

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties the working people of the New Democracies, effecting historical changes, are successfully, laying the political and economic foundations of Socialism. The building of a socialist society is inseparably linked with the ideological struggle against the corrupt bourgeois world outlook, with the struggle for the socialist education of the broad mass of the working people.

The working class of the capitalist countries are waging a stubborn struggle for their rights, for peace and freedom. The better the Communist Parties are equipped ideologically the more successfully are they fulfilling their role as vanguard of the working class. The ideological struggle is a class struggle. It is therefore necessary to strike out continually against the enemy also in the sphere of ideology for otherwise there can be no victory over the bourgeoisie.

The world Communist movement, the vast creative activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies and the selfless struggle of the Communists in the capitalist countries against the regime of exploiters and imperialists have yielded serious victories because the struggle of the working people is constantly lit by the undying flame of the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

A number of important circumstances make it necessary to intensify ideological work at the present stage.

The struggle of the two camps—the anti-imperialist, democratic camp and the imperialist, anti-democratic camp—is growing increasingly sharper also on the ideological front.

The United States is today the centre of ideological and political reaction. The American imperialists are sparing no

efforts to poison the minds of the working people with “Americanism”, using the radio, cinema and other forms of propaganda. They are trying to befuddle the minds of the working class, split their unity and paralyse the working people’s determination to fight actively against imperialism.

American “culture”—the “culture” of gangsters; the “culture” of depravity, the “culture” of war psychosis and immorality—is today being implanted in the capitalist countries enslaved by the “Marshall Plan”, in such countries as France and Italy whose age-old culture has long been an inspiration to many peoples.

In the people’s Democracies the former dominating, exploiting classes who lost their economic and political positions are now trying to preserve and even strengthen their ideological positions. That is why, in the struggle against the power of the working people and Socialism, they are trying to make wide use of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, of the reactionary influence of the church, the rotten ideology of bourgeois democracy, reactionary theories in the sphere of national history, philosophy, political economy, of such “fashionable” trends in literature and art as formalism, surrealism and so on.

The vanquished bourgeoisie which hates the new, people’s democratic fatherland of the working people is banking on the U.S. monopolists who are trying to unleash war, is becoming their accomplice, and bitter enemy of the independence and freedom of their countries.

In their anti-popular struggle on the ideological front the bourgeoisie try above all to rely on the reactionary intellectual circles which cling to the culture of the exploiting classes.

The bourgeoisie are leaving no method untried in their struggle against the working class and its ideology: the church hierarchy, idealistic philosophy, the press, radio and literature, the renegades of Socialism. And in such capitalist countries as

for instance, in fascist Spain or “democratic” America, the entire police apparatus has been lined-up against the ideology of Communism.

In their struggle against the ideology of the working class, the bourgeoisie have allotted a special role to clerical reaction headed by the Vatican—international centre of political reaction, religious obscurantism and medievalism. For the sake of maintaining the domination of the exploiters and their own earthly comforts, the descendants of the Inquisitors, are using the Catholic church as a weapon of struggle against the working class. It has been proved that the rulers of the Catholic church are implicated in all the machinations of reaction in the People’s Democracies, in the attempts to restore the overthrown anti-popular and corrupt regimes in these countries. They are also in the front ranks of the reactionaries of France, Italy, Spain, the U.S. and other countries.

A decisive struggle against bourgeois ideology, particularly against the ideology of Wall Street, is the cardinal task of the Communists at the present stage of development of the People’s Democracies toward Socialism and of the Communist movement in the capitalist countries. If the Communist Parties are to defeat the enemy decisively on the ideological front they must treasure like the apples of their eye the purity of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; they must not cede to the class enemy one single brick from the majestic and monolithic edifice of Marxism-Leninism; they must irreconcilably combat all theoretical distortions. A liberal, tolerant attitude to distortions in ideological work inflicts great harm on the Communist movement, on the work of building Socialism. The bourgeois nationalist Tito clique’s dastardly betrayal of the democratic camp headed by the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, and the switch-over of this clique to the imperialist camp, to the camp of the bitter enemies of the working class, peace and progress, such is the outcome of renunciation of the

ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties which have grown stronger organisationally and ideologically now have every possibility of launching a still wider offensive against the ideology of imperialism, the ideology of misanthropy and of instigators of a new world war. The experience of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. must be taken into account in the struggle on the ideological front. In the course of its history this Party has routed more than one enemy and today, while educating the Soviet people in the spirit of Communism, it is at the same time inflicting telling blow on the ideology of international reaction.

