. The election of Stevens is, perhaps, the most significant event in British trade union life since the witch hunt began. His opponent had declared in his election address that he was anti-Communist. In the voting returns, which were confidential, Stevens **received the highest vote** ever accorded any candidate

in the Union's history.

In South Wales the 5 retiring members of the South Wales Executive Committee of the Miners' Union, all Communists, were re-elected after a secret ballot of the miners at the pit head.

In London two prominent Communists, Norman Kennedy and Harry Weaver, were **unanimously** elected to the London Regional Council of the Amalgamated Union of Building workers, **representing 150,000 workers**.

At the annual meeting of the London Committee of Post Office Engineers two Communists, Hurst and Mitchell, were elected by an overwhelming majority chairman and secretary respectively, of the organisation. Shop stewards at Vauxhall Motors in Luton, which employs 11,000 workers also re-elected two well-known Communists as chairman and secretary.

All reports from factory and pit committees, from local trade union branches, from district trades councils and, as we have seen, elections at national level, all testify that since Mr. Phillips issued his splitting circular, the rank and file of the British trade unions have responded by demonstrating the trust and confidence which they repose in their Communist fellow workers.

Typical of rank and file feeling was the text of a resolution adopted by the Kirkby branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union: "We elect officials according to their record, achievement, initiative and sincerity... not on the political suggestions of Morgan Phillips".

Facts like those just quoted can be multiplied many times over. The monstrous falsehoods and unspeakably mean insinuation contained in the Phillips circular got the answer they deserved from the British workers.

No wonder that the stolid "Economist" lamented on February 28 that "Communist influence is strong ... in spite of Mr. Phillips' circular". Nor did the "Economist" find any consolation in the fact that Harry Pollitt in his report to the recent 20th National Congress of the Communist Party,

announced that 8,000 new members had joined the Party since October. And of this number 4,500 nearly all of them active and staunch trade unionists, had joined Since Phillips and his friends began the witch hunt.

All the reactionary forces of Britain, regardless of political allegiance, have joined this witch hunt. Almost at the same time as the Phillips circular another document appeared saying “we must oppose Communist, infiltration in the trade unions with all our heart and strength. This particular document carried among others the name of Clement Davies the Liberal leader in the House of Commons and that of the arch enemy of the working class, Lord Vansittart. Truly, the “Socialist” Phillips is keeping fine company these days.

Attlee and Bevin hastened to the aid of push-button Phillips.

On January 3, Attlee broadcasting over the BBC delivered himself of a violent anti-Soviet tirade. In what was allegedly a New Year's message of goodwill the “Socialist” Prime Minister merely paraphrased Churchill's slanders of the war of intervention days.

The broadcast, naturally, gained the approval of the US. And a few days later the Americans graciously announced the extent to which they would “help” Britain. The “generous” Wall Street businessmen suggested among other things 123 million pounds worth of American-grown tobacco, and 100,000 tons of dried egges.

Bevin, speaking in the House of Commons some days later, repeated Attlee's anti-Communist slander and threats. This unscrupulous abuse of the USSR was needed by Bevin to sugar the bitter pill he had to offer the British people — a Western union inspired and financed by Marshall for war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe .. Bevin's speech means one thing and one thing only — that the top leaders of the British Labour Party are fully committed to warlike preparations against the USSR.

Churchill congratulated Bevin for carrying out a Conservative foreign policy and, with the usual Churchill an bluster screamed, “Let's bring matters to a head and settle with Russia

before it's too late”.

Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and Phillips may rave and fulminate against the USSR, but the man in the street knows that the USSR, without American aid and dollar loans, has so far recovered from the effects of enemy occupation as to be able to abolish rationing. He knows that the American loans did not save him from cuts in his food ration which is now lower than at any time during the war. In the Soviet Union which has rejected onerous American loans prices are falling whereas in Britain prices are soaring and there is a grave threat of serious inflation and unemployment.

The anti-working class policy of the Labour Leaders has resulted in widespread discontent among the people of Britain. And in an endeavour to distract attention from their criminal betrayal, they are on the lookout for a scapegoat.

But you can't fool all the people all the time. The results of the recent trade union elections show that the British workers see through the treacherous manoeuvres of the right-wing Labour leaders and have rebuffed them accordingly.

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MR. SARAGAT—THE AMERICAN PUPPET

In his youth Guiseppe Saragat was a petty bank clerk with a rich fund of the most contradictory “ideas”. Naturally they were not his own, he merely lifted them from the copious revisionist and pseudo-Marxist literature. After World War I he showed up, together with his baggage of “ideas” in the Italian Socialist Party, which at the time was rather indifferent to matters of theory.

In 1925 Saragat emigrated to Austria and joined the Otto Bauer school where he was elevated to the rank of “left-wing Socialist”. In Paris, which he visited on the invitation of his friends, Saragat's “modernised Marxist language,” to use the words of social-democratic circles at the time, made quite an impression. During that period Saragat circulated his patented theory about the “conquest of political democracy,” although this “theory” is, if anything the old theory of bourgeois democracy, expounded in the language of Austrian Marxism.

