

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information  
Bureau of the Communist and Workers'  
Parties**



**No. 1 (28), SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1949**



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**January 2017**

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## **FORCES OF DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM ARE GROWING AND STRENGTHENING**

Nineteen forty-eight has departed. It was a year of struggle on the part of the international proletariat for democracy and Socialism, a year of new victories for the democratic forces over the forces of imperialism.

The Declaration of the Conference of a number of Communist Parties held in Poland in September 1947, and the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were the principal documents outlining the main direction of the struggle of the working class and all the working people in the new democracies and in the capitalist countries during the past year.

The Communist Parties, fighting all manifestations of nationalism, raised still higher the banner of proletarian internationalism and strengthened their ranks both ideologically and organisationally. The whole democratic camp unanimously condemned the treacherous Tito clique in Yugoslavia which by its double-dealing, trotskyite and undermining work tried to split the front of Socialism.

The past year saw an immeasurable growth in the forces of Socialism and democracy. In the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, 1948 was a year of a powerful new upsurge in the economy, culture and wellbeing of the people. Industrial output in the Soviet Union today exceeds the prewar 1940 figure by 17 per cent. Judging by the successes achieved by the Soviet people, it can be said confidently that the post-war Stalin Five-Year Plan will be completed ahead of schedule.

Under the wise and tried leadership of the great Stalin, the Soviet Union heads the struggle for a lasting, democratic peace throughout the world, for friendly co-operation between peoples, the struggle to save civilisation from the capitalist

barbarity.

During 1948, the working people of the new democracies achieved considerable successes. The profound political changes effected in these countries, the nationalisation of large-scale industry, the agrarian reform, the policy of restricting and dislodging the kulaks, the first steps taken toward building up agricultural co-operatives, the unification of working-class forces and the promotion of the initiative of the working people, all supplied a firm basis for the successful development of the new democracies which are bringing about the transition from capitalism to Socialism, relying on the regime of the people's democracy, successfully carrying out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the present historical situation. The rule of the working people has been effected in the new democracies under the leadership of the working class. These countries are developing and growing stronger with the powerful support of the Soviet Union.

In Hungary, the Three Year Plan will be completed ahead of schedule. Czechoslovakia has successfully fulfilled her Two Year Plan. The plans in Bulgaria and Poland are proceeding apace.

In the past year, the working class of the new democracies secured a major achievement—the unification of the workers' parties in Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the fusion of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party with the Bulgarian Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This ends the split in the working-class movement in these countries; it signifies a further strengthening of the forces of democracy and Socialism.

An important result of the outgoing year in the capitalist countries was the intensified struggle of the popular masses for their vital interests, the steadily growing influence and guiding role of the advance detachment of the working people, the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties.

In the course of the year, the popular masses of France were caught up in a sweeping movement: the struggle of the working people brought down one after another the puppet governments of American imperialism. The strike movement gained momentum. The heroic eight-week strike (October-November) of the French miners strengthened the position of the General Confederation of Labour and helped to isolate and expose the real face of the splitters in the Force Ouvrière.

The threat of new, exorbitant taxes which the representatives of American imperialism and their agents in France are demanding, the threat of national enslavement are drawing, the middle classes nearer to the front of the proletariat. The influence of the French Communist Party is growing and broadening as recent municipal elections showed.

The movement against the instigators of a new war has become stronger. This is borne out by the Fighters for Freedom movement, by the great success of the National Congress in Defence of Peace and Freedom held at the end of November. The popular masses of France vigorously support the Communist Party declaration that "the people of France will never fight against the Soviet Union".

In Italy the working class and democratic movement developed in all its might during the nation-wide protest strike in reply to the attempt on the life of Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

The fatal economic consequences of the "Marshall Plan" in Italy which has resulted in more than 2,500,000 unemployed, the deterioration of industry on the one hand and, on the other, the treacherous policy of the Government which zealously supports the creation of an aggressive, anti-popular bloc and an Atlantic alliance, are bringing closer together all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces fighting for Italy's freedom and national independence.

Rather dubious whether the peoples of such countries as

France and Italy can be used as cannon fodder in a war against the Soviet Union, the warmongers are pinning hopes on their occupation zones in Western Germany and on fascist Spain. But Western Germany itself is becoming a source of new internal contradictions as far as the imperialist camp is concerned. And Spain is the scene of strikes; courageous partisans are fighting the Franco regime, arms in hand.

Everywhere, the imperialists are being met by the vigorous resistance of the popular masses who refuse to allow themselves to be slaves of American imperialism.

In Greece, the People's Democratic Army is liberating increasingly larger areas of the country from the domination of the monarcho-fascists who have sold out to Anglo-American imperialism.

The anti-imperialist movement is also gaining ground in the countries of Latin America.

Imperialism's bastions in Asia are steadily crumbling. The struggle of the Chinese working people is of enormous significance in strengthening the forces of the democratic camp and adding to the scale of its forces as compared with those of the imperialist camp. The Chinese Liberation Army has won major victories under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The peoples of VietNam, Indonesia, Burma and Malaya are also heroically fighting for independence.

In the United States itself—the country, which after the defeat of fascist aggression, has become the centre of world reaction—the defeat of the Republican candidate, Dewey, in the Presidential election, showed that the majority of the American people reject the programme of imperialist aggression and the establishment of a brutal, naked dictatorship of monopoly capital.

Thus, 1948 fully proved Comrade Stalin's words about the superiority of the forces of peace over the forces of war; the

forces of democracy and Socialism over the forces of reaction and imperialism.

On the threshold of 1949, the democratic, anti-imperialist camp confidently looks ahead. We know that the imperialists will not yield their positions without a fight.

But we are living in an epoch when, as Comrade Molotov said, “all roads lead to Communism”. The forces of the working class, the forces of the democratic camp will grow stronger from day to day, while the forces of the imperialist camp will grow weaker.

By furthering and consolidating the successes achieved in the past year, by strengthening their ranks ideologically and organisationally, by bringing about a still greater consolidation of all the democratic and patriotic forces of the peoples, the Communist and Workers’ Parties will raise still higher the banner of struggle for the freedom and national independence of their countries, will fight still more resolutely against all distortions of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, against manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, will fight to strengthen proletarian internationalism and the leading role of the working class and Party,—the party of Communists, for the triumph the forces of democracy and Socialism throughout the world.

## **PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY**

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party held a Plenum on December 22-24 and discussed the following agenda:

1. Report by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej on the general economic plan for 1949.

2. Report by Comrade V. Luca on the finance laws and draft budget for 1949.

3. Report by Comrade G. Stoica on trade union work and the signing of collective agreements, report by Comrade C. Stoica on questions of wages, report by Comrade L. Radaceanu on social insurance and the Labour Code.

4. Report by Comrade T. Georgescu on work among the youth.

5. Report by Comrade A. Pauker all measures to promote science, literature and art.

The Plenum unanimously adopted the resolution on trade union work and work among the youth and agreed on measures to promote literature, science and art.

## **RESULTS OF CZECHOSLOVAK-SOVIET TALKS**

The recent Czechoslovak-Soviet talks in Moscow gave a very clear indication of the tremendous importance of the .... given by the Soviet Union to the people's democracies.

As a result of these talks it was decided to continue to promote economic co-operation between the two allied states.

The Soviet Union will contribute to the industrial and economic development of Czechoslovakia by increasing the exchange of goods (especially those for heavy engineering, building, timber, mining and other industries), by extending technical co-operation and by granting Czechoslovakia loans in gold and free currency.

Czechoslovakia will supply the Soviet Union with equipment for the petroleum industry and for the railways, as well as with light industrial goods. The exchange of goods in 1949 will be more than 45 per cent above the 1948 figure.

Estimating the results of the Moscow talks, the Prime Minister A. Zapotocky, said in Prague that the new agreement would be a considerable help in carrying out Czechoslovakia's Five Year Plan.

The results of the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks reflect the firm determination of the governments of the two countries to consolidate peace and to strengthen the friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

## **ECONOMIC PLAN OF THE RUMANIAN REPUBLIC**

The recent session of the National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic approved the general economic plan for 1949 amidst great enthusiasm. This plan envisages a 40 per cent increase in the general level of production compared with 1948. It also lays the foundation for the development of Rumanian agriculture along socialist lines, and provides for the development of the material and cultural standards of the working people.

The total sum of 82,000 million lei allocated by the Plan is distributed as follows: 47.2 per cent for industry, 21.2 per cent for transport, 11.2 per cent for the cultural and social sector, 9.4 per cent for agriculture and the timber industry, 9.3 per cent for the upkeep of the state apparatus and national defence.

Output of basic industries will show the following increase compared with 1948: equipment for the oil industry by 232 per cent, production of tractors by 138 per cent, other agricultural machines 240 per cent, meat and meat products 240 per cent, manufactured flour products by 430 per cent, fish and fish products by 200 per cent, fats by 450 per cent.

There will be a 40 per cent increase in the general growth of agricultural products, the average yield will increase by 15 per cent and the area sown to wheat by 12 per cent. The Plan also envisages a considerable increase in livestock and industrial crops.

Some 20 new machine-tractor depots will be opened in 1949 and 1,500 new tractors put into operation.

The Plan envisages a further extension of the network of educational institutions, the building of dormitories and dining-rooms for student, 400 new film projectors and 4,000 new cultural centres for the countryside. It is also planned in 1949

to eliminate illiteracy among more than 400,000 working people.

The Plan will bring about considerable improvement in medical services, construction of new workers' houses, better supplies of provisions and industrial goods for the working people of town and country through the State stores and co-operatives. Special attention is being paid to promoting agricultural co-operatives of all kinds.

## **FORMATION OF NEW ORGANISATION OF WORKING PEASANTS IN HUNGARY**

The Union of Working Peasants and Agricultural Workers recently held its inaugural congress in Hungary.

Congress resolved to form a single union of working peasants and agricultural labourers (DEFOS) on the basis of the various existing peasant organisations.



## **UNITED YOUTH ORGANISATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

At a recent meeting in Bratislav of representatives of the Central Committee of the Union of Czech Youth, Union of Slovak Youth, as well as representatives of the unions of Carpathian youth and Union of Polish Youth (youth organisation of Czech Silesia), it was unanimously decided to convene, in the first half of 1949, a unity congress of all youth organisations to form a united youth organisation of Czechoslovakia.

## **UNITY CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS PARTIES OF POLAND**

The Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Parties was held in Warsaw on December 15-21.

The Congress was attended by 1,539 delegates, of whom 1,013 were from the Polish Workers' Party and 526 from the Polish Socialist Party. There were also fraternal delegates from the Communist and Workers' Parties of 24 countries, including the Soviet Union, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Britain.

The four points on the Congress agenda were:

1. The ideological basis of the United Workers' Party—report by Comrade Bierut, co-report by Comrade Cyrankiewicz.
2. Results of economic rehabilitation and the basis of the Six Year Plan—report by Comrade Minc.
3. Statutes and organisational tasks of the United Party—reporter Comrade Zambrowski, co-report by Comrade Swentkowski.
4. Election of central Party organs.

The Unity Congress was greeted by delegations from the fraternal parties. The delegation of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) was represented by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), Comrade P. K. Ponomarenko and by the Editor-in-Chief of the "Pravda", Comrade P. N. Pospelov.

A stormy ovation was accorded Comrade P. K. Ponomarenko when he rose to read the greetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) to the Unity Congress.

**“To the Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party.**

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends warm fraternal greetings and wishes the Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish

Socialist Party every success in its work.

“The formation of a single revolutionary party means the end of the split in the working-class movement of Poland and is a historical achievement of the Polish working class. The formation of a single workers’ party, based on the ideological and organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism, true to internationalist traditions, is the guarantee of further success in building the new people’s democratic Poland and is an embodiment of the ideas of Socialism.

“The Polish people can now boldly face the future. By breaking the chains of imperialism and entering the democratic,

anti-imperialist camp, People’s Poland took the new, socialist path which brings with it the rapid development of the country’s productive forces, the improvement of the material wellbeing of the working people and the flowering of national culture. The close alliance and friendship of the Polish people with the people’s democratic countries and the Soviet Union, based on the community of vital interests, gives the new Poland powerful support and the firm guarantee that the great social and national gains of the Polish people will not be violated.

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with profound satisfaction the splendid achievements of Poland’s working people in the post-war state, in the country’s economic and cultural construction and wishes the Polish people and its vanguard detachment, the United Workers’ Party new successes in the struggle against the machinations of imperialism and reaction for peace and security, for the continued strengthening of the people’s democracy the national independence of the country, for its economic and cultural lowering and advance along the path to Socialism.

“May the free, independent people’s democratic Poland

live and prosper!

“Long live the unbreakable alliance and friendship of the Polish and Soviet peoples! Long live the international solidarity of working people!

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.**

In the debate following the reports of Comrades Bierut and Cyrankiewicz (for abridged reports, see other pages) delegates spoke of the tremendous significance of the fusion of the Polish workers' parties, achieved as a result of a bitter struggle against reformism in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party, as a result of the elimination of the Right nationalist deviation in the Polish Workers' Party, and on the basis of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the Polish working-class movement.

On the first point of the agenda the Congress approved the draft of the Ideological Declaration of the United Workers' Party submitted by The Editorial Commission.

In his report on the second point of the agenda, Comrade Minc summarised the result of the fulfilment of the Three Year Plan in the past two-years and outlined the chief points of the Six Year Plan for 1950-55.

Turning to the Six Year Plan, Comrade Minc noted that the main task of this Plan was to lay the foundations of Socialism in Poland.

In his report on the Statutes and organisational tasks of the United Polish Workers' Party, Comrade Zambrowski emphasised that the United Workers' Party will base its work on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Zambrowski reported that the United Workers' Party will now have nearly 1,500,000 members and 300,000 candidate members organised in 19,200 factory branches and 27,500 rural branches.

In his closing remarks, Comrade Bierut stressed that both

the reports given, as well as the speeches of delegates in discussion, showed complete agreement on the main problems concerning the ideological basis of the United Party. The Congress, also unanimously approved the main principles of the ideological declaration.

In conclusion, Congress elected the central Party organs. Seventy-two members and 53 alternate members were elected to the Central Committee.

At its first meeting, the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party elected Comrade Boleslaw Bierut as Chairman of the Central Committee and Comrades J. Cyrankiewicz, R. Zambrowski and A. Zawadski as secretaries of the Central Committee. Eleven members and four alternate members were elected to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

## **FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)**

The Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) was held in Sofia's National Theatre on December 18-25. The 973 delegates represented 495,058 Party members.

Opening the Congress, Comrade V. Kolarov spoke of the heroic path traversed by the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist) from the Fourth to the Fifth Congress.

With great enthusiasm, amid stormy applause, the Congress elected as honorary members of the Presidium, Comrade J. V. Stalin and the leading members of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Congress unanimously approved the following agenda:

1. Political report of the Central Committee by Comrade Georgi Dimitrov.
2. Report of the Central Control Commission by Comrade Jordan Katrandjiev.
3. Marxist-Leninist education and the struggle of the Party on the ideological front by Comrade V. Chervenkov.
4. Report on The National Five Year Plan by Comrade Dobri Terpeshev,
5. Report on Change of Rules and other organisational questions by Comrade Georgi Chankov.
6. Report on Elaboration of a new Party programme by Comrade Traicho Kostov,
7. Report on Election of the Central Committee and the Central Commission of Auditors.

Many delegations from fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties were present at the Congress. The delegation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) was greeted with great enthusiasm. It was represented by Comrade M. A. Suslov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), and by Comrade P. F. Yudin, Editor of "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy",

organ of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties.

The audience rose to accord a stormy ovation to Comrade Suslov when he took his place at the rostrum. He gave the following greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU(B):

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union warmly greets the Congress of the Bulgarian Workers’ Party (Communists), the vanguard detachment of the working class and of all the working people of the country.

“Under the leadership of the Workers’ Party (Communists) and the Fatherland Front created on its initiative, the Bulgarian people have won considerable successes in building up their people’s democratic Republic.

“Bulgaria has freed herself from her position as a vassal of the imperialist powers into which the former monarcho-fascist ruling clique had led the country by its collaboration with the German-fascist invaders; it has defended its territorial integrity and national independence from the encroachments of the imperialists and aggressive neighbours, and has bound herself closely to the family of the free democratic peoples fighting for peace and democracy throughout the world. The country’s national economy which was plundered by the German-fascist invaders, is now being rebuilt on new principles by the Bulgarian people who are successfully laying the foundation for a socialist society.

“The working people of Bulgaria have, in the Bulgarian Workers’ Party, a tried organiser and experienced leader, combining the struggle for the interests of their native country with adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Bulgarian Workers’ Party, armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, is leading the mass of the Bulgarian people along the path of economic and cultural development, along the path to Socialism.

“We sincerely wish the Bulgarian Workers’ Party new

successes in the struggle for the peace and security of the country, for the prosperity of the people's democratic Republic, for building the basis of Socialism in Bulgaria and for binding more firmly her bonds with the democratic, anti-imperialist countries.

“Long live the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) the organised vanguard detachment of the working class of the people's democratic Republic of Bulgaria!