Today when the objective possibilities for the victory of the working class are at hand in the capitalist countries, and in the People's Democracies the objective conditions for building Socialism, victory depends to a decisive extent on the ideological maturity and steadfastness of Communist cadres.

That is why the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres is a vital task for all Communist and Workers' Parties.

In the People's Democracies, the training of theoretical cadres calls for special attention, for without such training it is impossible to solve the complex tasks of building a new ideology. In this connection, a very important role is played by the theoretical activity of the Party, by the theoretical journals, by various Party schools and Marxist-Leninist self-study, by newspaper and other forms of Party propaganda.

Of vast importance is the training of a new intelligentsia, loyal to Socialism, which comes from the ranks of workers and peasants. At the same time the people's democratic order is drawing into the work of building Socialism all sections of the intelligentsia genuinely anxious to take part in creating a new line. Literature and art, which must become one of the most powerful means for the socialist education of the mass, are being made accessible to everyone. However, the working

class can build a new ideology and in this way further strengthen Socialist construction only after it has put into operation every possible means of building a new culture, national in form and socialist in content.

The working class, having taken the helm of state administration, will do everything to develop the people's creative effort as never before and build a new socialist culture based on the finest achievements of the past, a culture capable of inspiring the people in the great struggle for Socialism.

Marxist-Leninist ideology which expresses not only the interests but also the culture of the most advanced class of modern times—the proletariat—is the invincible force in the struggle against the corrupt culture of imperialism and for the victory of Socialism.

IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

A message to trade unions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on behalf of 130,000 Scotch trade unionists was sent recently from a Glasgow meeting. The Scottish workers protested against the preparations for a new war, and called for struggle for a lasting and sable peace, for friendship and cooperation between the British and the Soviet peoples.

On the 8 and 9, meetings of factory and office workers were held in Kiev, Kharkov and Lvov to discuss the message from the Scottish trade unions. Over 160,000 people came to the meetings.

The scientific cultural workers and Stakhanovites who spoke at the meetings sent messages of greetings and friendship the working men and women of Scotland, and promised to increase the might of the Soviet Union—the bulwark of peace—by means of selfless labour.

Replying to the Scottish trade unions the Kiev workers said:

“Like all the Soviet people, we working people of the Soviet Ukraine view the attempts of the warmongers to unleash a new world slaughter with anger and hatred. We joyfully received your declaration that you too will fight firmly and resolutely against the warmongers and will frustrate the attempts of the reactionaries to provoke a third world war”.

MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES FOR A LASTING PEACE, AGAINST THE WARMONGERS IS GROWING AND STRENGTHENING

World Peace Congress Delegates Report Back

After the Paris World Peace Congress, the peace campaign in Britain developed on a much wider scale and is steadily gaining momentum as meetings are held all over the country showing the people's determination to fight for peace.

The campaign to popularise the work of the Congress and carry out its decisions was launched on May 18 when five big rallies were held simultaneously, in London, organised by the British Cultural Committee for Peace. The halls were filled to over-flowing and crowds of disappointed people waited outside.

The meetings enthusiastically gave Britain's battle pledge for peace: "We affirm the passionate desire of the British people for peace."

"We British people," pledged the thousands of Londoners, "refuse to allow Britain to become a base for aggression."

The three hundred British delegates to the Congress have been giving report of the Paris Congress in towns and villages, all over the country.

Peace Movement In Rumania

A recent meeting of the Rumanian Permanent Peace Committee elected an Executive Committee with Professor Sadoveanu, Member of the Academy, as Chairman.

Delegates to the World Peace Congress who addressed meetings in town and villages throughout the country called upon the people to take an active part in the struggle for peace. The Rumanian press is popularising the struggle for peace which is being waged by the peoples of the world headed by the Soviet Union. The newspapers are exposing the criminal designs of the warmongers.

Preparations For Peace Congress In Hungary

On the initiative of the Hungarian delegation to the World Peace Congress, a meeting was held in Budapest of representatives of the National Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals, the Trade Union Council, the Union of Democratic Women of Hungary, Hungarian People's Youth League, the Alliance of Working Peasants and Agricultural Labourers, the People's Army, League of Fighters for Freedom, church organisations, and representatives of various art and science societies.