That was how Guiseppe Saragat, the “new theoretician” of Italian Socialism made his debut in the circles of European Social-Democracy.

Aware of his limitations in practical or organisational work Saragat took upon himself the role of “inspirer,” of the “ideologist”, however his attempt to “modernise” Marxism led actually to his complete renunciation of Marxism. His theoretical exertions were reminiscent of the phraseology of the petty-bourgeois “socialists” his tune was “freedom for all” via “political democracy”.

Incidentally the Italian Socialists themselves quickly tired of Saragat's revelations. They discovered that he was bringing grist to the mill of reaction, and that his “theoretical” exercises had not won a single fighter for the ranks of the anti-fascists. And so Saragat, the misunderstood prophet betook himself to

the South of France to ponder over matters. But once in France he engaged in something more than meditation: shortly after his arrival he was accused of having betrayed to the French police the whereabouts of an Italian Communist who had been residing illegally in the country.

Saragat refused to reconcile himself with the fact that the USSR had emerged from the war stronger than ever and that there were now a number of new democracies. He just couldn't reconcile himself with this for the simple reason that it did not fit in with his ideas about the invincibility of "political democracy," that is, with "democratic" imperialism. That is why Saragat resorted to conspiracy in order to prevent Italy taking and enjoys the effect. His conceit and smugness are targets of ridicule. Like the path of a people's democracy. He sold himself body and soul to the American "democracy" of Truman, Marshall, and Antonini.

While the war was still on Saragat managed to establish close business relations with Antonini—American imperialism's agent for Italian affairs. The deal with Antonini stipulated that the Italian Socialist Party be included within the political orbit of American imperialism on the one hand, and, on the other, that Saragat be recompensed in the form of "moral" and, above all, material support in the shape of dollars.

However the calculations of the American and Italian reactionaries suffered a fiasco—the Italian Socialist Party refused to be caught, expelled Saragat and branded him as a traitor and American agent .

After this Saragat travelled to America to invoke the aid of the labour gangster, Lulggi Antonini. At a banquet held in his honour, Antonini presented a bag of dollars to this "leader of genuine Italian Socialism". This disgusting episode of naked bribery took place in public, in the presence of the American ambassador to Italy, Mr. Dunn. After a few tumblers of whisky the guests, headed by Ambassador Dunn, hurled thunderbolts at the Communists and wished Saragat God speed in his future "work".

Saragat returned to Italy his pockets lined with dollars and ... a

plan for a “third force”. The essence of the plan was the expulsion from the Italian Government of the Left parties, which had polled nearly 9 million votes at the elections to the Constituent Assembly. Saragat's assignment was to get the Socialist workers to follow the path of American policy, the path of betrayal of the national interests and preparations for a new war. The working people of Italy, however, indignantly rejected this treacherous programme. The “Socialist Party of Italian Working People,” formed by Saragat found itself without socialism and working people. The nation-wide trade union elections and the municipal elections in Rome, Pescara and other cities showed that the people are everywhere boycotting Saragat's American party. Business circles in Italy are saying that the US has made a bad investment of its dollars. The so-called first congress of the Saragat party, held in Naples at the beginning of February, was proof positive of the failure to form a party of social traitors in Italy. One of Saragat's henchmen, Calosso (also a paid agent, but of the British intelligence service) ruefully admitted that the Saragat members were unable to follow the teachings of Marxism about rapprochement with the working class because the Italian workers refused to have anything to do with them. The “congress” was the scene of stormy quarrels and mutual recriminations about treachery. All the democratic elements who had earlier supported Saragat with-drew from his party (the “Unita socialista” group, the Federation of Youth, etc.). This split within the splitters, left Saragat with only a tiny group of old bankrupt reformists and political adventurers, linked by their mutual responsibility of joint treachery and the American dollar.

People close to Saragat declare that he is much more interested in Saragat than in the fate of his party. He loves to read aloud his articles and speeches Moliere's Jourdain, Saragat is hastily copying the manners of the aristocracy so as not to shock his new masters by his plebeian upbringing.

And this is the man who was to have guided the fortunes of the Italian Socialist Party and of Italian democracy! At the present

moment this American mercenary is a member of the Government at the right hand of de Gasperi, while another “American” Peccardi, sits at his left. All three are carrying out the behests of the US State Department passed on to them by the US ambassador Dunn.

As Deputy Premier and “responsible for American aid” Saragat often visits Italian seaports to receive the gift sent from America with the aim of furthering the electoral campaign of the American parties.

Competing with de Gasperi and Peccardi in extolling the “Marshall plan” and the Western anti-Soviet bloc and in preaching “trust in America”, he has of course protested against the sentence passed on his treacherous colleague Petkof, he has denounced the people of Rumania for having rid themselves of the king and he slanders the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

On one occasion the Milan edition of Saragat's paper “Umanita” appeared with a favourable comment about the USSR. Saragat revenged himself for this “treason” by sacking the entire editorial board of the paper—he knows why he is getting dollars! For vileness of calumny and insinuation against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, the Saragat newspapers have left far behind the yellow, fascist and Catholic press.