“Long live the unbreakable friendship of the Bulgarian people with the peoples of the Soviet Union”.

The last words of the message were drowned in the stormy applause of the audience.

Comrade Dimitrov who was greeted with enthusiastic applause, gave an extensive political report for the Central Committee. (Abridged report, see p. 3).

The Congress approved the main principles of the Five Year Plan and the new Party Rules.

Comrade Dimitrov made a brilliant concluding speech. He pointed out that the Congress had expressed its complete unanimity on the main questions of Party policy which was one of the most important guarantees of its future success. However, he said, to ensure that a correct political line is carried out, it is necessary to bring in new forces to take an active part in socialist construction, to make a skilful selection and promotion of cadres who are capable of overcoming difficulties. A close check on the fulfilment of decisions, Bolshevik control, criticism and self-criticism, operative leadership and close contact with the masses—all this must be part of the arsenal of the Party leadership.

Some comrades, continued Comrade Dimitrov, who spoke in debate on the question of people's democracy, emphasised or were inclined to put the emphasis mainly on the difference between people's democracy and the Soviet system—something which can lead to incorrect and harmful

conclusions.

According to Marxism-Leninism, both people's democracy and the Soviet system are two forms of one and the same power—the power of the working class in alliance with the working people of town and countryside, of the class who lead this alliance. Those are two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peculiar form of the transition from capitalism to Socialism in our country does not and cannot change the laws governing the transition from capitalism to Socialism which are common to all forms. The transition to Socialism cannot be carried out without the dictatorship of the proletariat directed against the capitalist elements and directed toward organising socialist economy.

Whereas bourgeois democracy is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiting minority of big capitalists over the vast majority of the working people, people's democracy fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests of the vast majority of the working people and brings into being the broadest and fullest democracy—socialist democracy.

The fact that the people's democratic power and Soviet power share the **main**, the **decisive** point—namely that they are the power of the working class allied with the working people which it is guiding—leads to extremely essential conclusions concerning the **need** for the broadest study and the widest **utilisation** of the great experience of **socialist** construction in the Soviet Union;

**And this experience, applied to our conditions, is the only and the best model for building Socialism in our country as well as in other people's democracies. (Applause).**

Congress elected a Central Committee of 47 members and 28 candidate members. It also decided unanimously that in future the Party should be called the Communist Party of

Bulgaria.

At its first meeting the Central Committee elected nine members and three candidate members to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Comrade G. Dimitrov was unanimously elected General Secretary of the Central Committee.

## **IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE UNITED WORKERS' PARTY OF POLAND. Report by Comrade B. Bierut at Unity Congress of P.W.P. and P.S.P.\***

The Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party, said Comrade Bierut, is a great and joyful event for the working people of our country.

The political unification of the working class is the end of the long, militant path, rich with experience, traversed by the Polish working class during the past 70 years. The Polish working class movement has reached this victorious stage through unrelenting class struggle and by overcoming its internal ideological vacillations.

The platform of the Polish United Workers' Party will be based firmly and resolutely on the science of Marxism-Leninism, the only true inviolable principles, tested by the history of both the international and the Polish working class movement, the principles leading mankind to Socialism.

The result of the seventy year struggle of the Polish working class is our new social system of people's democracy leading to Socialism. The result of this struggle is the present vanguard role played by the Polish working class among the people and in the State; the result of this struggle is the present Unity Congress. The vast majority of the people are paying close and sympathetic attention to the Congress.

A considerable part of his report Comrade Bierut devoted to a historical review and to an estimation of the development of the working class movement in Poland, the formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party, overcoming the Luxemburg influence, the Party's struggle for working class unity and against

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\* ) Abridged report

reformism and nationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade Bierut went on, had a profound effect on the working people of Poland. After Polish independence had been proclaimed thirty years ago, the Communist Party of Poland was formed by the unification of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party. Despite ideological immaturity during the first years of its existence, the Communist Party played a great role in the struggle of the working people of Poland, mobilising broad masses of the people to fight against the Pilsudskyites, against fascism, for peace and for friendship with the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bierut dwelt in detail on the work of the Polish Communist Party, on its struggle to form a united front of working people and to expose the reactionary essence of the opportunist leadership of the Polish Socialist Party at that period. He analysed the weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist Party, and pointed out that the penetration of enemy agents into its ranks led to its dissolution in 1938.

We certainly do not adopt an uncritical attitude toward the Communist Party of Poland, said Comrade Bierut. We are the Party of the Polish working class at a new historical stage of its development. At the same time we are the heirs to all the gains achieved by the self-sacrifice and heroic struggle of those who formed the ideological core of the Polish Communist Party and whose model in ideological and organisational matters was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The heroic traditions of the struggle of the Polish Communist Party are the corner stones on which we build unification. We also carry on the traditions of the fight of the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party against the right wing Pilsudski leadership, recognising the great significance of their struggle for a united working class front.

The Polish Workers' Party created in 1942 mainly on the

initiative of the active members of the Polish Communist Party, based its programme on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Polish Workers' Party was the initiator and organiser of the armed struggle against the Hitler invaders. In its struggle for Poland's national and social liberation the Polish Workers' Party always linked this struggle with confidence in the victory of the socialist Soviet Union over Hitler fascism.

The Polish Workers' Party organised and led into action the detachments of the Ludowa Guard and Ludowa Army which did considerable damage to the Hitler Invaders.

On the initiative of Polish Communists, the Union of Polish Patriots was set up in the Soviet Union. With the assistance of the Soviet Union and the personal help of Generalissimo Stalin, the First Kosciuszko Division was formed which grew into the First Polish Army in the Soviet Union. Because of this real friendship and assistance of the Soviet Union, the Polish Army was able to fight victoriously on Polish soil shoulder to shoulder with the heroic Soviet Army and fought a victorious path from Lenino to Berlin.

Influenced by the sharpening struggle of the Polish Workers' Party for national and social liberation, the left trend in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party which was demanding a united front, also became stronger and more mature ideologically. A similar process took place in the Stronnictwo Ludowe where the Left elements gradually managed to get rid of the Mikolajczyk leadership. As a result of the concentration of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the people around the Polish Workers' Party in Poland and the formation of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa, an important re-alignment of class forces began to take shape.

In this vital period, on the eve of Poland's liberation by the Soviet Army, said Comrade Bierut, vacillations which actually led to a distortion of the policy of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa and to the negation of the leading role of the working class in

the struggle for state power began to show themselves among a section of the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party. This tendency expressed a lack of confidence in the forces of the working class, a retreat before the desperate pressure of reaction and the petty bourgeoisie. But history has fully confirmed the correctness of the policy of the *Kraiowa Rada Narodowa* as representing the power of the people led by the working class. The capitulation tendencies found no support in the Party.

The defeat of Hitlerism by the Soviet Army brought liberation to the Polish people. The policy of the Polish Workers' Party—a policy based on the inseparable alliance between the Russian revolution and the Polish revolution—was victorious. The people's Poland was created on a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm, was created as a result of the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army

The Polish Workers' Party from the moment of liberation when it emerged from underground, was the initiator and the guiding force of the main revolutionary changes in our country, the organiser of the broad democratic front whose base already existed in the *Kraiowa Rada Narodowa*.

In the period after liberation, the Polish Workers' Party concentrated all its efforts on building a new apparatus of power. Party members were the first to work in the public security apparatus, they were the first members of the Polish People's Army, the first to serve in the new administration of central and local government.

The Polish Workers' Party organised the peasants to put the land reform into effect themselves with the help of the workers, thus extending the alliance between the workers and peasants and giving it a new content.

The Polish Workers' Party, relying on the support of the workers, brought about nationalisation which was later made legal, by legislation. It mobilised the workers to put their plants

into operation and to guard them, to set up factory committees and trade unions.

From the very outset the Polish Workers' Party was able to direct the selflessness and enthusiasm of the working class, its released energy into active channels, for rebuilding the country, particularly the capital which the invaders had destroyed.

When at Potsdam, after the determined stand of the Soviet Union, frontiers were established on the Oder, the Neisse and the Baltic, the People's Poland was faced with the practical task of uniting the Western territories to the motherland as quickly as possible and resettling them with millions of Poles either from Poland itself or from abroad. The tremendous work, unprecedented in history, of resettling the Western territories was carried out successfully due to the selfless work of the Party organisations.

These great tasks were being carried out while a sharp class struggle was being conducted against the elements of landlord-capitalist reaction. Terror, sabotage and armed underground organisations were aimed at destroying the people's power which was just being formed and which had not yet been consolidated at all levels. But the Soviet Union's victory made it impossible for the imperialists to intervene openly and paralysed the attempts of Polish reaction to start civil war.

The activity of the Polish Workers' Party and the successes in the building and consolidation of People's Poland had a great influence over the working people, and helped toward the formation of an ideological platform for the other parties. The leadership of the regenerated Polish Socialist Party stood for a united front and co-operation with the Polish Workers' Party. The struggle of the Polish Workers' Party for a united front and working class unity became the corner stone of the people's power in Poland, the basis for the consolidation of the alliance between the workers and peasants. The leadership of the

Stronnictwo Ludowa after it had broken away from the right wing, became the rallying point for radical elements in the peasant movement. In this way a broad democratic people's front grew up with the Polish Workers' Party as the leading force.

The concentration of the democratic forces led to the exposure and rout [...] Mikolajczyk's party (P.S.L.) which was closely linked with the underground fascist movement.

Comrade Bierut then went on to stress how in these great class battles, the united front of the Polish Workers' Party a Polish Socialist Party was consolidated in spite of the resistance of the Right elements in the Polish Socialist Party. The election victory of the united working-class front leading the broad masses of the working people convinced the working class of the correctness of the policy of working class unity and led to the rapprochement between the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party.

Summarising the results of the Party's work prior to the Congress, Comrade Bierut said: Striving for organic unity, both Workers' Parties have carried on considerable work to raise the ideological level of their members and the political consciousness of the working people. This work particularly deepened and developed in the struggle against the Right opportunist, reformist tendencies and the mistakes in the Polish Socialist Party, in the struggle against the manifestations of the Right, nationalist deviation of a section of the Polish Workers' Party leadership. In the struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the struggle to purge the Party ranks from hostile or casual elements, the unity of the two Parties matured, and it is this unity which is expressed at this Congress.

## **Role and Nature of the State of People's Democracy**

The entire historical and revolutionary experience of the Polish proletariat confirms how correct and profound is the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Considering the question of the essence, class content and nature of the state under conditions of people's democracy from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Bierut said: The fact that there was no clear answer to this cardinal question was the reason for many mistakes and distortions in the estimation of the historical period in which we are living. This estimation was often confined to regarding people's democracy as a system which differed qualitatively and in principle, from the system foreseen by the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Some people have imagined people's democracy to be a kind of synthesis between capitalism and Socialism, a specific kind of social-political system in which socialist elements and capitalist elements exist side by side on the basis of mutual recognition. Others, while recognising that people's democracy results from a certain temporary post-war relation of forces, were ready to reconcile themselves to this balance of forces in the hope that it would be possible as time went on to return to the pre-war positions. Others again would have liked the new form of people's democracy to continue for ever as some kind of "successful" compromise, as a kind of bridge between the capitalist West and the socialist East. Finally, some people who wanted people's democracy to be a road to Socialism, considered that this road was distinguished by some sort of special qualities which exceeded the bounds of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The conception of people's democracy as a fundamentally

specific and new path to Socialism was meant to go hand in hand with the political conception of the Polish Workers' Party as a party which was organisationally new and allegedly isolated from its predecessors and from its revolutionary traditions, a party representing a kind of ideological mixture of the Polish Socialist Party conception of "independence" and the traditions of class struggle waged by the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Polish Communist Party.

There is no doubt that all these theories arise out of a social democratic attitude. They are in one form or another a relapse to social democracy and a return to the opportunist or semi-reformist tendencies in the working class movement.

A review of the history of our working class movement, continued Comrade Bierut, shows the great role played by the Party in the development of the movement, particularly in the period of the proletariat's direct struggle for power. The history of our working class movement is simultaneously the history of the revolutionary party, guiding the class struggle of the Polish proletariat.

From the day when the first Social Revolutionary Party, known as "Proletariat" was founded, through the Social Democratic Party of Poland and, Lithuania, the left-wing of the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish Communist and the Polish Workers' Party and right up to the time of the United Workers' Party, the forms and the names of the Party were changed.

However, all this time, the question really amounted to the problem of establishing a party expressing a consistent and genuine proletarian ideology. For the proletariat has one, and only one ideology—the ideology of scientific Socialism, that is, of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle between, the two trends of the Polish working class movement was, in fact, the struggle between two opposed class ideologies—the ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of the bourgeoisie, the struggle of Marxism-Leninism

against the ideological influences of the bourgeoisie which permeated the working class movement in order to subordinate it to the aims and interests of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie.

The Polish Workers' Party fought for a proletarian ideology in the specific historical period when the struggle of the proletariat for power was closely bound up with the struggle for national liberation.

Hence the peculiarities and the historically justified difference in the tactics, slogans and organisational forms which corresponded to the specific conditions of war-time, the specific conditions of the struggle against the Hitler invaders as the main enemy not only of the proletariat but also of the entire people.

But while fighting for national liberation, the Polish Workers' Party did not give up the struggle for working class power. On the contrary, it was the only party which inseparably linked the struggle for working class power with the struggle for national liberation.

The waverings of certain comrades in the Party who tended to separate these questions from each other and to subordinate the question of the struggle for power to the question of national liberation, considering the latter to be the main question, undoubtedly represented a manifestation of opportunism and a departure from Leninist principles.

At this stage the tasks of social and national liberation could only be solved on two basic conditions: first, the defeat of fascism by the armed forces of the socialist state, without whose assistance neither the national liberation of Poland nor her social liberation, that is, the seizure of power by the proletariat, was possible; second, the alliance of the working class with the semi-proletarian elements of town and countryside, with the main masses of the peasantry and the working intelligentsia without which it would be impossible to maintain and consolidate the power of the proletariat.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the war was the basic factor determining the entire further course of the history of mankind. It was the greatest victory of the Socialist state in the struggle against imperialism, and Hitlerism, at that time its most aggressive detachment. Herein lies the historical and class meaning of this victory.

Without the defeat of the imperialist Hitlerite aggressor which was brought about, by the Soviet Union's victory in the war, both the national liberation of Poland and other nations enslaved by Hitlerism, and the conquest of power by the Polish proletariat when the country was liberated, would have been impossible. That is why the people's democratic state is the direct result of the historical victory won by the socialist state over the Hitlerite invaders during World War Two.

The second condition is closely bound up with the maintenance of power and consolidation of the people's democratic state. It determines the essence and class character of this state. People's democracy did not arise as a result of an armed revolt aimed at seizure of power by force; it did not arise as did Soviet power in October 1917; it was the result of the victory of the Soviet Union over the armed forces of German fascism.

The entire state apparatus of Poland was at that time in the hands of the German fascist invaders and was the apparatus of their dictatorship. As German fascism was defeated; this apparatus in the occupied countries including Poland, fell to pieces. The underground bourgeois landlord organisations had prepared to seize this apparatus the moment Hitler Germany was defeated.

The combination of the liberation struggle of the mass of the people carried through under the guidance of the working class, and the victorious liberating march of the Soviet Army made it possible to build up the revolutionary power of the people on the ruins of the bourgeois apparatus. Thus, it follows

that the people's democratic state is the revolutionary power of the popular masses headed by the Polish working class.

Is it possible to regard people's democracy as [co...posing—damaged text—Ed.] social systems, [... damaged text—Ed.] of peacefully co-existing [...—damaged text—Ed.] socialist elements?

It [...—damaged text—Ed.] formulation of [...—damaged text—Ed.] tely false. The [...—damaged text—Ed.] knows no [...—damaged text—Ed.] ...ence of antagon [...—damaged text—Ed.] systems without [...—damaged text—Ed.]

[...—damaged text—Ed.] economy of People's [...—damaged text—Ed.] shape of its development [...—damaged text—Ed.] said: The task of the [...—damaged text—Ed.] which is building the four [...—damaged text—Ed.] new social system is to streng [...—damaged text—Ed.] deepen the alliance between the [...—damaged text—Ed.] and peasants, the basis of the [...—damaged text—Ed.] power .

As long as capitalist elements exist and develop, and small-scale economy is left [...—damaged text—Ed.] the spontaneity of the exchange market, the economic roots of capitalism may put forth new shoots and capitalism has the opportunity of regeneration.

As long as the economic roots of capitalist exploitation are not fully dug out, capitalist elements will seek in every possible way to restore the old system of capitalist economy. That is why the working class must wage an irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist elements, must strive to liquidate completely all forms and economic sources of capitalist exploitation.

It follows from this, Comrade Bierut concluded, that people's democracy is not a form of a synthesis or stable co-existence of two different social orders, but is a form where the capitalist elements are dislodged and gradually liquidated while at the same time the foundations of future socialist economy

develop and strengthen.

Developing the question of the essence of people's democracy, Comrade Bierut said: People's democracy is a specific form of revolutionary power which has arisen in the new historic conditions of our epoch; it is an expression of a new correlation of class forces on an international scale.