The meeting decided to hold an all-Hungarian Peace Congress on June 17-18.

A preparatory commission consisting of 40 representatives of the various organisations was set up to handle the organisational matters connected with the Congress.

Growing Activity of French People

To carry out the aims of the World Peace Congress, leading democratic organisations in France are intensifying the campaign in defence of peace and to stop the war in Viet Nam.

On May 29 the ceremony at the P re Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, in memory of the Paris Commune, turned into a powerful demonstration in defence of peace. For three hours Parisians en masse shouted the slogans: "All for Peace!", "Peace for Viet-Nam!", "Friendship with the Soviet Union, for peace!", "We thank Stalin for peace!"

In response to the call of the Committee of the World Peace Congress, a great demonstration was held on June 10 in the martyred town of Oradour-sur-Glane. The Union of French Women organised a meeting in Marseilles on June 6 which was attended by 100,000 people.

The National Congress of the Union of French Women in Marseilles, the France-Soviet Congress in Montreuil and the congresses of Francs-Tireurs and Partisans in Gennevilliers as well as the national congress of Fighters for Peace in Paris held numerous meetings in defence of peace.

On Mothers' Day, delegations of working people went to the town halls of many Paris municipalities. In Gentiily (Seine department, of the initiative of the municipal council, a broad local committee was formed with representatives from the organisations of women and youth, resistance fighters, veterans and trade unions. After a referendum had been taken by letters addressed to all the mothers of the municipality, a petition was sent to the government demanding the improvement of working conditions and the reduction of military credits.

In Paris, Minister of Health Schneiter and a de Gaullist councillor spoke at a meeting at the Mothers' Monument. But their voices were drowned by cries of "Peace for Viet Nam!" "Down with the Atlantic Pact!" and they had to cut their

speeches and give up their places to Maria Rebate, Communist M.P. for Paris.

Many peace demonstrations have also been held in factories, particularly in the Paris region at Argenteuil, Billancourt, Courbevois-la-Garenne and Clichy.

Aircraft workers, threatened with new dismissals, are demanding peace-time work. Boot and shoe workers of Flayost (Var department) won their demand that the manufacturers refuse all war contracts.

The letters from the Bureau of the World Peace Congress and the Union of French Women to the four foreign ministers met with great enthusiasm.

The attacks against Joliot-Curie, President of the Bureau of the World Peace Congress threatened with dismissal from his post as chief atomic energy expert have evoked protests from eminent French scientists and all French atomic energy workers.

Strengthening The Front of Struggle For World Peace In China

The Chinese delegation to the World Peace Congress has proposed that a permanent organisation should be formed in China to fight for world peace keeping close contact with the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress and giving it every possible support.

In their report on the work of the Congress, just published the delegation suggests that the people's organisations in China which elected delegates to the World Peace Congress should display initiative in settling up such an organisation.

The main force in the united front of fighters for peace is the great Soviet Union, the delegates' statement declared. The Chinese people whose day of complete victory is approaching,

are one of the pillars of this front.

On behalf of the Chinese people the delegation solemnly pledged to fight with renewed energy to complete the revolution, to change China from an agricultural country into an industrial one so that she should take the path of Socialism as soon as possible. In this way the Chinese peoples will give the greatest help to the cause of defending world peace.

Mass Protests In U.S. Against Atlantic Pact

Three thousand delegates representing 45 trade unions and other mass organisations of New York travelled to Washington on June 8 to protest against the North Atlantic Pact and the anti-Communist persecution and also to demand that the Truman Government should fulfil its election pledges by unreservedly rejecting the Taft-Hartly act, passing bills. guaranteeing civil rights, by providing homes for the people improving health services, and so on.

Two thousand people joined the picket lines which marched past the White House bearing posters which read: "Peace negotiations, no war pacts".

A delegation called on Deputy Attorney General Campbell to protest against the imprisonment of the Communist Party leaders Gates, Winston and Hall and against progressive people of foreign origin being deported from the United States.

Appeal From World Federation Of Democratic Youth

The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth has addressed an appeal to the youth

throughout the world in which it stresses the readiness of young people to respond to the call of the World Peace Congress to struggle for peace, against war and the Atlantic Pact.