Saragat and Antonini have failed in their main purpose—the working class of Italy remains united. However, last year they managed to split the leadership of the Socialist Party and its Parliamentary group. This split was the signal for a reactionary offensive against the working class. Without Saragat's assistance de Gasperi would never have dared expel the Communists and the Socialists from the Government; without Saragat's approval and cooperation, de Gasperi and Scelba would never have dissolved the democratic municipalities nor have opened fire on workers' demonstrations. The opening of the election campaign was marked by the murder on February 8th of four members of the People's Front in Apulia, by police repressions against the Partisan Association, by the enrolling of

thousands of fascists into the police and a new occupation of Italy by American marines.

The main responsibility for all this rests on Saragat.

And none can doubt that the working people of Italy will spur the contemptible Saragat with the scorn that traitors merit.

PIETRO ROCCI

(page 5)

THE ECONOMIC MIGHT OF THE USSR

(N. VOZNESENSKY: “THE WAR ECONOMY OF THE USSR DURING THE PATRIOTIC WAR”)

The Political Literature Publishing House in Moscow has published the book “War Economy of the USSR During the Patriotic War”. The author is Academician Voznesensky, Chairman of the State Planning Commission.

In this interesting work Voznesensky, analysing the rich factual and statistical material, gives a picture of the wartime changes in Soviet economy and of the switching of the entire economy to a war footing and of subordinating it to the interests of

victory.

Reading this book people will learn the truth about the Soviet Union—a truth which is stubbornly concealed by the enemies of peace and democracy. It acquaints the reader with the sources of the strength and might of the Soviet state, which saved mankind from fascist barbarism.

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World War II put the first Socialist state in the world to its greatest test. In the course of the long and bitter duel with Hitler Germany, its allies and satellites, the Socialist system demonstrated its superiority over the capitalist system, economically, militarily and politically.

The successes of industry and collectivised agriculture, which crowned the construction of Socialist society, guaranteed the independence of the Socialist state, its military-political might and brought about the complete destruction of German fascism and Japanese militarism.

Before the World War II broke out and later, at the beginning of the war, the mercenary capitalist press and numerous politicians, anxious to smear the USSR and detract from its attractive force resorted to the most outrageous slander. It was fashionable in those days to talk about the “colossus with feet of clay,” about “Potemkin villages” and similar wise-cracks. Only when brought to the edge of the abyss did the chieftains of German fascism woefully admit that they had overestimated their own strength and sadly underestimated the existing and potential might of the USSR.

In the opening chapter Voznesensky describes how in a historically brief period of time the USSR grew into a powerful industrial country, created a modern agriculture and secured a high standard of living for the population.

In 1940 the gross output of large-scale industry in the USSR exceeded the 1913 level of output in Russia 11.7 times; the output of machine tools and of the iron and steel industry had increased 41 times. How far the new Soviet Russia had advanced from the old czarist Russia can be seen from the

following: the 1940 output of high-grade steel goods in the USSR had increased 80 fold compared to the 1913 output of czarist Russia. Pre-revolutionary Russia did not produce a single tractor or motor car, neither rubber, aluminium or magnesium.

And during the war, as was the case in peacetime, a feature of Soviet economy was the all-round extension of Socialist reproduction of the social wealth of the country. This steady growth strengthened the defence capacity of the country, resulted in the army being equipped with modern military technique, in the creation of powerful reserves and enabled us to make good the social wealth lost to us temporarily by the enemy occupation and by the destruction wrought by the enemy.

The general expansion in output continued throughout the entire period of the war. Nor did it decline during the last months of 1941 the most critical period for Soviet war economy, when the enterprises evacuated to the interior had not yet got into their stride.

Voznesensky devotes a special chapter to the remarkable transfer of labour and industrial equipment, which took place during the second half of 1941. This great task was organised and successfully carried out by the State Defence Committee headed by Comrade Stalin. Note should be taken of the fact that even before the war the Eastern regions of the USSR had reached a high degree of industrial development. Concerning the transfer of industry to the East Voznesensky writes:

“Millions of people were transferred together with hundreds of factories, tens of thousands of machine tools, rolling mills, presses, steam hammers, turbines and engines. In the course of some three months in 1941 over 1,360 large enterprises, mostly armament works, were moved to the East.”

Those were grim and bitter days for the Soviet Union and, indeed, for the whole of civilisation. Our enemies, our so-called friends and those of little faith talked about the “last” days of the Soviet state.

However, the Soviet peoples, filled with a profound faith in the

justice of their cause, day by day paved the way to victory over the treacherous enemy. Comrade Stalin who led the Army and the war economy of the country, suggested a vast scheme of construction work for the Urals and Siberia—new and powerful iron and steel works as the basis of our war industry. Of this period the author writes: “This characteristic trait of Stalin leadership reflected great endurance and confidence in victory, a victory which had to be thoroughly prepared and the winning of which required Stalin willpower and valiant labour.”