The October Revolution raised the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to a higher level, which it had not until then been able to reach.

“The October Revolution,” wrote Comrade Stalin, “has at the same time created in the first proletarian dictatorship a powerful and open **base** for the world revolutionary movement, **a base** such as the world revolutionary movement **never possessed** before and on which it can now rely. It has created a powerful and open **centre** of the world revolutionary movement, such as the world revolutionary movement **never possessed** before and around which it can now rally and organise a **united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism.**”

The historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War Two, Comrade Bierut went on, had made a new, deep breach in the world system of the imperialist forces and created a new powerful foundation for the revolutionary, anti-imperialist front. The working class and its Communist and Workers' Parties everywhere headed the struggle of the peoples against the Hitler invaders. In this combination of the national liberation struggle and the class struggle, the class factor was the leading one. For in the period of imperialism, only the working class can consistently defend the independence and sovereignty of the people from the machinations of the imperialists.

The working masses, the working class enslaved by Hitlerism, and its political organisations had in the Soviet

Army their class ally which not only brought liberation to the peoples enslaved by Hitlerism but which, by its very presence, paralysed the camp of reaction and deprived it of the possibility of taking up arms against the revolutionary movement. The presence of the Soviet Army was a guarantee that the imperialist powers would not decide the fate of any country against the interests of the people.

Under such conditions, the anti-capitalist revolution was able to take place without a revolutionary upheaval, without widespread civil war, without the use of violence on a large scale.

The specific feature of the development of people's democracy in Poland was the fact that during the period of its rise, the administrative apparatus of the occupationists had been smashed and the state machinery of the Polish bourgeoisie compromised, crushed, and made powerless.

One must not forget, however, the cardinal historic truth—that this could happen only because of the presence of powerful class revolutionary forces which did not allow the bourgeoisie to capture power, but helped the working people to seize political power.

The working class of the countries where imperialist armies entered did not have such conditions, but we enjoyed such conditions when we linked the destiny of our country, our independence, our advance to Socialism with the Soviet Union, with the fraternal Soviet Army, with the Bolshevik Party.

Dwelling on the question of the path of transition from people's democracy to Socialism, Comrade Bierut said:

The main laws of development governing our advance to Socialism arise from the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism:

Seizure of power by the working class which stands at the head of the popular masses.

The leading role of the working class in alliance of workers

and peasants and in the democratic people's front.

Realisation of leadership by the revolutionary political party.

Irreconcilable class struggle. Elimination of big capital and landed property. Offensive against capitalist elements.

But these general laws do not preclude specific, diverse forms.

Our particular way along the general path—not to mention the inevitable specific form arising from national peculiarities—is above all the outcome of the fact that we as a people's democracy came into being with the help and support of the Soviet Union, as a result of the defeat of fascism in World War Two.

People's democracy in Poland is one of the specific features of the Marxist-Leninist path to Socialism, a path blazed for the first time in the history of mankind by the victorious proletariat of Russia. The distinctive feature of our path is that:

We were not threatened with imperialist invasion. On the contrary we had the fraternal, allied Soviet Army.

We did not become economically dependent on the imperialist countries which would have led to political dependence, because we received the fraternal economic assistance of the Soviet state.

Lastly, we were able from the very outset to make extensive use of the experience and achievements of the Soviet Union in the political, economic and scientific spheres and in the domain of culture.

**Thus, just as at the basis of our people's democracy lies the selfless, heroic help of the Soviet Union, the basis of the distinctive feature of our path, compared with the Soviet path, rests on the all-round help of the Soviet Union and on the utilisation of the experience and achievements of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, thanks to which**

**we, within the framework of peoples' democracy, are able, in our way, to realise the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

People's democracy as a new form of political power of the working people, headed by the working class, best of all ensures under present historic conditions, our advance towards Socialism.

## **Educating the Masses in the Spirit of Internationalism**

The political unification of the working class said Comrade Bierut, will raise the consciousness, the spirit of selflessness and enthusiasm of the working people to a still higher level, will accelerate the tempo of our construction and ensure a more rapid advance to Socialism.

However, the essential condition for the growth of this political consciousness is to educate the Party and the popular masses in the spirit of understanding the exceptional importance of international ties between the working people at the present new historical phase—the phase of new aggressive attacks by imperialism against the working-class movement, against the new democracies, against the land of Socialism, the U.S.S.R.

Drawing the correct conclusions from the history and experience of our movement, and combining this experience with an analysis of the present international situation, we must wage a particularly resolute and irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of nationalistic tendencies as a special form with the aid of which the class enemy will seek to retard our development, our advance, our socialist construction.

Concluding his remarks on the international situation Comrade Bierut said:

**The hatred of imperialism and its “Socialist” agents for the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the people’s democracy is being intensified** now due to the powerful consolidation and constant growth of the popular forces which are waging a struggle for freedom and peace throughout the world.

Only the nationalistic Yugoslav traitors broke away from the united anti-imperialist front; by utilising the machinery of state power they are impelling their country and of its courageous peoples onto the path of dependence on imperialism. By becoming more and more dependent on imperialism the nationalistic Tito group in Yugoslavia is sliding down into the camp of those who are fighting against the international working class and the popular movement which defends peace and freedom.

The history of the working-class movement teaches us that nationalism is the most dangerous and concealed enemy of the liberating aspirations of the people and is a weapon in the struggle against the consolidation and unity of the working class. Nationalism is the opposite of real, profound patriotism. Patriotism is sincere and genuine only when it is international. It is impossible to be sincere in love of country without fighting for human freedom and social progress.

Absence of vigilance in relation to the nationalistic tendencies which are introduced into the working-class movement owing to the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements is a great danger which dulls class consciousness, Comrade Bierut stressed. That is why the struggle against nationalism, the struggle to educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the deep-going traditions of which the United Workers’ Party is inheriting from the predecessors, is the main and cardinal duty of every Party member.

## **Party and State Tasks**

The draft of the ideological declaration of the Polish United Workers' Party, said Comrade Bierut, submitted to congress for approval, notes that the people's democratic state, during the short period of its existence, has achieved the following successes:

Stable guarantee of the independence and of the frontiers of the Republic.

Rapid recovery of the country from the devastation caused by the war, rapid industrialisation of the country, and expansion of the economic potential of the socialised sector.

The re-uniting of the Western lands and their settlement; introduction of planning in economy and elimination of crises.

Abolition of unemployment, steady improvement of material position of the workers, provision of extensive opportunities for social advancement and growing participation of the working people in state administration.

Serious alleviation of the land hunger of the peasant masses and improvement of their living conditions.

Development of education at all stages, making education and culture accessible to the broad masses.

Improvement of the position of the working women.

Provision of extensive opportunities for work and study to the urban and rural youth.

Basing itself on these achievements and first and foremost on the unity of the working people, a manifestation of which is the political unity of the working class, the United Party has set itself the great historic task of laying the foundations of the socialist system in Poland.

To fulfil this task we must eliminate and overcome a number of difficulties inherited from the capitalist system, namely:

The existence of exploiting classes and their hostile

activity directed against the national economy, the working people and against the people's state;

The economic backwardness of the country and the devastation caused by the war and the Hitlerite occupation;

The low productivity of labour due to this backwardness, and as a consequence the still unsatisfactory living standard of the masses;

The cultural backwardness at a substantial part of the population which we inherited from the rule of capitalists and landlords;

The presence of elements of bureaucracy in our State machinery, etc., etc.

The united working class, under the leadership of its Party guided by historical experience and by the teachings of Marxism and Leninism, will undoubtedly overcome these difficulties.

What is this main task of the people's democracy which we define as building a Socialist society?

It consists in creating conditions of wellbeing and culture for the popular masses that would correspond to the achievements of modern science and the natural potentialities of our country. Socialism is not simply a distribution of the fruits of labour produced by society, it is first and foremost the highest level in the development of the productive forces that can be attained at the present state of technical knowledge.

Both the victory of the October Revolution and the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. were based on the alliance of the workers and peasants. In Poland also, the people's democracy must firmly rely on an alliance of workers and peasants to lay the foundations of Socialism in town and countryside. It is impossible to build Socialism in the town without caring for the development of the village, for increased agricultural output.

Comrade Bierut defined the perspectives for the

development of the countryside as follows:

A stable guarantee for the wellbeing of the toiling peasantry and for a substantial increase in agricultural production is possible only under conditions of collective farming in the countryside effected in the form of producers co-operatives. This is best shown by the experience of the Soviet Union. Concrete forms of this co-operation, adapted to our conditions, will be created and determined by the Polish peasants themselves who will rely on the people's state and on the alliance with the working class, and who will become convinced from experience of the superiority of collective farming.

In the countryside as in the town, in agriculture as in industry, the main task is to increase the productivity of labour of the peasant by perfecting the means of production, by using machinery and modern agricultural equipment, which would make it considerably easier to raise the yield. One of the obstacles in applying modern methods of cultivation and production is the scattered nature of the peasant households. The only way to overcome this difficulty is to farm the land collectively and collective use of the machinery and agricultural equipment which cannot be accomplished by individual small household.

It is necessary to effect a steady and systematic improvement in the material conditions of the workers, so that together with increased productivity of labour, wages are increased and the general standard of living raised. Nor should it be forgotten that the rapid growth of industry must be accompanied by a parallel increase in the cultural level and professional knowledge of the workers.

Recalling Stalin's words regarding the decisive importance of cadres, Comrade Bierut defined the task of training and educating cadres as an important task of the Party.

The propagation of knowledge and culture, he said, is the

most important and, at the same time, most honourable task of the Party. To give the masses access to all the achievements of culture—through the construction of Socialism—such is the task of our Party.

Concluding his report, Comrade Bierut pointed out:

We are uniting as the vanguard of the Polish proletariat, as the leading force of the Polish people in their onward march to Socialism, as the Polish detachment of the international front of democracy and Socialism. We are uniting in order to lead Poland forward to the full triumph of social justice, to the elimination of all and every exploitation of man by man—to Socialism. (Stormy applause).

## **REPORT OF COMRADE G. M. DIMITROV TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)\***

In the first part of his political report for the Central Committee, Comrade Dimitrov dwelt in detail on the main stages in the development of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) which in the course of three decades, especially after the September uprising in 1923, overcoming the non-Bolshevik hang-overs and fighting against various liquidationist—Right and Left—tendencies and groups in its own midst and in the working class movement, learning from the Bolshevik Party and acquiring an ever-increasing experience of its own, developed and established itself as a Marxist-Leninist Party, as the organised and conscious vanguard of the working class.

Standing at the head of the working class, faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in September 1944, utilising its revolutionary experience and relying on the help of the Soviet Union, summoned the Bulgarian people to armed struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, and secured victory. Comrade Dimitrov, on behalf of the Party and the people of Bulgaria, amid cheering and applause, expressed feelings of eternal gratitude to the valiant Soviet Army and to Comrade Stalin.

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\* ) Abridged report.

## Laying the Foundations of Socialism

Comrade Dimitrov stressed that the popular uprising of September 9 opened up the way for the building of Socialism in Bulgaria. The people's victory created the conditions for accelerating the political and economic development of the country, for bringing about fundamental transformations and which enabled the people's power to engage in creative work.

In the conditions after the elections to the National Assembly and the formation of a government under the direct leadership of our Party, the development of the productive forces, the raising of the economic power of the nation and of the well-being of the working people were unthinkable without radical encroachment on the economic basis of the capitalist class. Bulgaria's experience confirmed the Lenin-Stalin thesis that under conditions of decaying capitalism, of hopeless organic crisis of bourgeois democracy which gives birth to Fascism, no serious and lasting democratic changes are possible, no progress is feasible without tackling capitalism at its foundations, without advancing in the direction of Socialism, which for our country became all the more possible due to the fraternal aid received from the mighty socialist state—the USSR. (Stormy applause).

The way was cleared for a full unfolding of the constructive tasks of the people's government, for revolutionary changes in our national economy, for the elimination of the economic basis of capitalist reaction, and for the transition from capitalism to Socialism, which of course cannot be realized without waging an uncompromising class struggle against the capitalist elements.

Under those conditions the Party had to formulate in time its new tasks in order to equip with a clear perspective its own cadres, the Fatherland Front and the working people. It should be stated, however, that there occurred a certain lag in this

respect. And after the main tasks of the preceding period had been basically solved, the Party continued to operate to a large extent, with its old slogans. We permitted a certain delay in the destruction of the reactionary opposition. We continued to speak of the possibility of co-ordinating the interests of private industrialists and merchants with the general interests of the state, when the entire situation already permitted us to carry through major measures for the elimination of the rule of big business in the national economy, and when certain factors had emerged which enabled us to go right ahead with the laying of the foundations of Socialism in our country.

But we never lost track of the general perspective of our development toward Socialism. We have always clearly realized that the destruction of fascism and the realization of many reforms, which figured in the Fatherland Front programme of July 17th 1942, are intimately tied up with our ultimate goal—Socialism and Communism. But it should be mentioned that at that time the transition to Socialism seemed to us a relatively distant matter and the international and domestic situation as not yet conducive to the application of such radical measures.

The development of the revolutionary process of transformation initiated on September 9th made it indispensable to take decisive measures for the liquidation of the large capitalist private property, for a consistent policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the village, for a radical overhaul of the state apparatus...

With this delay in the rate of the economic and social-political development of our country, our Party, although for a short time, displayed a certain underestimation of the forces of the working class and the toilers and of its own forces and an overestimation of the forces of reaction. This shows, as was mentioned by the 16th plenum of the Central Committee, that within our Party “there was not enough clarity regarding the

perspectives and the rate of our advance toward Socialism". It was not armed with a completely consistent Marxist-Leninist analysis of the September 9th break, of the possibilities afforded by the people's victory and was slow in grasping the essential stages of our Peoples Republic. Fortunately, however, the Party although with a certain lag and with insufficient theoretical explanation, managed to put forward and ensure the solution of the new tasks which the conditions had made necessary.

This experience once again confirms the old truth that it is easier to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism than to apply them in practice as a guide to action, at every stage of social development. For the mastery of this difficult art, the Party leaders, big and small, must work tirelessly and study diligently so that the Party may not fall behind and be late in taking the necessary action, nor must it rush too far ahead.

We shall forever be grateful for the invaluable and timely aid which we received from the great Bolshevik Party and in particular from Comrade Stalin (stormy prolonged applause) through counsel and explanations on questions pertaining to the policy of our Party as the leading force of the people's democracy, and which enabled us to correct quickly the mistakes made.

Referring to the profound transformations which had taken place in the correlation of class and political forces in the country. Comrade Dimitrov stressed that the active support and aid of the Soviet Union made it possible to raise the question of laying the foundations of Socialism in Bulgaria, as a basic, vital and practical task. "This is now the general policy of our Party. And the Party, at the head of the working class allied with the toilers of town and countryside, will carry out this correct general policy firmly and unflinchingly, with unshakable confidence in its victory, notwithstanding all internal and especially external difficulties and obstacles".

## **Character, Role, and Perspectives of People's Democracy, and People's Democratic State**

In order that we may confidently march along the road to Socialism, absolute clarity is indispensable with regard to the character, role and perspectives of the people's democracy and the people's democratic state. We must specify and correct some of our earlier conceptions on the basis of our experience and of the latest data on this new and complex question. What in brief is the essence of this question?

1) The people's democracy and the people's democratic state, as is well known, were made possible as a result of the defeat of the Nazi-Fascist forces, as a result of the historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, and of the struggle of the masses under the leadership of the working class for national freedom and independence, which led to the dropping out of certain East and South-East European countries from the imperialist system.

The character of the people's democratic state is determined by four major features:

**a) The people's democratic state represents the rule of the toiling people—of the overwhelming majority of the people, under the leadership of the working class.**

This means, first, that the rule of the capitalist and big landowners is overthrown and the rule of the toiling people of town and countryside, under the leadership of the working class is established; that the working class as the most progressive class in contemporary society plays the main role in state and public life. Second, that the state serves as a weapon in the fight of the toilers against the exploiting elements, against all efforts and tendencies, aimed at re-establishing the capitalist order and bourgeois rule.

**b) The people's democratic state is a state in the**

**transitional period, destined to ensure the development of the country along the road to Socialism.**

This means that although the rule of the capitalists and big landowners is overthrown and their property handed over to the people, the economic roots of capitalism are not yet abolished; capitalist elements still persist and develop, trying to restore capitalist slavery. Therefore, the onward march towards Socialism is possible only by waging a relentless class struggle against the capitalist elements for their complete liquidation.

Only by advancing unswervingly along the road to Socialism, can the people's democratic state consolidate itself and fulfil its historic mission. Should the people's democratic state cease to fight against the exploiting classes, and fail to suppress and dislodge these capitalist elements, the latter would inevitably gain the upper hand, and would not only undermine the foundations of the people's democracy, but would bring about its doom.

**c) The people's democratic state is built in cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism.**

Just as the liberation of our country from the fetters of imperialism and the establishment of a people's democratic state were made possible by the aid and liberating mission of the Soviet Union in the fight against Fascist Germany and its allies so does the further development of our people's democracy presuppose the maintaining and strengthening of close relations and sincere cooperation, mutual aid and friendship between our state and the great Soviet state. Any tendency toward a weakening of cooperation with the USSR is directed against the very foundations of the people's democracy in our country (stormy applause).