The Executive Committee called upon the young people to unite with the champions of peace in the democratic organisations of working people, women and intellectuals and with them take part in the big international youth rally to be held in Budapest on August 14 to 28, and in the subsequent World Youth Congress opening also to Budapest on September 2.

Italian Working People's Petition

The dimensions of the people's movement to send a petition to Parliament against ratifying the Atlantic Pact has thrown the de Gasperi Government into confusion. Scelba's orders to prefects that the collection of signature should be banned and the lists of signatures scrapped have been received with deep indignation by the people. All democratic organisations are taking an increasing active part in this campaign.

The ban imposed on the rally of 100,000 young people in Rome on June 12 was the signal for great protest demonstrations in Turin, Florence, Leghorn, Piombino, Spezia and other towns. In Genoa workers at the big plants downed tools for half an hour in protest against Scelba's order. In Milan, Bologna and other towns, meetings were held in the factories.

In Rome artists, painters, sculptors, journalists and writers gathered in the House of Culture to discuss the petition.

Democratic youth organisations also mobilised their forces to collect signatures for the petition. During the last week of

May dozens of meetings were held in the cinemas, on the streets and squares of all towns and villages. Young office and factory workers and students competed with each other to collect signatures, canvass schools, factories, homes, and so on. In the Rome suburb of Torpignattara, 34 young Catholics from the Oratorio Don Bosco signed the petition and joined the Communist youth Federation.

On June 2, anniversary of the Republic, meetings against the Atlantic Pact were held throughout the country on the initiative of the National Petitions Committee and the result of the collection of signatures announced.

The meeting in Rome, attended by more than 100,000 people, was addressed by Scoccimarro (Communist Party), Morandi (Socialist Party), and Della Seta (Republican Party). The announcement was made that according to preliminary data 345,000 signatures were collected in the Rome Province. All meetings on June 2 were held under the slogan of struggle for peace and freedom.

PUSHKIN CELEBRATION IN THE U.S.S.R.

In the first half, of June the 150th anniversary since the birth of the brilliant Russian poet, Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin, was widely celebrated in the U.S.S.R. The celebrations acquired an international character—in many countries intellectuals and working people paid tribute to the genius of the bard of freedom, the founder of Russian realistic literature. The love of the working people of the world for the Russian people who are in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, democracy and against imperialism, was particularly vividly expressed in these days.

In the Soviet Union the Pushkin celebration took the form of a nation wide holiday. In towns and villages Soviet people honoured the memory of their great compatriot. A special anniversary meeting was held in Moscow attended by eminent figures of Soviet culture, by representatives of the fraternal republics and literary figures of many nationalities. Among the speakers at this meeting was the well-known progressive Danish writer, Martin Andersen Nexø, who said: “In the Soviet Union, in the Republic of working people, talent is treasured as nowhere else in the world. The old world boasts of its ‘individualism’ but it turns talent into a formless mass when it can no longer be used for advertisements. And here in the land of Soviets the people honour their poets for what they have accomplished.”

Why is Pushkin dear to the working people and to progressive mankind? The genius of Pushkin inspired and continues to inspire the finest forces who consciously serve the people. Pushkin dreamed of the time when the star of enchanting happiness and freedom would rise over his Motherland, then Russia would awaken from her sleep, when those who came after would inscribe on the ruins of the autocracy the names of those who yearned for the day of sacred

freedom. In his works Pushkin condemned the morals and customs of serfdom, denounced slavery both in its naked form and in the disguise of so-called bourgeois liberties. He passionately condemned baseness, greed, humiliation of human dignity and proclaimed the great principles of freedom and humanism. Pushkin was the founder of Russian literature which is distinguished for its realism.

Pushkin loved his people, their greatness of heart and their industrious, straightforward and irreconcilable character. Pushkin was confident that the joy of life would triumph in the world and tyranny be crushed.

Pushkin's influence on Russian and world literature is tremendous. After his death the bourgeoisie, fearing his progressive influence on the people, announced through their literary hirelings that there would be an "eclipse of the Pushkin sun", a "phase of depression and darkness when the image of Pushkin would be dimmed". Later, the utterly false assertion was made that the works of Pushkin were based on an indifferent imitation of foreign characters. All this was done with the sole purpose of isolating Pushkin's work from the people.