The successful carrying out of the plan for transferring industry from one end of the country to the other, which called for intensified, nonstop work by transport and the going into operation, under difficult conditions of the transferred enterprises, represented a remarkable triumph for planned Socialist economy. In the capitalist countries occupied by the enemy the Hitler army walked into factories complete with all their equipment, reserves of strategic raw materials, rolling stock, etc. All these powerful productive forces of enslaved Europe were used by the Nazis in their war against the Soviet Union. France's transport system was completely dislocated during the period of her national disaster.

The removal of manpower and industrial equipment from the front line areas to the East prevented the invader from using industrial enterprises and at the same time assured the steady growth and expansion of the Soviet war industry. During the first half of 1942 the production which had been lost during the first months of the war was not only regained—by March 1942 the output in the East alone, reached the level of the entire Soviet munitions output at the beginning of the war. A total of 2,500 large-scale enterprises were built and put into operation in the Eastern regions, while some 6,000 enterprises were restored on liberated territory.

The selfless labour of the Soviet people resulted not only in a quantitative but also in the qualitative superiority of Soviet military technique over that of Hitler Germany. In the historic battle of Berlin, for example, the Soviet Army had at its

disposal 41,000 guns and mortars.

As a result of the successful work of socialist industry a rapid growth in military technique became the law of development in Soviet war industry. During the last three years of the war the annual output of tanks, self-propelled artillery and armoured vehicles amounted to 30,000, the output of aircraft was 40,000, guns of all calibres—120,000, machineguns—450,000, rifles and automatic rifles—5,000,000. In 1944 alone, Soviet shell factories produced over 240 million shells and bombs and over 7,000 million cartridges.

As Voznesensky puts it: “for every German who invaded the USSR and who saw action on the Soviet-German front in 1943, the Soviet Army and the Soviet working class had prepared an average of half a ton of metal and gunpowder.”

By the end of the war the Soviet Army had four times the number of divisions with which it started the war, five times more artillery, 15 times the number of tanks and five times more aircraft. “These weapons of victory.” says Voznesensky, “were manufactured by the Soviet people, by their hands and brains. The Soviet Army defeated Hitler Germany with Soviet—made arms and with Soviet military technique.”

It is common knowledge that during the war the US and Great Britain helped their Soviet ally. Comrade Voznesensky notes that Soviet wartime imports increased almost fivefold. This increase was due to Allied shipments. However, adds the author, if we compare the shipments supplied by the Allies with the output of our Socialist enterprises for the same period, it will be seen that Allied shipments in relation to the wartime output of our factories constituted but 4 per cent.

The Soviet Union, which bore the brunt of World War II, made an unheard of sacrifice to save European civilisation. Seven million Soviet lives were lost while fighting to liberate their own and other countries of Europe. The armies of Hitler Germany and her satellites completely or partly destroyed

1,700 cities and towns, over 70,000 villages, razed 81,850 industrial enterprises, ruined and plundered 98,000 collective farms, 1,876 State farms and 2,890 machine tractor stations.

The author pays tribute to the valiant exploit of the Soviet people in rehabilitating the liberated territory.

In 1944 alone 14,000 million rubles were invested in rebuilding the liberated regions. In this connection it is worth recalling that annual investments at the time of the first Five Year Plan averaged about 10,000 million rubles. By 1943 the Moscow coal basin, which had been completely destroyed by the Germans in 1941, had caught up with and surpassed the pre-war output. Nearly a million houses were restore or built anew in the countryside during the two years 1943-44, and 12,777,000 square metres of dwelling space in the towns.

The vast amount of rehabilitation carried out in the USSR was the work of the Soviet people alone. The value of the equipment received from Germany by way of reparation, represents but 0.6 per cent of the damage done to Soviet property alone.

In view of this what can one say concerning the foul insinuations in the venal capitalist press that Soviet rehabilitation is being carried out at the expense of Germany.

The post-war Five Year Plan foresees the complete economic rehabilitation of the territory occupied by the enemy.

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This useful and timely book by Comrade Vosnesensky will be read with interest in the Soviet Union and beyond its boundaries. It will expose the slanders of the enemies of the Soviet Union who are now trying to belittle its leading role in the common victory of the democratic coalition over the axis countries.

The capitalist press in Britain and America, contrary to commonsense and with a complete disregard for truth blares about the "military weakness" of the Soviet Union, evidently trying to convince the simpleminded that victory in World War II was decided somewhere in the deserts of Africa, or on the

coasts of Sicily and Normandy. Today, just as was the case before the last war, imperialistic elements lusting for human blood and profits, and with the aim of launching yet another war have resurrected the “colossus with the feet of clay” legend, alleging the post-war weakness of the Soviet Union. Comrade Voznesensky’s book is a convincing and vivid refutation of this falsehood. The warmongers are miscalculating just as the men of Munich and the Hitler chieftains miscalculated.