**d) The people's democratic state belongs to the democratic anti-imperialist camp.**

Only by participating in the united democratic camp, headed by the mighty Soviet state, can each people's

democracy ensure its independence, sovereignty and security against aggression and the imperialist forces.

2) Under the conditions of the military collapse of the Fascist aggressor states, of the sharp intensification of the general capitalist crisis and of the immense strengthening of the might of the Soviet Union and the existing close cooperation with the USSR and the new democracies, our country and the other new democracies were enabled to bring about the transition from capitalism to Socialism, **without the establishment of a Soviet system, through the system of people's democracy, on condition that this system is consolidated and developed, and leans on the support of the USSR and the new democracies.**

3) Embodying the rule of the toilers under the leadership of the working class, the people's democratic system under the existing historical conditions, as already proven by experience can and must successfully perform the functions of proletarian dictatorship (prolonged applause) in liquidating the capitalist elements and organising socialist economy. The people's democratic system can crush the resistance of the overthrown capitalists and big landowners, suppress and liquidate their attempts to restore the rule of capital, and organise the building of industry on the basis of public ownership and planned economy. The system of people's democracy will also be able to overcome the capitalist elements in the countryside and in rallying the main sections of the toilers around the working class for resolute struggle for the transition to Socialism.

The system of people's democracy will undoubtedly not remain unchanged during the implementation of this policy which aims at eliminating the capitalist elements from the national economy. The key positions of the working class in all spheres of state and public life must continuously be strengthened and all rural elements rallied who might become reliable allies of the workers during the period of sharp struggle

against the kulaks and their associates. The people's democratic system must be strengthened and improved in order to restrict and abolish class enemies.

4) The new democracies, including our country are already marching toward Socialism, in ceaseless struggle against all domestic and especially foreign enemies. They are creating the conditions necessary for the building of Socialism, the **economic and cultural** bases for a future socialist society.

This is the **central task** facing the new democracies today, and, hence, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

This general task embraces a number of important aspects of which we consider the following to be of decisive significance:

a) Constant consolidation of the key positions held by the working class, headed by the Communist Party in all spheres of state, social- political, and cultural life.

b) Strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasant toilers under the former's leadership.

c) Accelerated development of the social sector of the national economy and, in particular, of heavy industry.

d) Creation of conditions for the liquidation of the capitalist exploiting elements in agriculture through a consistent policy aiming at their restriction and subsequent elimination.

e) All-round development of the producer cooperatives among the peasants, state support to the poor and middle peasants by servicing them through machine-tractor-stations, credit, seed loans, intensifying their interest in the alliance with the working class, convincing them by concrete examples of the advantages of collective methods of farming, and educating them in a spirit of irreconcilability toward the capitalist elements.

So far as the nationalisation of land is concerned, our view

is that under our conditions with the development of cooperative farming, it has no practical significance, that is, land nationalisation is not an essential condition for the expansion and mechanisation of our agriculture.

But from what I have said, Dimitrov continued, it does not follow that the building of Socialism in the countryside, in general, is possible without nationalisation of land. Accordingly as the poor and medium peasant is gradually won over for cooperative farming, as the machine-tractor stations develop, as the leasing of land is forbidden, with the restriction and subsequent prohibition of the buying and selling of land, reducing and later the abolition of rent payments by consent of peasant co-operators themselves, when conditions permit it—**the matter of land nationalisation will be solved in practice, in that the land as a whole will be at the** disposal of cooperative farms in perpetuity. In this way the toiling peasant who at present is the slave of his tiny plot of land, will be able to enjoy fully the fruits of the soil, which will be made to yield considerably more by means of cultivating the large scale cooperative farms with up to date agricultural machinery.

5) The people's democracy stands for internationalism. Nationalism is incompatible with people's democracy. Our Party sees in internationalism, in international co-operation headed by the great Stalin, a guarantee for the independent existence, prosperity and progress of our country toward Socialism. We think that nationalism, no matter behind what mask, is an enemy of Communism. This was clearly manifested by the anti-Communist actions of Tito's nationalist group in Yugoslavia. Hence, combating nationalism is a primary duty of the Communists.

While combating all manifestations of nationalism, we must educate the toilers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to their country, i.e. in the spirit of genuine patriotism.

Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to one's country means, above all, to make people fully conscious of the vital importance of a firm unified front of the new democracies and the great Soviet Union in the struggle against the onslaught of the aggressive forces of international reaction and imperialism. The entire future of our people depends, on the one hand, on the might of the Soviet Union in whose friendship we are vitally interested and, on the other, on the readiness and ability of our people, in case of capitalist aggression, to fulfil their duty honourably in the common fight. (applause).

At the same time, education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism means to render people fully aware of the importance of the complete co-operation of the activities of the Communist and Workers Parties, and of the leading role of the Bolshevik Party; because for the Communist Parties there exists one, and only one theory as a guide to action—the theory of Marxism-Leninism, one, and only one goal in their policy, and there exists the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, as the leading Party of the international working class movement.

An important condition for our success is the need to educate in this spirit, tirelessly and fearlessly, the Party, the working class, the toiling peasantry, and entire labouring intelligentsia—the entire working people. (Stormy applause).

## **The International Situation**

Turning to the international situation Comrade Dimitrov dwelt on the two basic factor which characterise the present epoch: 1) the general crisis and disintegration of the capitalist system, and 2) the steady growth and flourishing of Socialism in the USSR.

The general crisis of capitalism is the logical sequence of

its own development. Having developed the productive capacities of society to an unprecedented extent, capitalism has become enmeshed in contradictions which it cannot solve. Already the first world imperialist war of 1914-18 ushered in the period of the general and profound crisis of capitalism. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia wrested from the system of world capitalism one-sixth of the earth's surface. Capitalism ceased being the one and all-embracing system of world economy; it lost its former stability.

World War II, which was prepared by the forces of international reaction and unleashed by the Fascist aggressors, deepened and sharpened the general crisis of capitalism. As was the case during the first war, the net result was the further weakening of capitalism.

The destruction of the main centres of Fascism and world aggression—Germany, Italy and Japan—deprived international reaction of its outposts in the struggle against the USSR, democracy and Socialism, against the working class and the national liberation movement, and deprived capitalism of the fascist countries.

The international prestige and might of the Soviet Union increased tremendously. By its heroic struggle the Soviet Union not only defended its own freedom and independence but also liberated the European people's from enslavement. The USSR played a decisive role in winning victory over the aggressors and saved civilization from the fascist brigands. It showed to the whole world that the forces of Socialism and democracy were invincible. The USSR became a decisive factor in international politics. It is a pillar of peace and of the security of the nations, of their development toward progress and genuine democracy. The USSR, which heads the united anti-imperialist world front, is an unsurmountable barrier to the realization of the dark schemes of international reaction which is trying to hurl the peoples into a new world war.

Just as World War I ended with Russia dropping out of the world capitalist system, so World War II and the defeat of Fascism led to the dropping out from the imperialist system of a number of East and South-East European states. Liberated with the decisive support of the Soviet army, these states were thereby enabled to determine their own destinies through the free choice of their peoples, based on the selfless aid of the Soviet Union.

The crisis of the colonial system which had been aggravated by World War II, led to a powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries and threatened the very rear of the imperialist system. The colonial peoples no longer wish to live in the old way and they have risen in decisive struggle for the establishment of free and independent states.

Throughout the entire capitalist world the war led to an unprecedented impoverishment of the masses, to increased unemployment, misery and hunger and to a sharpening of class contradictions, because the bourgeoisie is striving everywhere to shift the main burden of the war and the postwar difficulties onto the toilers. At the same time, the war was followed by a great upsurge of the international working class movement.

After the destruction of the Fascist aggressors, the center of world reaction shifted to the United States. Hitler's plans to enslave the world, which suffered fiasco in the last War, were superseded by the plans of the American imperialists for world domination. These adventurist plans for the economic, political and ideological enslavement of Europe and the whole world, in the guise of the so-called Marshall Plan and the Truman doctrine, are directed against the vital national interests of the overwhelming majority of nations and peoples. They are prompted by the greedy imperialist appetites of a financial oligarchy and by its fear of the growth of Socialism and people's democracy.

Under the flag of so-called “Western democracy” American imperialism is trying to impose on the European nations its regime, based on the mighty dollar and on the domination of a handful of monopolists. Its aim is to turn the UN into a tool of its own expansionist policy by violating the principle of sovereignty and equality of the member-nations of this organization. American imperialism is striving to enslave the small and temporarily war weakened peoples and to build up an imperialist bloc against the USSR, the new democracies and the revolutionary movements of the toilers and the colonial peoples fighting for their freedom. It is pursuing a policy of reckless rearmament. The Anglo-American imperialists are unceremoniously interfering in the internal affairs of other states and are supporting everywhere the reactionary and openly Fascist elements which have been rejected by the people. Typical in this respect is our neighbour, Greece.

But the Anglo-American bloc which was established after the condition of World War II and in which Britain plays the role of a junior partner, can hardly be lasting and stable. The contradictions between the two main states of present-day imperialism—US and Britain—as well as between other capitalist nations, are bound to become more acute in the struggle for markets and spheres of influence.

The attitude toward the USSR is today the decisive dividing line between the democratic camp and the reactionary camp on the world arena, between the warmongers and the champions of a lasting democratic peace.

The USSR in resolutely resisting all attempts of the imperialists and their endeavours to scare the peoples with atom bombs. Pursuing an unswerving policy at peace and friendly cooperation among peoples, the USSR is backed by its growing economic and political power, its invincible Soviet army, and the unconditional support of workers and toilers throughout the whole world who are vitally interested in the

presentation of peace. The plans of the aggressors and instigators of a new war are doomed to failure. (applause)

Exposing the instigators of a new world war, Comrade Stalin recently said his weighty word on how this policy might end:

“The outcome can only be the ignominious failure of the instigators of a new war. Churchill, the chief instigator of a new war, has succeeded in losing the confidence of his own country and of the democratic forces of the world. A similar fate awaits all the other warmongers. The horrors of the recent war are too fresh in the minds of the peoples, and the social-forces standing for peace are too great for the Churchill disciples of aggression to overcome them and turn them towards a new war.”

The time has passed when the peoples were blind and helpless tools in the hands of the ruling capitalist cliques. The peace-loving peoples of both hemispheres are ever more resolutely rallying in defence of peace, democracy and world culture; the anti-imperialist world front, headed by the great Soviet Union, whose forces are growing continuously, is becoming ever more clearly delineated. Now when the American imperialists are insolent enough to threaten the world with the atom bomb and cynically boast of their ability to wipe out millions of people and to destroy whole countries and regions of the world, all peoples see in the Soviet Union the main guardian of world peace and defender of civilisation from capitalist barbarity. The peace-loving peoples learned a good lesson, particularly from the duel between the forces of war and peace fought out in the recently concluded UN General Assembly. Rejecting the Soviet proposals to ban atomic weapons and immediately decrease by one third the armaments of the five great powers, the Anglo-American imperialists exposed themselves before the eyes of the entire world as the enemies of peace and international cooperation...

Together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, the overwhelming majority of the peoples in the capitalist countries and colonies is aligned with the peace front...

The anti-imperialist front has extended after the war far to the East and on its side are now fighting for their independence the peoples of Indonesia, Vietnam, Burma and other colonial countries. The people of Korea, enjoying the selfless support in the USSR, secured a brilliant victory against the reaction and the flunkeys of imperialism, by proclaiming their independent republic which the Bulgarian ... recognised and greeted warmly.

Of exceptional importance for ...ship of forces between the two wo... is the long, stubborn and heroic... which the Chinese people are waging their independence against the imperialists and their corrupt, reactionary agency China. The forces of democracy of the Chinese people are winning the upper hand over the forces of reaction, and their final victory, to our great joy, is clearly foreshadowed. The event in China represent one of the major factors frustrating and upsetting the plans of the American imperialists.

The anti-imperialist front is thus continuously growing and consolidating. Today it constitutes an unshakable force. The people's masses and the anti-imperialist forces in all lands, in the first ranks of which are to be found the Communist Parties, will know how to paralyse the war-like machinations of aggressive imperialism and will ensure thereby lasting peace to the world.

Dwelling in detail on the foreign policy of the people's democratic Bulgaria, Comrade Dimitrov said:

The basic lines of our foreign policy, the foreign policy outlined in the 1942 programme of the Fatherland, guaranteed the national interests of the Bulgarian people, close friendship with the USSR and understanding with neighbouring states.

Our Republic needs lasting peace, friendship and co-operation with other peoples, so that it may catch up with the other more advanced nations and become an economically developed, highly cultured, democratic and socialist state. That is the goal of our foreign policy. But our Party knows that this can be achieved only if our nation is free, independent and enjoys equal rights. That is why the Bulgarian people are fighting against all foreign interference, watching closely and vigilantly over the freedom and independence of Bulgaria and working for ever closer co-operation with our .... with the peace and freedom-loving ....

In connection with the international ...uation and foreign policy, Comrade Dimitrov dwelt on the question of the relation of the Southern Slavs and Macedonian question.

The treachery of the Tito group, Comrade Dimitrov, also found expression in the attitude of this group to the matter...South Slav federation and the Macedonian question. This group is sliding down slippery road of nationalism and today stands on the positions of the Greater Serbian chauvinists who strove for hegemony in the Balkans and for the annexation of Macedonia to Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Touching on the successes and perspectives of the economic and cultural construction in the country, Comrade Dimitrov referred to the concrete tasks in this sphere.

During the first Five-Year Plan, said Dimitrov, our task will be to lay the basis of Socialism in industry and in agriculture. It rests with this Plan to solve this task. And on the basis of this Plan the edifice of Socialism will be built during the subsequent two or three Five-Year Plans—socialist society will be created.”

Comrade Dimitrov devoted the final part of his report to the Party.

## **The Party as Decisive Motive and Leading Force**

Comrade Dimitrov gave a detailed review of the growth of the Party and outlined the tasks to improve the quality of the membership.

The Party comes to its Fifth Congress, said Comrade Dimitrov, with 8,053 basic organisations and 464,000 members. If we add to these the Party members in the Army and in the Labour Corps and the former members of the Social-Democratic Party who joined us after the fusion of the two Parties, the total membership reaches 496,000, that is almost half a million.

Half a million Party members in Bulgaria with its seven million population—that is indeed a mighty political army, an invincible force which can move mountains, as the saying goes, on condition that every Party member becomes a conscious and educated Communist boundlessly devoted to the Party, his country and the great cause of Communism, capable of being a real leader and organiser of the non-Party masses.

Under the generally recognised ideological-political leadership of the Party, there are such mass organisations as the unified social—political organisation—the Fatherland Front, the Trade Unions, the Bulgarian Women's Union, the Union of People's Youth, Farmers Union, the cooperatives etc. "This explains why the entire political, social, economic and cultural life in our country is developing under the exclusive ideological-political leadership of our Party, stressed Comrade Dimitrov.

The strength and influence of the Party depend not only on the number of its members, but above all on their quality, their Marxist-Leninist education, their loyalty to the cause of the Party and Socialism, their ability to keep in touch with the masses, to mobilise them and lead them toward the fulfilment of the national tasks set by the Party and Government.

From this point of view the situation within the Party is far from satisfactory. As was stressed by the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee, there are in the Party quite a few members who in reality should at best be candidates for membership. In the life of the Party organisations, inner Party democracy is not up to the mark. Criticism and self-criticism irrespective of person, have not yet become the basic driving force of Party life from top to bottom. We have not yet got completely rid of the methods of issuing commands inside Party organisations and do not always know how to pay heed to the collective and the experience of the Party. The Party leadership has not yet organised its work on the basis of comradely relations.

Moreover, we often forget the brilliant thought of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin that two things are of decisive importance for the strength and success of the Party: the selection of people (cadres) and the check-up on the fulfilment of a given task. We also do not pay enough attention in our practice to what Comrade Stalin has often underlined, that **cadres decide the success of our cause**.

...be mentioned as a positive fact correctness... of the general line of the Party for the liquidation of the capitalist system and the construction of Socialism in our country, through an uncompromising class struggle against the capitalist elements and by means of the planning principle in our economy, is not disputed in our Party. It is generally recognised and firmly carried out in practice.

We cannot yet say, however, that there exists complete unity of action in our Party from top to bottom. In order to achieve this we shall still have to work hard. Cases are not infrequent when decisions of the Central Committee are accepted only formally, while in practice they are carried out in a distorted way. There still exist in our Party "pinchbeck dictators" who, relying on their past services, real or imaginary,

are exploiting their positions, do not abide by any laws or decrees and act in an arbitrary way. There are still chatterboxes and self-inflated egos, people with big and perverse ambitions who pretend that there is nothing they do know or cannot do, but who lack the ability or industriousness to work and manage things systematically and efficiently, and to complete what they have started. They are people who do not like to learn and are capable of wrecking every useful enterprise.