A. DRUGOV

(page 5)

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION OF HUNGARY. Z. Biro

The recent agreement of friendship and mutual assistance

signed, by Hungary and the USSR is an historic landmark in the struggle of the people of Hungary for freedom and independence. Hungary has been accepted into the family of peace loving nations as a member with equal rights; Hungary, which was the last of Hitler's satellites, has become a progressive land of the people's democracy and is marching forward in the vanguard detachment of the freedom-loving peoples 'is a sovereign state and active factor in international politics. For the first time in its history the people of Hungary have established friendly relations with the neighbouring peoples. These profound changes in the international situation of Hungary came about thanks to the active assistance of the Soviet Union.

Over a period of 400 years Hungary, who had lost her independence, waged an unsuccessful struggle for liberation from the Turkish, Austrian and German yoke. The ruling classes in the country, defending their privileges supported the foreign oppressors. The defeat of the revolutionary liberation movement in Hungary during 1848-49 was due largely to the hostile attitude of the ruling classes and to the failure of the bourgeoisie to carry through the bourgeois revolution.

Upon defeating the liberation movement the Hungarian ruling classes effected a compromise with the Hapsburgs. In 1867 the great Kossuth, warning the people against this compromise, declared with prophetic vision: "This agreement with the Hapsburg dynasty impels Hungary to take a path which will lead to her involvement in a fatal war, a war which, in the event of either victory or defeat, will be mortally dangerous to Hungary." This is precisely what happened during the first world war when the ruling clique harnessed the country to the chariot of German imperialism,

The defeat of the 1848 struggle had dire consequences for the country, consequences which were still felt after 1918-19. In 1918 the leaders of the coup d'état tried to secure the support of the Western imperialists, to compress the coup d'état within

the framework of a bourgeois democracy. In 1919 the proclaiming of Soviet power was a premature act. Without first solving the problems which arose from the bourgeois revolution the leaders of the republic acted hastily in attempting to go over to socialism at once. Moreover, the republic was isolated by the aggression of the Entente imperialists.

McDonald's Labour Government in Britain helped install the Horthy regime which later aligned itself with the fascist states of Italy and Germany. Under Horthy the ruling clique in alliance with Germany once again directed the country along the path of military adventures. Chauvinist and fascist propaganda poisoned the minds of many Hungarians with hatred for the neighbouring peoples and, especially, for the Soviet Union, and spread the idea of the "herrenvolk". The Horthy regime sought salvation from the wrath of the people in a new predatory war which the nation rejected.

World War II completed, the German colonisation of Hungary. Her manpower and natural resources were subordinated to Germany's aims of conquest. Enmeshed in the Hitler war, Hungary was brought to the Verge of national disaster and completely lost her independence.

With the advance of the valiant Soviet Army the people of Hungary regained their liberty and independence. The new Hungarian democracy was faced with the complicated job of protecting its freedom' against the intrigues of the remnants of the fascist regime and their foreign patrons.

Two paths of development lay before the Hungarian nation. For the first time in centuries she was in a position to put an end to isolation and establish friendly relations with die neighbouring countries. This path, although difficult, was the only correct path. It required an all-out effort to reorganise the economic and political life of our country. It was necessary to build up a new social order, a people's democracy, by relying in the main on our own forces and the support of the neighbouring

friendly countries.

But the representatives of the old reactionary regime advocated a different path of development for Hungary—they wanted to restore the country gradually with the help of foreign capital on the basis of the former relation of class forces, within the framework of a bourgeois democracy. This course would have transformed Hungary into a colony of the imperialists. Not only the reactionary bourgeoisie, who displayed great activity after the national disaster, not only the influential right wing of the Smallholders' Party, but also right-wing elements of the other democratic parties, following in the wake of reaction tried to get Hungary onto this path. After the 1945 election Hungarian reaction which, through the Smallholders' Party obtained the absolute majority, calculated on leading the country along the second path, thus opening the doors to American and British imperialism. The neighbouring democratic countries feared that Hungary would become the gateway for the incursion of American and British imperialism, which threatens the independence not only of Hungary but also that of the other countries of Southeaster Europe. Nor were these fears unfounded. The American and British imperialists prepared a deep-laid plot to seize power through the medium of the bankrupt puppets Horthy and Otto Hapsburg. For this purpose armed military units of Hungarian fascists and corps of gendarmes were formed in the American and British zones in Austria and Germany which were to invade Hungary after the signing of the Peace Treaty.

But the imperialist plans to enslave Hungary encountered the determined resistance of the democratic forces, and above all of the Hungarian Communist Party, which mobilised the people against domestic reaction and its foreign masters. The plans of the conspirators were foiled and the Communist Party enhanced its positions.

With the exposure of the anti-republican conspiracy the democratic forces redoubled their struggle against reaction and

succeeded, in the man, in dislodging reaction from the Government coalition. In the 1947 election reaction suffered a crushing defeat. The Communist Party polled the highest vote and emerged as the strongest political force in the country. Later the pro-fascist Pfeiffer party was routed. The big banks and basic industries were nationalised. These democratic reforms firmly placed Hungary on the path of a people's democracy, the further development of which was completed with the removal of the right-wing Social-Democrats from their positions in the party and State apparatus.

The defeat of the Right Social-Democrats—the last organised stronghold of the imperialists—brought about complete disintegration in the camp of reaction and strengthened the democratic camp. Meanwhile, the members of other democratic parties, non-party workers, and peasants (including middle peasants), went over to the Party in large numbers. The prestige and authority of the Communist Party as the leading force of the people of Hungary, increased enormously. The fusion of the two workers' parties was embarked on. Relations between the coalition parties improved, and favourable conditions were created for organising a genuine People's Front.

This consolidation of the people's democracy radically changed the international situation of the country.

The democratic republic of Hungary took its place on the international arena as an active, independent champion for the peace and freedom of people, against imperialist aggression.

Hungary did not become enmeshed in the "Marshall Plan" nets, spread by the American and British imperialists and their continental agents; the people vigorously rebuffed all attempts of imperialist circles to interfere in the domestic affairs of the country.

At the same time Hungary extended and strengthened her links with the democratic countries.

The people's republic of Yugoslavia extended the hand of

friendship to the people of Hungary by signing a treaty of friendship and mutual aid and a trade agreement with our country. This was followed by a similar agreement with the people's republic of Rumania and by cultural agreements with Bulgaria and Poland. The people of Hungary thus firmly joined the ranks, of the new democracies. Hungary was no longer encircled by the hostile »Little Entente»; she was now among states whose fraternal relations are based not only on bonds of friendship, but on the common national interests of the countries, which have preserved their national sovereignty despite the efforts of American and British imperialism to revive German aggression and to enslave them. The similarity in the economic, political and social structure of these states play no small role in their relations. The preconditions are at hand favouring friendly relations also with Czechoslovakia.

By her independent and active foreign policy Hungary has demonstrated that the small nations can overcome blackmail and intimidation by the imperialist powers, and can safeguard their independence and sovereignty provided they base themselves on the support of the world democratic camp. By reliance on its own resources and on the determination of the working people to preserve their freedom and independence, democracy in Hungary has to its credit positive results in the sphere of the economic, political and cultural regeneration of the country, a regeneration effected independently of and despite sabotage by the imperialists.

Hungary's economic links with the Soviet Union and with the neighbouring countries are being strengthened. In planning her economy Hungary can take into account the planned economy of those countries and in this way avoid the danger of a slump arising from the oncoming economic crisis in the US and in the West European countries. The friendly relations with the neighbouring relations with the neighbouring new democracies are favourably affecting the rights and conditions of the Hungarian minorities in those countries where, with the exception of Slovakia, they never before enjoyed such broad civil rights and opportunities for developing their national

culture, The solution of the minorities problem in the Danube basin on the basis of a consistent democratic minorities policy has deprived the imperialists of their main means of setting peoples against each other. Formerly a factor of disunity, the Hungarian minorities now represent all important link in the friendship between Hungary and her neighbours.

The signing of the agreement between the Soviet Union and Hungary, providing for friendship and mutual assistance, is an event in the history of Hungary. It opens a new page in the history of our people who now occupy a rightful place among the progressive nations. Thanks to the help rendered by the Soviet Union the people of Hungary for the first time in centuries now have the opportunity to guide their own fortunes. The Soviet Union freed our people from the Nazi yoke and since the liberation has helped in rebuilding the economic and political might of the Hungarian republic. Hungary's friendship for the Soviet Union is not only gratitude towards a real friend who averted complete national disaster. The Hungarian-Soviet treaty for a period of 20 years corresponds to the vital national interests of the Hungarian people. First of all it is necessary to stress the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. Never was peace so essential to the people of Hungary than it is now. The Hungarian-Soviet agreement guarantees the independence and national sovereignty of Hungary. It is in Hungary's interest to extend economic relations with the Soviet Union since this would be the best way to insulate our country against crises. At the same time the agreement can give a mighty impulse to economic prosperity and help secure a more rapid development of the productive forces of Hungary as an independent state. The agreement is a guarantee that never again will Hungary be a soft victim of imperialist aspirations and a pawn in the imperialist game. The agreement enables our people to lay the foundations for the peaceful building up of people's democracy and of socialism. The agreement has greatly increased the international role of

Hungary as an independent country. The increased international prestige of Hungary, which is now numbered among the peace-loving nations, strengthens the position of Hungarian democracy and will facilitate the elimination of the anti-democratic elements in the country and creates the necessary conditions for the all-round flourishing of the people's democracy.

That is why the people of Hungary, why all genuine democratic forces of the country heartily welcomed the signing of the Treaty.

The consolidation of the people's democracy, politically and economically and the broadening of the base in town and countryside are vital for the further improvement of the international position of Hungary. The cementing of the ranks of the working class and of the democratic forces into one united camp of the National Front, the removal of the agents of Anglo-American imperialism from the working-class movement and from the democratic camp as a whole and first and foremost, the removal of Right Social-Democrats, provide real grounds for the successful fulfilment of this task.