Against such unhealthy phenomena and elements, the Party will wage a ruthless struggle by word and by deed, exposing mistakes and correcting those who have erred, and by the merciless removal of incorrigibles. The Party must be purged of those who have joined it by mistake or for selfish careerist purposes. We shall work with all our strength for the creating of that Bolshevik unity in action from top to bottom, which is the guarantee for the success of our great cause.

In order to strengthen the Party continuously and unswervingly, we must:—first purge the Party organisations of inimical, careerist and casual elements who have entered its ranks; second, when accepting new members and candidate members, to make a strict selection from among those who wish to enter the ranks of the Party and to regulate its social composition by strictly adhering to the Party rules and systematically increasing its working-class composition; third to further develop inner Party democracy by completely abolishing the methods of issuing commands, to collectively discuss and decide Party problems in the Party committees and organisations, to entrust every Party member with a concrete task and to follow its execution, to encourage healthy criticism and self-criticism in the Party, to raise the general activity of the Party members, to tighten Party discipline and unity in Party organisations; fourth, to organise on a much broader basis than hitherto a systematic Marxist-Leninist collective and individual-education of every Party member and candidate. A

Party member who does not wish to learn, to educate himself and to develop, is not and cannot be a real member of our Party.

Comrade Dimitrov then dwelt on the tasks connected with improving the organisational leadership of Party, economic and state work and with other matters concerning the work of the Party. He summoned the Party to resolute struggle against the carelessness and smugness which can be found here and there in its ranks.

In conclusion, Comrade Dimitrov said: Our Party, which actively participates in the Information Bureau of the Communist and Worker's Parties, is proud to belong to the great family of the Communists of the world, headed by the Bolshevik Party and the brilliant leader of progressive mankind, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin (stormy applause).

We feel that one cannot be a true Marxist without being a true Leninist, and that one cannot be a true Leninist without being a Stalinist!

Comrades, allow me to conclude my report with the Party appeal: Under the invincible banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin onward to Socialism and Communism! (prolonged applause followed by delegates singing the International.)



## **IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE UNITED PARTY. Co-Report by Cyrankiewicz at the Unity Congress of the P.W.P. and P.S.P.**

In his co-report to the Unity Congress of the Workers' Parties of Poland, J. Cyrankiewicz dwelt in detail on the history of the Polish Socialist Party which led to the victory of its left-wing and consequently to the present Unity Congress of the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers' Party.

Cyrankiewicz stressed the great role played by the Polish Workers' Party in bringing about victory for democracy in Poland.

The victory of democracy in Poland, he said, came about above all because Hitler Germany had been smashed by the Soviet Army in the great world war against fascism, for freedom of the peoples and democracy.

Secondly it came about as a result of the liberation of Poland by the Soviet Army which made it impossible for the capitalist countries to intervene to safeguard capitalist-landlord rule in Poland.

Finally it came about because during the war the revolutionary Polish Workers' Party had stood at the head of the Polish working class. This Party was able to rally around it all progressive and democratic political groups in Poland and it was able to form a united front with the left-wing of the Polish socialist movement.

Speaking of the history of the struggle in the Russian working class movement between the revolutionary Bolsheviks, and the opportunist Mensheviks—Cyrankiewicz stressed that the key to the victory of the Bolsheviks, guided by Lenin and Stalin, lay in the powerful ideological and

theoretical equipment of the Bolshevik Party as a Marxist Party.

The Bolshevik Party had become an ideological leader of the revolutionary trend in the entire working class movement of the world.

...as the left-wing of the Second International before World War One, then ...fire of the struggle for a proletarian ... policy during the war, and finally ... vanguard Party of the Communist International, the Bolshevik Party developed Marxism, enriched it with the theory of ... and with the experience of the ... revolutionary battles of the international working class.

The victory of the Bolshevik Party which took in its hands the leadership of the ... of the people during the Great October Revolution gave birth to the Soviet State. A quarter of a century later this Soviet State saved the entire world, the whole of civilised mankind from Hitler barbarism. It gave back freedom to millions who had been slaves of Hitler, doomed to annihilation and to have had their ashes scattered over German lebensraum.

The debt of mankind to the Soviet Union is boundless. And we Poles, our Polish people, have our own special debt, the debt of a patriot. For twice in the course of thirty years we have liberated ourselves from the yoke of despotism thanks to the Soviet Union: first from the tyrannical yoke of the Romanovs, Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns and later from servitude to Hitler.

Cyrankiewicz then criticised the previous mistakes of the Polish Socialist Party.

If now, at this Unity Congress of the Polish working class, he said, I have to speak critically about the Polish Socialist Party of which I and thousands of my comrades here have been members for many years, it is because we must now clarify the historical truth, do away with certain legends and create a basis

for a correct estimation of the role of the workers' parties in the coming historical period.

None of us can speak of these questions without pain and anger. How many comrades fought to wipe out the shameful stigma of counter-revolution! How many of our predecessors fought to make the Polish Socialist Party what it is today, now that it is being united with the revolutionary Party, a Party devoted to the cause of the struggle for Socialism, irreconcilable with its enemies, closely linked with the mass of the people!

The activity of those Left revolutionary groups which tried, in a stubborn struggle against the Right opportunist leadership, to direct the Party along the path of revolutionary class struggle runs like a red thread through the whole history of the Polish Socialist Party.

Thirty years ago, Cyrankiewicz went on, one such group, the left-wing of the Polish Socialist Party, led its followers to unite with another revolutionary section of the Polish working class movement—the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania—thus forming a single party, the Communist Party of Poland. Our United Party is a successor of that Left trend in the Polish Socialist Party which saved the honour of our Party, the honour of Polish Socialism. It has brought the finest socialist elements into the United Workers' Party of Poland.

The Polish Socialist Party played the positive role of a partner in building People's Poland, but it was not prepared ideologically to play a fully revolutionary role.

Cyrankiewicz went on to indicate the main line of the spilt inside the Party between the healthy section of the Party and its right-wing. He pointed out that every step along the path to rapprochement with the Soviet Union was considered by the right-wing as a defeat for them. They also considered the pre-election call for a bloc of six parties and later, after the insolent demands of Mikolajczyk, a bloc of four parties, was damaging

to the Party. The Rights, said Cyrankiewicz, wanted to plunge Poland into the chaos of bourgeois democracy so that the country could once again be brought under the yoke of reactionary dictatorship. They did not like the unity of the Polish Workers' Party with the regenerated Polish Socialist Party which had been reached through joint work.

Having dwelt on the positive features of the ideology of the Left Socialists, Cyrankiewicz pointed out that because the Left Socialists had understood the class nature of the state, the regenerated Polish Socialist Party was able to avoid the tragic mistakes made by the Socialist wing of the working class movement in 1918, when an independent Poland was being created. In 1944, the necessity of seizing power at the moment the Soviet liberation troops and Polish troops entered the country, was clear beyond all doubt to the regenerated Party. It considered it essential to retain this power. However, on this point some members of the Party holding Centrist and Right views began to doubt whether it was necessary to take revolutionary measures.

The pressure of petty-bourgeois ideology and of the remnants of Parliamentary cretinism prevented the revolutionary nature of this seizure of power from being correctly understood.

The right-wing of the Polish Socialist Party, continued Cyrankiewicz even put forward the view that the Party was superior and had a "special mission". It called for a break in the united front and for separate election lists.

Under the influence of the right-wing, a specific kind of Party chauvinism, which was encouraged by reactionary political groups, appeared in the Polish Socialist Party. Reaction also tried to influence the Party by lauding it in opposition to the Polish Workers' Party.

Cyrankiewicz pointed out that the agents of the reactionary bourgeoisie who had penetrated the Party organisations tried to

whip up feeling against the united front with the Polish Workers' Party and against the Soviet Union.

This created a constant danger inside the Party which was often heightened by compromise and by the vacillations of a section of the leadership.

Summarising the results of this struggle inside the Polish Socialist Party, Cyrankiewicz said that having got rid of the Rights, the Left section of the Party leadership, together with the Lefts among the Party Activists, were able to lead the vast majority of the Party along the path of Marxism-Leninism, ridding the Party of elements which were alien and hostile from the ideological and class point of view.

In spite of all vacillations and mistakes, the regenerated Polish Socialist Party, a mass workers' Party purifying its ideology from influences alien to its class, is standing today alongside the Polish Workers' Party as a partner in creating the United Polish Workers' Party.

We know, he went on, that we have made our contribution to the cause at uniting the working class. But we also know well that we would have never been able to achieve this had it not been for the Polish Workers' Party.

Turning to the international policy of People's Poland, Cyrankiewicz said that true to the ideas of peace, progress and the rights of oppressed peoples, Poland put forward a just demand for international cooperation and, together with all the countries in the camp of peace and democracy rallied around the Soviet Union, had been fighting against imperialism, against the warmongers, the enslavers of the Greece and Spanish peoples, the enslavers of all the oppressed people.

Pointing out that in the struggle against the forces of peace the American imperialists paid special attention to the working class movement, Cyrankiewicz said: The Right Socialist groups are in the vanguard of the struggle against the united socialist front of peace. The British Labour Party Blum's

Socialist Party in France, Schumacher's followers in Germany, the Belgian and Dutch "Socialists" are the loyal storm troopers of the Truman doctrine.

Indicating the growing contradictions within and between the Marshall Countries, Cyrankiewicz said: Seen against the background of these antagonisms and contradictions in the capitalist world, the unity of our world becomes strikingly clear; it is the world of creative labour and of the struggle for peace and Socialism.

We are living in a period of great peaceful construction in the Soviet Union, a symbol of which is the gigantic plan to transform the steppe lands of the European part of the Soviet Union. We are living in a period of high-powered construction and of great economic victories in the people's democracies, victories which lead to Socialism. Economic agreements signed on the basis of full equality, link the people's democracies with the Soviet Union and with each other.

Unfortunately we must note that there is a breach in this front, in Yugoslavia, where the group which has seized the leadership of the Communist Party is leading the heroic Yugoslav peoples into a blind-alley. This clique is isolating Yugoslavia from the camp of democracy. But we are confident that the disastrous results of this policy will make clear to the people of Yugoslavia the necessity of changing the Tito regime, thus enabling the principles of internationalism to triumph in Yugoslavia.

Today our camp, the camp of the people's democracies and of the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, is strong and powerful. It is stronger than it was yesterday and its resources are inexhaustible.

Each day brings new proof of our might and of our unswerving determination to fight for peace. That is why we know how profound and true is Comrade Stalin's statement that the instigators of a new war will inevitably fail.

After he had spoken on various specific problems of the international situation, Cyrankiewicz concluded by saying that the unity of the Polish working class will become a powerful link in the liberation struggle of the working people against imperialism, for peace, freedom and Socialism.

## **WORKING CLASS CONDITIONS IN GERMANY. Wilhelm Pieck, Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

In examining the conditions of the working class in Germany it is necessary to take into account the essential difference in the economic development of the three Western zones and that of the Soviet zone.

In the Western zones the policy of the Anglo-American occupation authorities is designed to secure the restoration of the old monopoly-capitalistic relations. In the American zone, General Clay has ordered a stop to all measures concerned with the liquidation of the big concerns and has forbidden any socialisation. In the British and French zones the dominant position of the concerns remains unchanged. In the Rhine-Westphalia, a new and powerful iron and steel concern has come into existence.

In the Soviet zone, on the contrary, the material foundations of monopoly junkers capital have been undermined.

With the agreement of the Soviet occupation authorities the Laender Governments ordered the break-up of the concerns and their transfer, together with the enterprises owned by war-criminals and active Nazis, into the hands of the people.

While in the Western zones, the former capitalist managers of fascist Germany's war economy have resumed their old posts, in the Soviet zone they have been deprived of their economic base and barred from politics and administration. In the factories and administrative organs in the Soviet zone, the workers, through the medium of the trade unions and the production councils, play an important role in planning output, fixing prices, and in defining the kind of output and the scale of production. The occupation authorities in the Western zones

deny the workers their constitutional right of having a say, through the production councils, in the running of the enterprises.

The German monopolists in the three Western zones followed up the introduction of the separate currency reform with an attack on the living standards of the working class. A wave of price increases came in the wake of the currency reform. Referring to the big increase in the cost of living “Die Welt”, the organ of the British military authorities, in its issue August 17, 1948 painted out that “during the past few weeks the price of coal has gone up by 117 per cent. The increase in the price of coal will mean dearer gas, electricity, iron and steel, building materials, fertilisers, etc. It will increase production costs throughout industry. Should the price of steel be fixed on the basis of the latest increase in the price of coal, it will mean at least a 100 per cent increase by the New Year. The price of non-ferrous metals has likewise gone up considerably. The fixing of the exchange rate—30 cents to 1 German mark—has resulted in the price of imported raw materials for the textile and leather industries being twice and three times the old price. For example, the new exchange rate means that raw cotton previously bought at 1.20 marks a kilo, goes up, according to the new dollar rate to 3.20 marks”.

Last September the Administrative council for Bizonia announced further increases to take effect from October 1. The cost of gas went up 4-6 pfennigs a cubic metre; electricity now costs 3 pfennigs more per kilowatt; a pound of beef costs 26 per cent more—1.42 marks instead of 1.12; a pound of pork costs 38 per cent more—1.37 marks instead of 0.99; instead of 45 pfennigs for a kilo of white bread, it now costs 54 pfennigs.

According to the calculations made by the Lower Saxony Planning and Statistical Board in Hanover after these price increases, the minimum income needed to sustain a family of four was 243.56 marks, and for a family of five, 278.05 marks.

In the American zone, the month's food ration for a family with three children cost in July 1948, a minimum of 228.30 marks. At the same time the monthly earnings of a worker in the metal industry amounted to a mere 192 marks; a skilled building trades worker earned 210 marks; a semi-skilled worker 180 marks; women workers in the metal industry received 112 marks, and women textile workers 80 marks a month.

In the French zone the minimum sum needed to meet the monthly cost of living in the towns was: 110.35 marks for a single person; 178.11 marks for a married couple; 245.59 marks for a married couple with two children; 287.72 with three children, and 327.69 marks for man, wife and four children.

At the same time the monthly earnings of an unskilled worker in the chemical industry (with family of three) amount to 231.19 marks. In the textile industry an unskilled worker earns 142.31 marks: a semi-skilled worker 149.96 marks; a skilled worker 159.77 marks: earnings of craftsmen 175.27 marks, and highly qualified craftsmen 193.36 marks.

With such wages it is impossible to cover even the most essential expenditure for food, clothing and rent. The poverty of the working people which is increasing all the time, has resulted in a strained situation and in an increase in the number of strikes. The occupation authorities, aided by the reformist party and trade union leaders, are striving to throttle the struggle of the workers

Last July an agreement was signed between the Board of the German mining industry and the miners' union according to which miners' wages were to be raised 15 per cent. At the same time all previous agreements concerning the piece rates became null and void. They were due to be replaced by new agreements. As a result the piece rate will now be calculated in accordance with the 1938 level. This has led to a situation in

which the Ruhr miners are no longer able to reach their former average earnings; at the moment they are making only 60 per cent of their 1938 earnings. So far, the promised 15 per cent increase has not materialised.

Worst of all is the position of the agricultural labourers whose starvation wage remains at the old level. A new wage agreement signed in July last year, fixed the rate for male agricultural labourers working a full week, at from 50 to 54 pfennigs an hour. The monthly wage of a skilled farm worker ranges from 75 to 80 marks.

Women workers and young workers also receive exceedingly low wages. Young people employed in the food industry are paid from 29 to 43 pfennigs an hour.

Contrary to the just demand of equal pay for equal work, skilled women workers in the metal industry receive 0.76 marks an hour compared to the 1.02 marks paid to men; an unskilled woman worker is paid 60 pfennigs an hour, an unskilled male worker 80 pfennig.

The sources of the low standard of living of the working class in the Western zones must be sought not only in low wages. They can be found also in the growing mass unemployment, and in the growing numbers of workers on short time. In a number of branches of industry, factories are closing down while in others production is being restricted. The Kiel Institute of World Economy estimated that after the currency reform the unemployment figure was expected to reach 7 million. The deterioration in the economic position of the working people in the Western zones is due also to the withdrawal of political rights. This deprives them of the possibility of exercising any influence over wages and conditions of labour. Every move taken by the trade unions to protect the interests of the workers comes up against obstacles. The unions in the Western zones are dominated by the old reformist leaders who are not interested in leading the workers'

fight for better conditions. The union leader—the notorious Tarnov—has sold himself completely to the American military authorities. A sharp decline in the working class standard of living has occurred in the Western sectors of Berlin where, as in the Western zones, the occupation authorities exercise control. The food situation and the matter of supplies generally are utterly inadequate.

The disruption of the single administration for the city, accomplished by the Western occupation authorities aided by the bourgeois Social-Democrat majority in the City Council, has reacted most unfavourably on the standard of living. The trade unions were split by the device of organising the so-called “Independent Trade Union Opposition”. The Free German Trade Unions have been banned from conducting any activity in the Western sectors of Berlin.