Until recently Hungary was but a pawn in international politics; now she represents an active factor in the struggle for peace, against imperialist aggression. Public opinion in Hungary is in full agreement with Comrade Molotov who when signing the agreement said: "Since the lessons of World War I proved inadequate, certainly the Second World War must serve as it lesson for the peace loving countries to prevent a repetition of the aggression by Germany or by any other state which united with Germany in aggressive policy."

(page 6)

SLANDERERS SCREEN THE WARMONGERS

There has been a bustle of feverish diplomatic activity recently in London, Brussels, Rome and Paris, behind the thick curtain of lies, insinuation and slander hurled against the people of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Representatives of three powers—the US, Britain and France—met in London where they were joined by Benelux; in Brussels five went into conference—Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg; in Rome, France and Italy negotiated, while Paris will be the venue of the conference of the 16.

A feature of these gatherings, conferences and talks is first, the air of secrecy surrounding them in order to escape the control of broad public opinion; second, the blind obedience of the participants, headed by the British Labour Party leaders, to the dictates of Washington; and lastly, the war psychosis which the venal capitalist and Labour Party-Socialist press is fanning for provocative purposes. Topic number one at all these conferences was the question of Germany.

At the three-power conference in London (the Benelux representatives hardly count since all they had to do was listen and keep mum), the US demanded that France unite her zone in Germany to Bizonia where the Americans and British have created a puppet government made up of former Nazis, monopoly representatives and professional traitors—Social-Democrats. The French Catholic-Socialist Government surrendered to the US and Britain on the German question, merely making a few petty reservations designed to cover-up the betrayal of France's interests. Thus, the question of creating a West German state, isolated from the rest of Germany, was predetermined in London. It was also resolved that this state will be part of the West European economic system being built

up by the Americans and based on the notorious “Marshal Plan”. From the point of view of productive capacity the West German state, which is completely in American hands, will be much stronger than France and all the west European countries taken together (Britain excepted). Western Germany will be able to mine about 150 million tons of coal annually and produce up to 15 million tons of steel.

However, the agents of American imperialism did not confine themselves to merely incorporating the West German state in to the economic system of Western Europe. On March 5 “Monde”, organ of the French Foreign Ministry, reported that the London conference further agreed to draw this state into all West European political undertakings. “Should Germany be included in the economic group,” wrote “Monde”, “she will, sooner or later, be included in the political group as well.”

The American imperialists, who run the works in Western Europe decided, however that this operation, that is, the inclusion of Germany in the political group of the West European countries must be effected not sooner or later, but immediately within the framework of Bevin's anti-Soviet, anti-popular “Western Union”.

According to the same “Monde” the five-power conference that opened in Brussels on March 4, discussed this “delicate problem”. The British Labour Government, which is zealously fostering the “Western Union” in full accord with the French Government, suggested that the Benelux countries introduce “certain amendments” to the Anglo-French pact, known as the Dunkirk Pact, which Bevin plans to make the basis of his “Union”. The Dunkirk Pact, the anniversary of which was seized upon by Bevin and Bidault on March 4 to exchange hypocritical messages, is directed against possible German aggression. The Labour leaders are now anxious to have this section of the Pact eliminated and replaced by articles, which would turn the Pact into a weapon of open aggression against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. The new pact assumes that Germany, or at least, Western and Southern Germany will join this bloc. The organisers of the bloc do not

conceal the fact that the highly developed war industry of Western Germany, which was hardly touched by the war, and especially the Ruhr, provides the military-political Western union with a powerful military-industrial potential on the continent proper, and also with trained, although as yet unorganised cannon fodder.

The inspirers and organisers of the “Western Union” justify their plans for drawing Western Germany into the military-political bloc by claiming that it is senseless to embark on a political undertaking that isn't backed by tangible military force. “A political agreement that isn't a military agreement is useless,” writes the mouthpiece of Bidault's Foreign Ministry “Monde”. And according to the organisers of the “Union” there can be no military agreement without the military guarantee of the United States. The American guarantee, wrote the “Observer” on February 29, like the guarantee which Britain gave Europe in the past, will be based on the thesis that the European countries will have to supply the manpower.

British ruling circles, well accustomed to having others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, haven't the slightest objection to France, Italy, the countries of Benelux and, of course, the Western German state supplying the cannon fodder for American's war adventures in Europe. The same “Observer”, voicing the hopes and aspirations of British imperialist circles, advises the Americans to reinforce their troops and bombers aircraft in Germany, and thus make it the base of the future armed forces of the Western military-political bloc.

The feverish haste with which this bloc is being formed, exposes the intentions of the organisers of the scheduled Paris conference of the 16 countries, which have agreed to American trusteeship in keeping with the Marshall Plan, to bring pressure to bear on all those who are hesitating or offering resistance. At this conference, according to the British and American press, the military guarantee of the United States in the form of the speedy regeneration of German war industry and hurried formation of the German military units, deliberately preserved

in Western Germany, will cover not only the five members of the “Western Union, but also all the countries which have agreed to accept the Marshall “aid”. According to the “Observer” these countries will have to accept this “guarantee” and “protection” “even against their will”.

Thus, the conferences in London, Brussels and Paris show that the “Marshall Plan” is not, only a means of enslaving individual states butts also a weapon in the aggressive policy of American imperialism in Europe. The victims of the “Marshall Plan” who at the insistence of Washington had to expel the Communists from their governments and bait the democratic forces, are now forced to join military blocs and unions of the American agents, aimed against those countries which have refused to accept American “aid” at the price of losing their independence. Together with the new militarist and imperialist West German state, these countries will be obliged to supply the cannon fodder for the military adventures of American imperialism.

American imperialism, which insolently dictates its will to the countries which fell for the Labour Party lie about American philanthropy and thus fell into the trap, plans to use this cannon fodder for armed intervention in Western Europe. Intensifying the monstrous campaign of terror now being carried out by America's puppets in Italy against the Italian people, US ruling circles are threatening the Italians with naked military intervention should they dare oust the government of the American hireling, de Gasperi, in the forthcoming election. The “Western Union” organisers are Simultaneously threatening to apply economic political and other sanctions against. Italy should her people elect the candidates of the People's Front, who are upholding the independence of Italy, peace and democracy.

The provocative activities to get together a military-political bloc, aimed not only against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, but also against the freedom-loving peoples of Western Europe are masked by rabid anti-Soviet and anti-Czechoslovak propaganda. Having lost every vestige of honour

Labour and Socialist party leaders such as Bevin, Morrison, McNeil, Blum, Schumacher, Shaerf, Pollack have pooled forces with the leaders of black obscurantism—the Catholics Bidault and de Gasperi. They have the blessing and support of the diehard Conservatives in Britain, of the Catholic cardinals in Italy and France, of all the press hirelings of Wall Street. In the same way that Hitler's hysteria alleging persecution of Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland was used to whip up a war psychosis in Germany, so too the slanderous hysteria of the dollar slaves is creating the necessary atmosphere for the provocative machinations and military intervention of the American warmongers in the countries of Europe whose peoples are resisting domination by American imperialism. The slanderers will not be able to cover up the provocateurs and warmongers nor will the Labour-Socialist and Catholic Goebbels' succeed in stupefying the peoples of Europe.

Jan MAREK

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS OF FRANCE

“L’ Humanité” carries reports from different parts of France and from the French colonies on the struggle of the working class for their rights.

At the Saint-Louis sugar refineries in Marseilles reports the paper, 1,500 workers struck work in protest against the wrongful dismissal of 18 trade unionists. The strikers demanded immediate reinstatement of the 18 workers and a regular system of payment in the factories. A few days ago the authorities, at the request of the administration of the refineries tried to break the strike. Police armed with clubs and rifles were sent against the workers. The strikers stood firm and

resisted the combination of bosses and police.

On March 3 when a deputation from the strikers and the Food Workers' Trade Union called at the Ministry of Labour, it was admitted the administration of the refineries had acted wrongly. However this did not prevent the prefect—Socialist incidentally—from giving orders to eject the workers from the factories. “L Humanité” adds that the strike is supported by the workers of other enterprises and also by shopkeepers and peasants.

“L’ Humanité” also reports a strike of 1,100 workers at the “Ansis” iron and steel works (Pui du Dome department). The iron and steel men are demanding a 20 cent wage increase and a new bonus system.

“L’ Humanité” contains news of victories won by the workers in various enterprises due to organised action. Following the victory won by the workers in the Fouchet factory in La Courneuve and the TLK in Courbevoie, the SNKAN workers in Issy-les-Moulineaux were also successful: a trade union representative, sacked by the management has been reinstated. This was achieved thanks to strike action,” writes the paper.

“The demands of the Marseilles dockers have been granted. They were secured after the dockers refused to do overtime and Sunday work. Their demands included: introduction of two 8-hour shifts each, improved conditions of work and better transport facilities.

At a mass meeting which took place after their victory the dockers collected 27 thousand francs for the strikers at the Saint Louis refineries.” The paper carries news of other strikes in which the workers gained in some cases a 10 per cent wage increase.

The “Humanité” carried also the communiqué of the General Confederation of Labour which states:

The CGT Bureau protests and calls upon the workers to protest against the Government violation of their rights, namely:

1. Use of odious laws against workers and active trade unionist which deprive them of their civil and trade union rights;
2. The internet and deportation of the Viet Nam working people

and their delegates.

3. Refusal to issued a visa to the General Secretary of the trade union organisation in Morocco who wished to visit France for the purpose of drawing attention of the Government to the rising cost of living and to low wages in Morocco.

4. The police persecution of Polish worker emigrants who took part in the November and December strikes.

5. The pressure exercised by police in the Saar in making trade union members fill in special questionnaires.

The CGT Bureau also expresses the indignation of the working people and of all Frenchmen, loyal to the cause of freedom and liberty, at the growing fascist terror in Greece.”

EDITORIAL BOARD (page 6)

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