In the Soviet zone, working class conditions are quite different. There, a united working class movement as expressed by the Socialist Unity Party, the United Free German Trade Unions and other anti-fascist democratic mass organisations, has provided possibilities for successful economic upbuilding on a democratic basis. A vital factor in this work is the right of the trade unions, and, in the factories which are now in the hands of the people, of the production councils to take part in defining the character and scale of output.

In accordance with Marshal Sokolovsky’s order, No. 234, issued in October 1947, after detailed consideration by the democratic parties and the trade unions, measures were taken to secure increased productivity of labour and better conditions for workers engaged in industry and transport. The carrying out of the slogan “produce more and live better”, and the application of the “equal pay for equal work” principle resulted in a substantial increase in the productivity of labour, and this in turn paved the way for improving the conditions of the working people.

Considerable improvements were made in the laws governing vacations. Over one and a half million workers employed in the more important enterprises receive an off ration hot meal. The workers in the bigger factories likewise benefit from certain priorities in the matter of consumer goods. Clinics and medical centres have been opened at the enterprises. The realisation of the economic plan—the second half of 1948, and 1949-50 will result in a further increase in the standard of living. The payment of progressive wage rates which means higher earnings for higher output has resulted in a big increase in earnings. New norms based on the average output of the average worker are being worked out by wage commissions in which are represented on a parity basis, the leadership of the factory trade union organisation and the factory management. The new wage agreements foresee substantial wage increases.

The collective agreements drawn up for enterprises of the metal industry and for the handicraft shops engaged in this industry in the Soviet zone contain the following wage scales: highly skilled workers 1.44 marks per hour; skilled workers from 1.19 to 1.30 marks per hour; semi-skilled workers 1 mark; unskilled from 81 to 85 pfennigs per hour.

Then there is the significant fact that in the Soviet zone prices of food and consumer goods remained at their former level after the carrying through of the progressive currency reform. For example, a pound of beef costs 80 pfennigs (compared to 1.4.2 marks in the Western zones); pound of pork 80 pfennigs (compared to 1.37 marks); kilo of bread 34 pfennigs (compared to 54 pfennigs).

Thus, to enable him to purchase a pound of beef (1.42 marks), the metal worker in the Western zones earning 1.02 marks an hour, must work one hour twenty three minutes; the worker receiving the top rate of 1.12 marks an hour must work an hour and sixteen minutes. Whereas in the Soviet zone, the

worker who gets 1.44 marks per hour can earn the price of a pound of beef in a matter of 33 minutes.

True, there are difficulties in the Soviet zone in the matter of food and supplies for the working people. But the expansion of agriculture, industry and foreign trade guarantees that these difficulties will be overcome. This is the aim of the people's economic plan on the completion of which the efforts of the working people in the Soviet zone are now being concentrated.

Working class conditions in the Soviet zone of Germany are improving to the extent that the workers themselves are advancing the economy which has been purged of monopolists and Junkers.

There are grounds for believing that this example will inspire the working people of the Western zones to intensify their struggle against reaction, and for, better conditions.

## **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REORGANISED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Until recently, public administration in the people's democracy of Czechoslovakia was carried out by local district and regional national councils. But regional councils were too cumbersome. They were a legacy from the bureaucratic apparatus of the old bourgeois Republic. Before February 1948 the existence of these councils was defended by reaction.

The replacement of regional councils by area national councils is now laying the foundation for the reorganisation of the public administration which is also accompanied by a number of changes in district and local national councils.

Due to their structure, the new organs of power will be closer to the people. The working people will be able to control their activities. The reorganisation is also bringing about further democratisation of the administrative apparatus. A number of organs which formerly existed apart from the national councils, have been wound up. From now on, the entire administration, including economic planning for the areas they cover, is passing into the hands of the national councils.

In the new councils, the working people of Czechoslovakia have an effective weapon of further strengthening their state power and building Socialism.

## YOUTH OF ITALY RALLY FOR PEACE

The first national conference of the Italian “Youth Alliance”—a broad democratic youth organisation embracing the “Youth Front”, “Association of Italian Girls”, “People’s Sports Alliance”, trade union youth bodies and other organisations—was held recently in Naples. Five hundred delegates drawn from all over the country were present. Keynote of the conference was the mobilisation of the youth of Italy in the struggle for peace; national independence and freedom.

Enrico Boccara, Secretary of the Alliance, who reported on this question at the conference, expressed the determination of the young people of Italy to devote all their efforts to the cause of peace. “The young people of Italy,” he said, “will never allow themselves to be drawn into war for the sake of the American capitalists.”

The conference warned the young men and women of Italy of the threat to peace and to their future inherent in de Gasperi’s foreign policy—a policy aimed at bringing Italy into the Western military bloc which is in the service of the American war-mongers. The conference also pointed out that in order to realise their hopes and aspirations, the young people of Italy must unite their forces in the struggle for peace freedom and democracy. It denounced as rabid enemies of the youth those organisations and groups which, like the Vatican’s “Catholic Action”, are seeking to undermine the unity of the youth forces.

The conference decided to organise a review of the youth forces under the slogan of the struggle for peace. This national festival of youth will be held in Rome next spring and will be preceded by a number of mass campaigns and other activities aimed at safeguarding peace.

**FRIENDSHIP WITH U.S.S.R.—  
GUARANTEES PROSPERITY OF PEOPLE'S  
DEMOCRACIES. Academician C.I. Parhon,  
Chairman, Presidium, National Assembly,  
People's Republic of Rumania**

Millions of working people everywhere look with love and hope to the great socialist power which is a true bulwark of peace. While imperialism, eaten up with crisis and profound inner contradictions, is becoming more and more aggressive, the forces of peace throughout the world, headed by the Soviet Union, are becoming more and more consolidated. Progressive people everywhere are fighting resolutely for the the creation of a peace which would enable them to go ahead with their struggle for progress, culture and Socialism.

In the course of the past 30 years, the peoples have twice experienced destructive wars unleashed by the imperialists. The peoples are well aware of the false "love for peace" displayed by the League of Nations. Nor do they forget the "Munich" perfidy of the reactionary politicians.

The peoples want peace. But the struggle for peace is indissolubly bound up with the struggle against all and every exploitation. Democracy spells the rule of the working people. In those countries where of state power is in the hands of the class of capitalists who live by exploiting the labour of others, where it belongs to the instigators of new wars, real democracy does not and cannot exist. In the in countries where productive labour results of unemployment, where modern means of production result in still more appalling exploitation, where race hatred and racial prejudice are cultivated, where freedom of the press means whipping up chauvinism propaganda for a new war, where aggressive bellicose cliques, striving for

personal enrichment, are sowing armed conflicts, in such countries there can be no real democracy nor can there be any talk of real democracy.

Looking at the world situation today we see an ever sharpening struggle between the democratic camp of peace, and the camp of the imperialist warmongers. The united socialist front, the great peace front headed by the Soviet Union, is daily gaining in strength and is decisively rebuffing all attempts to violate the peace. At the same time the imperialist camp is steadily declining.

The emergence of the new democracies was a severe blow to the imperialists. The resolute struggle for freedom waged by the working people of the countries under the yoke of capital, and the struggle waged by the colonial peoples is accelerating the steady decline of imperialism. In the camp of peace, the people's democracies supported by the Soviet Union and guided by its rich experience, are confidently advancing along the road to Socialism, to a happy future.

The aspirations of all progressive mankind are directed toward the Soviet Union, the steadiest guardian of the peace and freedom of the peoples. The Soviet country took its stand in the struggle for peace right from the first day of the Great October Socialist revolution. That is why the Soviet Union, which faced a hostile encirclement, and which had to overcome countless obstacles, became, from the very outset, the centre of attention for progressive mankind, and enjoyed wide support on the part of the working people of the world.

The mighty transformations wrought by the land of Socialism, developed a deep-going Soviet patriotism among the peoples of the Soviet Union and provided the basis for that unbreakable moral-political unity and friendship between the peoples of the USSR which is without precedent in human history. When World War Two broke out, the enemies of the Soviet Union, filled with hatred but incapable of understanding

Soviet reality, anticipated the collapse of the socialist system. All of us had the fortune to observe the remarkable enthusiasm and unity displayed by the Soviet people, which resulted in the greatest victory in history.

This victory secured the liberation not only of the Soviet people on the enemy occupied territory. It also meant the liberation of the neighbouring peoples from the fascist, capitalist yoke, and made it possible for them confidently to march along the path blazed by Lenin and Stalin, along the socialist path. We received invaluable help from the Soviet Union in the matter of bringing down fascist rule in our country, and in the struggle against reaction which sought to foment strife between the Rumanian and Hungarian population in Northern Transylvania, and in rehabilitating and extending our industry, agriculture and trade.

At international conferences, in connection with signing the peace treaties and in other instances where the interests of Rumania were involved, the Soviet representatives—Molotov, Vyshinsky and others supported the just cause of democratic Rumania and of the other new democracies. Without this help and broad support on the part of the leaders of the Soviet Union, without the help and the historical experience of the Soviet Union, the new democracies would never have come into existence. Without the help of the valiant Soviet Army our people even now would be, if not under German fascist yoke, then under the exploiting and humiliating yoke of American and British imperialism. The terror now raging in Greece clearly shows what “Anglo-American democracy” means.

With such “democracy” the new democracies cannot and have nothing in common. The people of these countries do not want to work any longer for exploiters, either home or foreign. They want freedom to manage their own affairs, to maintain the most cordial friendly relations between themselves, to develop trade economic and cultural relations, to render each

other mutual assistance and, above all, they want to strengthen all the time, the bonds of friendship with the great land of Socialism—the Soviet Union.

These peoples who have no desire to remain under the yoke of capitalism, who are fighting to abolish oppression and exploitation and to build Socialism, have no other way than that indicated by the historical experience of the Soviet Union. These peoples are wholeheartedly striving for peace as if necessary condition for the genuine progress and wellbeing of the working people.

They know that peace must be defended. They know also that the Soviet Union is the most powerful and genuine champion of peace. The people's democracies, headed by the great land of Socialism, constitute a granite rock which will shatter any attempt to reimpose servitude and exploitation on the liberated peoples.

Personally, I am confident that in the long run the working people of the world, the people of town and countryside, will take the path opened up by the great teachers and leaders of toiling mankind—the, path of Lenin and Stalin.

The people's democracies, rallied around the Soviet Union, are vigilantly guarding their achievements and are working selflessly to realise their great objectives—the development of the system of people's democracy, the building of Socialism, peace and happiness for mankind.



## **MASS MEETINGS OF FRENCH WORKING PEOPLE**

Mass meetings of working people are being held throughout France in defence of peace and freedom. At Limoges, Lille, Poitiers, they were attended by several thousand people.

Speaking at Limoges, Maurice Thorez said: "Today all we hear are the words: 'War, for war, war budget'. But we shall make this war impossible".

The writer, Yves Farges, speaking at the same meeting said that the real France would not take part in the war into which they want to drag her.

The meetings are adopting resolutions expressing the determination of the working people to fight for peace.

## **PROGRESSIVE LEADERS OF U.S. TRADE UNIONS PROTEST AGAINST PREPARATION FOR A NEW WAR**

The American press recently carried a statement signed by a considerable number of trade union representatives.

The statement says: The people of America want peace. The trade unions and their members have placed their stakes on the struggle for peace. The rights of American workers have already been sacrificed to the cold war. The vicious Taft-Hartley law is now being defended on the pretext that the international crisis calls for national unity inside the country. Absolutely the same pretext was used by Hitler to destroy the German trade unions.

Big capital gets swollen profits. The armament manufacturers are expecting still greater profits to be brought them by the policy of preparation for war. Unrestricted speculation is resulting in increased prices. The worker is unable to feed and clothe his family properly. The trade unions have been tied hand and foot by court decisions forbidding strikes, decisions aimed at stopping their struggle for higher wages corresponding to the high subsistence minimum. And over all this hangs the shadow of an open war.

The statement declares that the voice of the workers calling for peace must not be silenced. We trade union members, it concludes, must unite with all sections of the American people and tell the leaders of our Government and the entire world that the people of America want peace.

## PEACE CAMPAIGN IN CANADA

The peace campaign against the instigators of a new war is gaining momentum throughout Canada.

Local peace campaign councils are being formed in many cities. At a Peace Campaign conference in Toronto, the 273 delegates present, representing all sections of the population, unanimously decided to launch a wide campaign to create an organised peace front and to hold an all-Canada Peace Campaign Conference in May 1949, the anniversary of the victory over German fascism.

On the initiative of Canadian trade unionists, a big meeting was held in Montreal at which a Quebec Peace League was formed. In its resolution, the meeting demanded that the Canadian Government should make a declaration of Canada's neutrality and called on all public organisations of the province to resolutely oppose military conscription and the militarisation of Canada.

## **WOMEN OF FRANCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BREAD PEACE AND DEMOCRACY. Jeannette Vermeersch, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of France**

After World War Two, the women of France showed their determination to fight against poverty, the remnants of fascism and the instigators of a new war.

Hundreds of thousands of French women have joined the ranks of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) whose work they had seen during the war; the Union of French Women, formed in the struggle against the invaders and collaborators; the Association of the families of those who had been shot, the organisations of political deportees and of war widows, and the Communist Party. It is no exaggeration to say that of the 5,489,288 electors who voted for the Communist Party almost half were women.

In our country the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys in the Government is steadily intensifying. And women are taking an active part in this struggle.

Many Catholic, Socialist and Communist women are fighting shoulder to shoulder because they know that progress, democracy and peace can be won only if the mass of the people fight stubbornly against those responsible for their poverty, against the warmongers, the imperialists and their faithful watch-dogs, the Right Socialists.

Let the delegates to the CGT Congress of October 1948 speak for themselves.

“I was elected to the CGT Congress by 800 women workers”, said the delegate from the Saint-Etienne (Loire department) arsenal. “During the strikes in December 1947, the

women were wonderful. They were elected to the strike committee and actively supported the men ...”

The delegate from the textile workers’ of Sele (Herauld department) said:

“There were two women all our strike committee. They were chosen to go with their men comrades to negotiate with the employers. During the strike, Mach’s policemen threw tear bombs at us. Several people were injured. When the secretary of the Textile Union came up in court, all the women went with her. The case was dropped.”

The delegate from the Post Office Clerical Workers’ Union said that in Paris the Union had been able to unite 15,000 women workers of all political tendencies round the slogan:—equal pay for equal work.

The wives of the Fives metal workers in Lille (Nord department) accompanied by their children went to the factory management to show their firm support for their husbands’ demands.

In her speech to the Congress, a woman rail worker expressed all the militancy, determination and confidence of working women in the forces of the working class and in their future.

“By organising protest actions we made our voice heard”, she said. “For a long time our demands were not considered. But what we were unable to win in 1936 and 1946, were gained in 1947 (compensation for rent and extra payment for long service)”.

Calling for a struggle against war and against the “Marshall puppets”, this woman said: “The unity of women, of men, of everyone is necessary to drive away all the exploiters and their lackeys, and to build a just society in which labour will be honoured.”

In their struggle for wages, women are also going into action against the splitters of the working class—the Right

Socialists and the leaders of the “Force Ouvriere”. By exposing the traitors of the “Force Ouvriere” and by carrying on explanatory work the women workers of Sete, Paris and Castres were able to bring back into the ranks of the CGT—those women who had been misled by the traitors.

Working women are playing a great role in the development and strengthening of the trade unions. Three hundred and fifty-five women were present at the CGT Congress.

Thousands of women hold leading trade-union positions. Three hundred women have been elected branch secretaries in the Garment Workers’ Union. The union branches of the Paris metal factories have 200 women secretaries. In the textile industry, 255 women hold trade union posts. Seventeen women are secretaries at trade union federations of various branches of industry. One hundred and thirty women have graduated from Paris district trade-union schools.

Housewives are also playing an active part in the struggle for bread. Some three million women signed petitions demanding an increase in the bread ration. These signatures were collected at markets, in the streets of towns and villages by women Communist deputies and municipal councillors, by members of Communist Party branches and by the mass democratic organisation, the Union of French Women. When Mach’s police tried to prevent signatures being collected, the housewives vigorously defended their rights.

The women won the support of 17 general councils (departmental government) and 50 town councils of large towns for the demand for a higher bread ration. The twenty-eight deputies of the Socialist Party, the Catholic Party (MRP) and de Gaulle’s “Union of the French People” who had voted in the National Assembly against an increased bread ration were compelled under mass pressure to change their attitude before the electors in their constituencies. As a result of the

housewives' agitation, the daily bread ration was first increased to 250 grammes, then to 300 grammes and later to 350 grammes.

During the strike movement of November and December 1947, the local committees of the Union of French Women in eight days collected 36 tons of food for the strikers and in the Seine department organised 1,620,000 free dinners.

Women also played a significant role during the recent miners' strike. They took their place in the picket lines, helped their husbands to build barricades. They were in the front ranks of the demonstrators and courageously fought against the tanks and tommy guns of the police. And what is much more difficult—they fought against hunger. They helped to keep up the morale of the strikers, organised a solidarity movement and took thousands of miners' children into their homes.

When the Government, through its spokesman Moch, put forward its disgraceful anti-strike bills, many women prominent in the field of science, literature and art together with Irene Joliot-Curie protested sharply and supported the working women and the housewives. Their appeal was distributed in 100,000 copies.

Many women in the countryside are also taking part in these activities. Among the members of the 1,397 committees for the defence of the peasants there are many peasant women and agricultural women workers.

The struggle of the working class is finding more and more support among women artisans and shopkeepers. Many of them are members of the 743 committees for defence of trade and handicraft, created to fight measures put forward first by Mayer and later by Queuille which increase poverty.

The struggle of working women and of housewives is not restricted solely to economic demands. Women are aware that under the capitalist system poverty, reaction and war go together.

The Women of France are supporting the struggle for peace waged by the Soviet Union, the people's democracies and the democratic forces throughout the world. Every woman democrat realises how weak we would be in the face of the imperialist ogre without the Soviet Union, and how strong we are now, and how strong are the democratic peoples who are led by the peoples of the great land of Socialism. The democratic women of France are supporting the declaration of the Union of the French Women: "Never will French mothers give their sons to fight against the Soviet Union". They will never give their sons for an imperialist war against any people.

Hundreds of thousands of French women signed the petitions supporting the proposal to prohibit the atom bomb and reduce armaments by one-third submitted to UNO by Vyshinsky, head of the Soviet delegation. On October 27, 1948, 30,000 Paris women gathered in the Velodrome d'hivet for a demonstration called by a number of democratic organisations. They supported these peace-loving proposals, protested against the formation of the "Western Union" and the "Western Army" and firmly declared that their sons would not be infantrymen of American imperialism.

Hundreds of women's meetings were held recently in preparation for the Second International Women's Congress. These meetings were held under the slogans: "Unity of the peoples will save peace", "The Soviet Union, the main force in the struggle for peace", "Prohibition of atom weapons; measures for disarmament", "A democratic policy in Germany", "Observation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements", "Unity of the peoples in the struggle against the imperialist camp", "For a government of democratic unity that will ensure bread and peace", "Support for the peoples fighting for their independence".

The women of France are supporting the peoples of the countries of the French Union fighting for their independence.

They not only protested against the war in Viet-Nam and against the criminal colonial policy in Madagascar, but they also collected money to make it possible for the heroic women of Viet-Nam to take part in the conference of women of Asia.

In the fight for democracy and peace French women are actively exposing American imperialism and its lackeys like Lean Blum, both inside and outside the Government. The feeling of proletarian internationalism is growing among the women. Bonds are being forged between the women of all countries which give them courage and confidence.

The struggle is not easy. But the degree to which French women are taking part in the democratic movement in France gives an idea of the growth of the general mass movement.

However, there is still much to be done and many shortcomings to the overcome, particularly in ideological work. French women Communists with the help of the entire Party are trying to keep up with the tasks facing them in the struggle against the economic and political enslavement of their country.

Determined to defend the honour and independence of their country they will draw ever broader masses of French women into the general democratic movement.



## **TIME IS ON OUR SIDE. Ilya Ehrenburg**

When he heard that his armies had been defeated, King Philippe IV ordered the sundials on his Palace walls to be covered up. "I see the end of my reign in a moving shadow," he said.

I am thinking of our enemies—of those who boast of a majority at the various diplomatic conferences and yet fear the voice of their peoples, of those who juggle with votes at the polling booths, of the little Fausts in their secret laboratories, of the people who trade in canned meat and human flesh, of the sleek and well-groomed who reiterate that they get on fine together and that they would like to be on good terms with the world at large.

Of course they get on well together—the oil magnate and the steel tycoon, the Northern Republican and the Southern Democrat, the White House butler and Premier Spaak, General Clay and Dr. Schacht, the French Socialists and Mr. Green's cheque book, General Franco and the Statue of Liberty.

There is harmony between dividends and hangmen, Leon Blum and the Turkish janissaries, the "Declaration of Human Rights" and the Greek "democrats" who decorate their guns hot from the American conveyor belt with the scalps of mutilated girls. They are in harmony with everybody. But they are out of joint with time. Were it in their power they would smash all the clocks, burn all the calendars and declare that time no longer existed.

They know how to present a smiling countenance when the odds are against them; they will greet 1949 with a forced gaiety—they have the champagne, not to mention the hired musicians and the stooge audiences to give an air of jollification. But it is doubtful whether they will wish each other a new year, that is, a

really new year.

I am not speaking of Chiang Kai-shek who is in no mood for congratulations, nor of Tsaldaris who is listening for the thunder of guns rather than for the striking of the clock. I am not speaking of the frightened Punchinellos who must laugh when they want to weep, nor of M. Jules Moch—this cheap post-war edition of Noske—who shudders superstitiously every time he sees , Frenchwoman in mourning, nor of Signor Scelba who has been trying to catch his breath ever since the summer storm when the cities of Italy bristled with wrath.

I am not speaking of the dictators and semi-dictators of Latin America, mass produced in Washington, who are only too aware of the volcanic nature of their territories. I am speaking of the masters.

They, too, are quaking with fear, the Democrat lynchers and Republican bullies, the gentlemen with the appetites of a polecat and the habits of a tiger, owners of atomic piles who are preparing to destroy mankind and suspiciously look at every bel hop and every passer by—for, who knows, he might be a Communist.

I am speaking of the all-powerful imperialists who dream of seizing planets but are at the moment busily ferreting out unreliable filmstars; of millionaires who dream of becoming multi-millionaires: of multi-millionaires who have nightmares about Micky Mouse caught up in un-American activities, about “Black Fridays”, at about being strangled in a noose shaped from their white evening ties. They are only too grateful to have come through another year. They are happy about their balance sheets and their dividends. And when they wish one another a happy new year they fervently hope that the old year might be prolonged a little It makes them feel good to hear preachers promise eternal life, but for themselves they ask much less: that death might be staved off for a while longer.

The past year has not been an easy one. If you look back

you will understand the resentment and wrath of the people; recall the joy with which Parisians greeted freedom while the barricades were still standing, the jubilation of the Italians when they burned the effigy of the Duce, how mothers the world over trustingly clasped their children to their breasts, how people smiled with relief believing that peace, work and happiness lay ahead. Was this so very long ago? Only some three or four years back.

What did the old year give the world?

It opened with endless talk about the “danger of war”, and closed with the same abominable words. These words are sent out from America on all wave-lengths, they are set by compositors of all newspapers, taken down by stenographers at all meetings, sessions and conferences. These words are uttered with hypocritical sighs, and with precious hopes: the doomed world of money, brutality and lies, is seeking to prolong its existence by using the suspense of a threatened war to make people lose their heads.

Let us recall the history of the past year, a year of intrigue and hatred. Uncle Sam was dressed up to look like Father Christmas. But the tinsel lost its lustre and the people of Europe saw that together with the maize bread and bad braces, Uncle Sam had other surprise presents: plans for military bases, notifications about new taxes, unemployment and tear gas, army uniforms for the British, German threats for the French, gold for 90-year old Sophoulis and lead for the young shepherd of Thessaly.

Before the eyes of stunned peoples, the American imperialists began to build bases and draw up mobilisation plans. Congressman Mundt declared that the bombs would soon begin to fall and like the experienced charlatan he is, added that the United States had a 73 to 83 per cent chance of winning the war.

Admiral Zacharias murmured bashfully: We possess a

weapon which can wipe out people, animals and plants on any territory. Atomic expert Professor Oppenheimer related his dream: All I have to do is to push a button and within 24 hours I can destroy seventy million people. Americans are accustomed to the expression: “push a button”. Before he shot himself George Eastman, founder of the Kodak firm smeared all the hoardings in America with camera advertisements saying: “Push the button, we do the rest”. The United States imperialists know well that Professor Oppenheimer is fascinated by the image of Tartarin: they exhort the countries under their patronage: “We’ll push the button and you’ll do the rest—you will go over the top, burn in the sky, drown in sea and freeze on the earth; we push the button, you do the dying”.

Not satisfied with the countries already brought into line the American imperialists continue to recruit landsknechts. Mr. Farley, owner of the Coca-Cola firm and one of the chiefs of the Democratic Party recently visited Spain where he conducted negotiations with General Franco. This time Farley was not selling his drink—he was buying the blood of Spaniards. Said Mr. Farley: Five hundred million dollars a year, Franco, the butcher, replied with a smile: Five hundred thousand men under arms. They consider a thousand dollars per soldier to be most generous.

In the meantime Field Marshal Montgomery, on the authorisation of his American chiefs, is negotiating a military alliance with General Baros Rodriguez everything comes in handy in a well-run household... even Portuguese soldiers.

During the past year the countries of Latin America have lost the last vestige of independence. Washington bought up the dishonest and brought down the scrupulous. The President of Chile, Gonzalez Videla, elected by the broad masses, came to an arrangement with the Yankees. He filled the prisons with his electors and placed the defence of the country in the hands of foreigners.

The President Gallegos of Venezuela, was not to be bribed. Seventy per cent of the electorate cast their vote in favour of this honest democrat who is a fine writer and a man of courage. So the “democrats” of Washington who noisily proclaim over the radio waves—short and long—their respect for the will of the people and the right of small nations, calmly overthrew Gallegos.

An acquaintance once told me of a visit he paid to a mental home where an unknown man came up to him and introduced himself as the head doctor. He thereupon led my acquaintance from ward to ward, explaining: “Here you have a schizophrenic, this one suffers from megalomania.” This went on until until real doctor came on the scene, and said: “Be careful, this man is a dangerous paranoiac. He thinks he is a doctor.” I recall this story when I hear how the race-baiters of Mississippi are curing the race-baiters of Bavaria and how the friends of Parnell Thomas are re-educating the friends of Joseph Goebbels.

Incidentally, the comedy of denazification is nearing the final curtain. The Ruhr magnate are aglow with satisfaction: they got off lightly. General Clay recently pardoned the executioner Ilsa Koch, who became notorious as the woman who used human skin for her Lampshades. This was not the sentimental whim of a manly general. If anything it was done deliberately.

The Catholic journal “Esprit” declared quite correctly: “You cannot fight the fascists without coming to an agreement with the Communists and you cannot fight the Communists without relying on the fascists.” The American imperialists preparing their new “crusade” are hunting high and low for “crusaders”... and Who knows, Ilsa Koch may come in handy. One of the stars of the Third Reich’s Reichswehr, General Halder recently held a press conference at his estate near Frankfurt. He offered his service to the Americans—he has

considerable experience in burning Russian towns and villages. Halder was in a fighting mood: "The Western Powers must attack—this is the best defence". Nor was he chary of giving advice. "It would be best to operate from bases in Iran or on the Black Sea". What should we add to this? Maybe the threatening words of the "Social Democrat" Euchler: "If Breslau and Königsberg are not returned to us, a third world war is inevitable". Or the "national democrat" Karl Schaefer demand for Strasbourg and Metz?

"We are in a certain sense Americans" General Franco recently stated." He was thinking of the murdered Communists and the promised dollars when he said that, Ilsa Koch, reading the latest issue of the "Frankfurter Rundschau" by the cosy light of a lamp shade covered with human skin can also say "I, too, to a certain extent, am an American."

The report of the U. S. Secretary for War frankly outlines the role at the countries now in the grip of the new pretenders to world domination. They are like chess pawns covering the king. The pawns' chances are pretty dim, but since they are on the spot and since they cover him, the king can consider himself safe. And poor Mr. Bevin—he is trying so hard to speak with the voice of a great power. But it is no good. He is merely told he is not even a bishop but a mere pawn.

The peoples bartered and betrayed by their blind or dishonest rulers tasted sorrow in full measure during the past year. In France the capitulators of yesterday decked themselves out as victors: each month they proclaimed themselves "victorious" over the un-armed workers. They sent tanks against the miners and in an effort to eclipse Stulpnagel drenched the streets of French towns in French blood. Blood also flowed in Italy where the people, enraged at the neo-fascists and old traitors, American nuncios and hunger at home, more than once rose to defend their violated rights.

Tourists in Greece used to say that even the soil seemed

pink under the scorching sun. It is scarlet now, scarlet with blood. America's henchmen, not in the least perturbed by all the talk about the "rights of man", killed, en masse, teachers and workers, students and shepherds—killed them in the mountains and in the cities, in battle and in prison, killed them with good "democratic" American bullets.

German fascists, S.S. men, the butchers of Oradour and Lidice, in the uniform of the French Foreign Legion. murdered the defenceless people of Viet Nam and a French poet dedicated a poem to the murderers. Throughout the year, blood flowed in Palestine, India and Malaya.

This blood, whether French, or Indian, Jewish or Chinese, Greek or Italian, was shed at the behest of America and for the glory of America.

But what did this year of unrest give America itself? A professor of the Paris Catholic University, Abbe Boulier writes:

"Panic reigns in the United States—a panic artificially created, fabricated and advertised. War is peddled there just like shaving soap."

Yes, fear has taken possession in America of the deceived and the deceivers.

The rulers of America see the indignation of the peoples, the hunger and wrath of devastated Europe: they see the storm breaking over awakening Asia; they see the grim tranquillity of the Soviet people; they also see the confusion of the average American, his bewilderment which is growing into mistrust, his concealed, unvoiced alarm. Fear is gripping people who are regarded as being all-powerful. Fear is making them lose their heads, making them deliver bellicose speeches, brandish the atom bomb. It blinds them so that they see "reds" everywhere—in Venezuela, in Hollywood and even under the bed.

Panic-stricken, they are holding medieval inquisitions in

their skyscrapers; invoking Magna Charta, they are preparing trials which would have been the envy of Hitler. Communists are brought to trial on the sole charge of having a Marxist outlook. That the U.S. Government has dared to stage the "Trial of the Twelve" is a sign not of its strength but its animal fear.

They are afraid of everything: of Soviet harvests and of Howard Fast's novels; of Chilean miners and Charlie Chaplin, of Communists in France and crisis in America, of the Soviet proposal to reduce armaments and strikes in Detroit. They call for war—yet they fear war. They swear that they are defending peace—yet they dread peace more than war. Don't think, reader, that I am carried away by contrasts. Take the prosaic telegram of the "Economic and Finance Agency" sent on November 10 from New York that:—Prominent representatives of the financial world do not preclude the possibility of 1949 becoming a year of "peace scare".

Looking; back at the outgoing year we can say: it was a difficult year, but it worked for us—for the people of the future. It was a year of bloodshed and of tears, a year of great sorrow, but it drove our enemies to despair while it consolidated and tempered our ranks, giving us strength. Slanderers would have the world believe that the working people of France have been beaten. They are celebrating their "victory" over the miners. They do not want to understand that the struggle has brought the people of France together, has exposed the strike-breakers and traitors and given rise to new wrongs and new hopes. In France the miners are called "black faces". And Jules Moch fears these black faced men just as much as the Mississippi plantation owner fears the black-skinned men there.

Nor has proud Italy been tamed. When scoundrels raised their hand against Togliatti a storm of indignation swept the country—and its rulers, devotees of the "Roman Catholic

Church Militant” and of the Washington militant sect, looked anything but militant. They knew the storm that would break if they dared raise a hand against the honour and conscience of Italy.

At the end of the summer the American broadcasting stations told the world that all the Greek rebels had been wiped out. Two months later they had to broadcast the despatch from the oppressor’s general headquarters that the “exterminated” rebels had launched an offensive.

Is there any need to mention what the past year has given the American sheriffs in China? Though they are well accustomed to sweeping rhythm, to racing cars and races on the screen, the American diplomats can hardly see the heels of their retreating Chinese administrators.

In the new democracies the grand offensive of the State Department merely resulted in insignificant trials. The Wall Street gentlemen learnt that the peoples are not congressmen: dollars cannot buy them. In Czechoslovakia the power of the working people entrenched itself, whereas Washington was left with dubious trophies—some more hangers on.

Neither the regeneration of Warsaw and Wroclaw, the fine harvest in Rumania, nor the new factories and railroads in Bulgaria can be counted among the victories of the American imperialists.

There is no need for me to speak of what is happening in the Soviet Union: by its very nature our state is driving the trans-Atlantic kings to despair. They hoped to infect us with their panic. Instead we are carrying on, building cities, writing books and educating our children. To all talk of the atom experts that all they have to do is “push the button” we replied with a sweeping plan to combat drought. The rehabilitation of our country, devastated by the war, is not an easy matter. We still have little time for leisure, but looking back we see that we are stronger today than we were a year ago. We have won yet

another year. We are not like Philippe IV—we love time because it moves forward.

In the United States itself, this year has brought about many changes. The average American has a poor understanding of world politics, but he is intelligent and he has a heart. He has shown that he has no love for the slogan “just push the button”, that it is difficult not only to push him toward war but even to the polling booth with talk of war. The average American is not, as yet, well versed in affairs, but he is a hundredfold more cultured than a Thomas, and he has shown that medieval grillings or tribunals in Inquisition fashion are not to his liking.

There was some confusion among the bellicose imperialists toward the close of 1948. Time and again they reiterated that Communists in the government of one or another country were a threat to peace. We recall how they blackmailed the hungry Italians and Frenchmen. But the chief representative of the American usurers, Mr. Hoffman, publicly announced that it would be useful to have Communists in the Chinese Government. Whence such liberal ideas in the head of Mr. Hoffman? Their origin lies in the retreat of the American hirelings.

They have to go back on their word not only in China but at home as well. They have “postponed” the trial of the Communist Party leaders, giving Foster’s ill health as the reason. This gentlemanly gesture can deceive nobody: it is not a question of Foster’s health but of the disgust of every honest American for the coming trial.

I certainly have no objection to such withdrawals. Indeed, they are far more decent than all the talk about destroying seventy million people or the activity of the Un-American Committee. For that matter I have no objection to 1949 becoming a year of “peace scare” for the American imperialists. The more they tremble in fear of peace, the more



## **THE FUTURE OF CULTURE BELONGS TO SOCIALISM. Jan Drda**

The decay and absolute corruption of bourgeois culture is taking place before our eyes day after day, and each day the result is more striking. The capitalists in the West, whose criminal policy threatens peace, freedom and the very existence of many peoples, have invented the fetish of “Atlantic culture” after the model of Hitler and Goebbels.

Not so long ago, the European peoples heard the boasts of the Nazi ruffians about “Aryan culture” and their claims of defending “Atlantic culture” from the invasion of Eastern barbarism. The enemies of culture who are doing a fine wholesale and retail trade with cultural treasures, the advocates of the prostitution of all treasures—material and spiritual—are now taking to culture as a talisman. They are fastening it to their clothes as a decoration, thinking that it can be bought at any shop.

They are ready to export culture like refrigerators and canned horse-meat to these people who unfortunately are still economically and politically under their thumbs.

It is becoming quite clear that the working class is the true heir, alone capable of carrying on the unified and indivisible culture of mankind. Victorious Socialism clearly means that culture can develop unrestricted. At the same time, everyone who is not blindfold can see that the collapse of everything spiritual is complete wherever there is bourgeois influence, that bourgeois art and culture have lost their clarity of purpose and have become aimless, resulting in the degeneration of art and in its loss of cultural attributes.

If we consider what this old doomed world is now manufacturing in the name of culture, we can see complete moral poverty, the primitive nature of American gangster

thrillers, both in literature and on the screen, which coarsely act on the nerves and imagination of people thirsting for sensation. On the other hand, we can see a hopeless pessimism, the pessimism of despair of Western existentialism.

These are the two sides of the same coin—a bad coin let it be said—with the help of which they try to deceive the world. This is the last visiting card of bourgeois “culture”. Murderers, social morons, hard-drinkers, freaks, suicides and degenerates are today the heroes of bourgeois art. It makes no difference whether this art is created through the blatant methods of a newspaper hack-writer or through the help of sophisticated formalist tricks bordering on perversion, of the so-called great artists. The same hysterical convulsion, the same immorality and the lack of any human feeling show without any doubt that they are of the same origin. The pathologically degenerate heroes, indifferent to good or evil, bereft of any noble human quality, without courage, dishonest both to themselves and others, with not the least sign of genuine feeling of love or humanism, are the last product of bourgeois literature. They are undeniable evidence of the speeding corruption that is dragging down the whole of bourgeois culture.

What a contrast are the words of Maxim Gorky, blazoned on the shield of socialist culture—“The word ‘Man’, rings proud”. The free, honest, proud socialist man who works with his companions to free all the creative forces of society—that is the meaning of socialist culture.

We have only to look at the vast, many-sided Soviet culture which is enthusiastically striving to build the happiness of the whole of mankind and which is resolutely and unswervingly marching toward this aim, only to see how the thirst for culture is growing among the recently liberated peoples of the new democracies, and our hearts beat with joy.

Here are the true heirs to world culture. It is here that the new optimism, justified by history itself, is being born; it is

here that the culture which rejects moral indifference is growing. Here the last achievements of science become the property of the broad mass of the people.

Here art gives new life and teaches a new morality that carries with it the joy of life.

As a result, culture becomes a strong, effective weapon against all the forces of negation and evil. It becomes a fraternal link between the peoples, a glorious banner of the future of mankind.

The Great Patriotic War and the years of the tremendous new' construction in the Soviet Union have shown how great are the moral possibilities of this new culture, how surely it can educate man and what a noble lire it strives to kindle in him.

And we, who are living in the people's democracies, can daily see with joy how the freedom of society brings victory, how steadily the creative forces of the people are growing, how a new consciousness, a new morality and new friendship are growing where the power of the capitalist class has been broken.

Instead of the crooked smile arid convulsions of a corrupt bourgeois hero, there flourishes the open smile and self-confidence of a healthy; free man, the creator of a new epoch.

This new hero develops not through pathological sensations but by discovering new life through struggle and labour heroism in the cause of society. He is an industrious patriot of his native country. He has confidence in himself and is steeped in the feeling of internationalism which binds him with comradely ties to the working people of the world, to all industrious and progressive mankind.

Who is it that must be and will be the inheritor of world culture? On which side of the barricade stand Shakespeare, Whitman, Romain Rolland, Pushkin and Beethoven? Are they on the side of those who oppress and rob the peoples, threaten freedom and frustrate progress, or are they on the side where

freedom of man and human society extends and deepens daily, where the people, one generation after another, grow richer morally and spiritually, where new concrete socialist humanism is coming into being?

The answer is clear. The fetishes of “Atlantic culture” are ridiculous compared with the glorious and powerful perspective of socialist culture, the crown of all the cultural efforts made through the centuries of the history of mankind.



## DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN MANCHURIA

As reported in the Chinese democratic press, the two years of rehabilitation that have passed since the victory over Japan have laid firm foundations for the fulfilment of the 1948 production plan set by the People's Government of Manchuria.

The plan caters for 7,500,000 dollars worth of investments in industry and agriculture in liberated Manchuria.

The mines in Northern Manchuria alone produce over 5 million tons of coal. The miners, through new methods of work, increased the productivity of labour by an average of 67 per cent compared with the level under the Japanese occupation.

Electricity output in Northern Manchuria in the first five months of 1948 was twice as much as in the corresponding period of the previous year. A great part of the railway system has already been reconstructed and is operating. Many experts of the liberated areas have taken over the jobs of Japanese technicians and managers who left after Japan's capitulation. Thousands of capable, skilled workers became engineers and managers of enterprises. Fourteen managers of Manchurian electric stations and 200 heads of various departments are former workers. Nearly 1,000 former miners hold leading posts in the mines.

A new democratic land reform, eliminating feudal relations and giving land to the peasants, has been carried out over 70 per cent of the entire Manchurian territory. The reform means that more agricultural goods will be supplied to the towns and it has also laid the foundations for greater productivity of agriculture.

## **DIFFICULT SITUATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF BELGIUM**

Belgium is in the grip of a profound economic crisis. The number of unemployed which reached 26,000 in June 1947, increased to 128,000 last October and exceeded 200,000 in the first week of December.

The general level of production is less than three-quarters of the 1938 figure. The goods surplus is growing, the number of bankruptcies is increasing. There is particularly large unemployment in the glass, leather and textile industries. The flax-spinning mills are working only one week out of every three.

Here it should be stressed that the crisis in Belgium, the outcome of American "aid", is taking place in a country which, at the end of the war, had a credit balance on lend-lease and was at that time a creditor nation.

The reason for the crisis is the decrease in the purchasing power of the working people, the influx of foreign goods, mostly American, into the Belgian market and the closing down of foreign markets in line with the "Marshall Plan".

The export of woollen goods dropped from 247 tons in October 1947, to 46 tons last June. Since May 1948, the export of chemical goods has dropped by 22 per cent. Compared with 1947, the export of glass has been reduced by one-half.



# AT THE ROUND TABLE OF WEST EUROPEAN "CO-OPERATION". Drawing by Kukriniksy



## **SOCIALIST HOPES AND CAPITALIST ILLUSIONS**

Crossing the threshold of a new year people usually review the achievements of the outgoing year and look forward to the incoming one. People of the socialist world bid a friendly farewell to 1948 and bid just as friendly a welcome to 1949. The festive greeting "A Happy New Year" has a sincere note in the world of Socialism. It is not merely a wish. It has behind it confidence in the knowledge that the new year will bring still happier days.

But the phrase is repeated mechanically to the capitalist world. Those who hold sway in this world look back at the past without joy and face the future with fear. Alarming thoughts cloud the minds of the masters and ideologists of the capitalist world. That is why, on their orders, the imperialist press over Christmas and New Year will dole out the mass-produced "optimism" with sentimental Father Christmasses and sickly cherubs. But all this cloying, saccharined sweetness cannot cover up the bitter acid which is eating into the old world.

For this world the results of the past year have been, to say the least, depressing. The leader of the Anglo-American bloc pinned high hopes on 1948: they presented it to America and Western Europe wrapped up in illusion which were portrayed as hopes, aspirations and even plans.

It was planned that the enemies of the people should accomplish much in the interests of imperialism.

It was planned to break the people's liberation movement in Greece, to smash the troops of General Markos, to wipe out the Greek patriots and to turn the whole of Greece into a docile and reliable base for America's onslaught on Europe.

Even according to the official figures, as much as 400 million dollars were spent on this. American generals and

officers were put in command of the Greek fascist army which was well equipped with aircraft and tanks.

All through the summer the Anglo-American press trumpeted about the victories of the American-Greek command over the poorly-armed troops of the Greek people. In the autumn the world heard another tune. The Anglo-American press was compelled to admit that once again the monarcho-fascists in Greece had failed. Of course they did not admit that it was the American generals who had really been defeated. This utter defeat gives some idea of the instability of American imperialism's war machine. Events showed how strong even a small people can be when it is selflessly battling for its freedom and independence.

Even if they could not completely wipe out the Chinese People's Liberation movement the politicians, generals and publicity experts of the Anglo-American bloc planned in 1948 to strike at least a decisive blow against it and force it far back into the western deserts of China. How many hundred million dollars were spent on preparing these military operations? Judging by the scale of operations and the greediness of the Kuomintang gang it may be assumed that the figure has long since run into billions. And in China, just as in Greece, the American generals and advisers planned to share the glory of victory with Chaing Kai-shek. But what they did share was the shame of a stunning defeat.

Under these circumstances the leaders of Anglo-American imperialism are not particularly eager; to review the old year and make out a balance sheet. They have to carry over the account into 1949. Their hopes of last year proved to be nothing but illusions.

The politicians, economists and publicity experts of the Anglo-American bloc planned to create in 1948 a sound basis for uniting Western Europe under the "Marshall Plan". The declarations about "disinterested" American aid, as everyone

knows, conceal plans for the enslavement of people and preparations for war in which the working people of the West European countries are destined to shed their blood for the profits of the American millionaires. The whole capitalist press sent up prayers for the "Marshall Plan" while Marshall himself was canonised as a holy miracle by the newspaper popes. Indeed, Marshall and his apostles showered hundreds of millions of dollars over the Europe of Bevin, Bidault and Spaak.

But, alas, the miracle did not happen. Western Europe was not united. On the contrary, it is rent by contradictions, is sinking deeper into the bog. In Belgium there are more than 200,000 unemployed, in Italy the figure is close to 2,500,000. Britain is making spasmodic attempts at least to preserve the present low standard of living for her workers. But this standard, lower than before the war, is dropping still further under the shocks of American dumping.

Considerable dissatisfaction with the American imperialists is growing throughout Western Europe. The British Catholic weekly "Truth" which suffers from the chronic malady of anti-Soviet frenzy, has the following words to say about America and the Americans: He who pays has the right to order. Perhaps the European nations will not like the dance of national renunciation which America is forcing them to perform, but at a sign from the ruthless baton of the Washington conductor the music starts up and they are forced to adopt, the necessary positions.

The Catholic hack-writers know what to say when they feel that American policy is also threatening their material interests.

The Americans are aware that their European affairs are in bad shape. The New York Post wrote on December 16: Throughout Europe, as well as throughout Asia and South America. and for that matter throughout the world, the United States is being treated with growing suspicion; it is feared and

it motives clearly doubted. This is putting it mildly. It is not only feared but also hated. Not only are its motives “doubted”; people are beginning to realise what they are—deceit of the West European peoples in order to create a favourable pre-war atmosphere for the imperialists. But the enemies of the people’s freedom are not making any headway in this. Neither will they be able to do so. Hence the raging fury in America at the statement of the French Communist Party that the French people will never fight against the Soviet Union. If this is so, then billions of American dollars have been scattered to the four winds. And it is so.

The imperialists call look back at 1948 only with bitterness in their hearts. They meet the incoming year with alarm. It promises nothing good for them. Of the imperialist world it can be said that in the past year it has grown still weaker and therefore more frenzied savage and enraged. Under no circumstances can it be said of this world that it has grown stronger or even retained its former strength. It betrays its weakness by its hysterical outbursts, terror and abuse. It is trying to hide its fear behind a semblance of martial vigour.

It dreads more and more, the tranquillity and confidence of the Socialist and democratic world.

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We, on the other hand, met the past year with hopes—hopes and plans. There is no antithesis between them. In the bourgeois world dreams are nothing but illusions and plans nothing but conjecture. The science of Marxism-Leninism replaces conjecture with foresight. It gives reality to dreams.

We wished every success and victory to Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the countries of the new democracy. And the year closed with big victories. Everywhere target figures were surpassed: 1948 took upon itself some of

the obligations of 1949. This means that 1949 will take over some of the targets of 1950. In the Soviet Union the Stalin Five Year Plan will be carried out ahead of schedule. A great Fifteen Year Plan has been projected to transform the drought areas of European Russia. In Hungary the Three Year Plan will be fulfilled in two and a half years. In Czechoslovakia the Two Year Plan has already been fulfilled. The people's democracies are passing over from two and three year plans to five and six year plans—an indication of growing socialist maturity. We wish our friends a Happy New Year! By which we mean we wish them still greater achievements. And this is no conjecture. We know it will be so.

In the Soviet Union people are accustomed to plans being fulfilled and over-fulfilled. This is a new feature in the psychology of the individual brought up by Socialism. The Soviet man believes firmly in the future and his belief is built on a solid foundation. He does not pray for a heaven-sent miracle; he does not appeal to the protection of the supernatural. He is aware of his own strength as a builder and a member of the great collective of builders—the people. He is intelligent and therefore is not afraid of the caprices of nature.

We wished for the strengthening of democracy, a genuine people's democracy, as the guarantee of strengthening a lasting peace. And now we see that the outgoing year has fulfilled our wish. The forces of democracy have grown stronger throughout the world and especially in the countries of Eastern Europe. Important changes have come to pass in a number of people's democratic states. The people removed those who tried to put spokes in the wheel of the progressive movement. Dying capitalist elements tried in vain to sabotage the dynamic work of regenerating the various countries. For more than three years after the war the agents of foreign capital spun a web of plots against the working class and the peasantry. In the fourth year this web was torn away and the howl of anger that went up in

London and New York showed precisely whose plans had been upset by the vigilance and firmness of the people.

We wished success to the growing unity of the working class—that essential guarantee for strengthening the people's democracy. And this wish was realised in 1948. The workers' parties united in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland and this laid a foundation of rock for the development and flowering of people's democracy.

In 1948 the peoples of Europe marked the centenary of 1848. In those faraway days the proletariat for the first time came forward as a revolutionary class with specific tasks and high ideals. Marx and Engels formulated these in their immortal work, "The Communist Manifesto". In the past hundred years the bourgeoisie frequently declared that Marxism was obsolete, bankrupt, impermissible and extinct doctrine. Criticism by bourgeois scientists was supplemented with "criticism", by gaoler and hangman. Hitler burned the books of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin and declared that Marxism no longer existed.

We marked the triumph of Communism and the capitalist world confirmed this triumph with desperate abuse and savage persecution of Communists. Communism is becoming a part of life itself in the Soviet Union where the construction of Socialism is nearing completion. The people's democracies have set themselves firmly on the path to Socialism. In many countries of the capitalist world the Communist Parties have become the biggest and most influential parties.

The brilliant foresight of Marx, developed further by Lenin and Stalin, is being justified in the eyes of mankind and capitalism is crumbling into dust, eaten away by contradictions and undermined by the blows of the working class and all working people. The death of the old world is birth of the new. The bourgeoisie is turning its face away from the new year; it is bringing closer its inevitable death.

The working class and the people's democracy meets the new year as the approach of the victory of Communism. Comrade Molotov said, all roads lead to Communism, and the new year comes to meet us along one of these roads. We greet you, companion of our new victories, you who are fated to witness great deeds! Like your predecessor, you will be entered with glory in the annals of Socialism.

We look into the future with calm and confidence. For the future belongs to us, to the Communists and working people, to us alone. It is the builders of Socialism, the fighters against imperialism who bear in their hearts the great confidence of the future, the feeling of great new events, the source of inexhaustible creative work and inspiration.

Day after day we go about our work; we speak the prose of labour and in the course of the year there is created out of this a poem of heroic struggle, of inspired construction.

A Happy New Year, comrades! May it be a year of happy, selfless labour for the wellbeing of the people, a year of heroic struggle for the victory of Communism!

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## EDITORIAL BOARD

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**Journal “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy” is printed and published in Bucharest, Rumania, and appears every Friday. Address of Editorial Office and Publishing House: – 56, Valeriu Braniste, Bucharest, tel. 5.10.59**