However the Great October Revolution and the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. brought Pushkin and other classics of Russian literature still closer to the people. After they had thrown off the chains of exploitation and smashed the capitalist order, the broad masses of the Soviet Union were enabled to read Pushkin, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Lermontov and other classics. A cultural revolution swept the land of Soviets, a revolution which placed the outstanding achievements of the past at the service of the people. Pushkin's cherished dream was realised: his works reached the hearts of millions of ordinary people. Since the establishment of Soviet power Pushkin's works in the U.S.S.R. have been published in nearly 45 million copies. There is hardly a family without books, by

Pushkin on the bookshelf.

The Pushkin anniversary was celebrated by public opinion throughout the world and especially in the People's Democracies where the people have started to build their socialist culture. These celebrations, of course, were not to the liking of the "slanderers of Russia", to the people who have taken to the profession of smearing the Soviet peoples. This time the hired hack writers directed their pens against the bright memory of Pushkin whose contribution to the treasure house of world culture is priceless. People who have forgotten Balzac, Flaubert and Dickens, and who extol Nietzsche, Sartre and their like are indignant because Pushkin is translated into so many languages. A certain Andre Pierre writes in the Paris newspaper "Le Monde": "It would be interesting to learn what has become of Pushkin's poems, so fine in form and musical in rhythm, after their translation into the coarse languages of the Buryat-Mongolians, Komi, Yakuts and Chuvashi." It is difficult to say which is the more violent in, this sentence—slander against Pushkin whose creative work was always distinguished for its militant civic spirit or slander again, the Soviet peoples.

We are not surprised at the fact that the bourgeois hackwriters have lined up against Pushkin. This is only to the credit of the great poet whose civic courage, whose love for freedom and the people is not to the liking of the greedy misanthropes threatening to wipe whole nations off the face of the earth and to hurl mankind into, savagery. Not only the Communists of France and Italy, not only Gorky and Barbusse are preventing these people from buying the people's conscience with powdered eggs. They are also balked by the ideas of humanism and progress propagated by the great creators of culture of the past. In literature and art the contemporary bourgeoisie is forcing its henchmen to strangle everything that is a call to struggle, everything that strengthens

faith in man, is forcing them to propagate lies, deceit and moral and physical decay. That is why the gutter sheets have set up a howl about Pushkin.

It is not accidental that these gentlemen have combined their slander against Pushkin with slander against the Soviet peoples. Both types of slander serve the same purpose to vilify the Soviet peoples and thus serve the American masters. This example once again shows the methods resorted to by imperialist propaganda which is fomenting hatred against the Soviet Union. Let these gentlemen know that Pushkin is translated into the 76 languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and every citizen in the U.S.S.R. is proud of this fact. The strength of Socialism lies in the fact that it brings mankind freedom while capitalism is digging its grave by enslaving peoples, unleashing war and whipping up an atmosphere of hatred for everything alive and progressive, an atmosphere of a moral wilderness.

The two camps—the democratic and imperialist camps—regard the classic heritage of the past differently. During the Pushkin celebration the genius of the writer whose creative works is more and more becoming the property of different peoples, shone forth in all its splendour. And against this background of the people's love and respect for the great humanists, the contemptible role of the contemporary oppressors of culture is seen in all its ugliness.

POLITICAL PROVOCATEURS. V.

Poptomov, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee Bulgarian Communist Party

For a year now the Tito clique has openly demonstrated its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the democratic and socialist front headed by the Soviet Union.

The Tito clique has accomplished a truly remarkable evolution in the direction of becoming transformed into a special agency of Anglo-American imperialism. A host of irrefutable facts show how, by making more grievous its nationalist mistakes, this clique developed from being renegades to Marxism-Leninism into political provocateurs against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Everyone remembers how the Tito clique reacted to the criticism of its nationalist mistakes made in letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and in the Resolution of the Information Bureau. They assumed an air of injured innocence and began to scream that they had been "misunderstood", that the charges did not "fit in with the facts" and that this "misunderstanding" was the result of ignorance of Yugoslav affair on the part of the leaders of the CPSU(B) and other Communist Parties. The Tito-ites tried to hold Comrades Juovic and Hebrang responsible for this "misunderstanding" alleging that they had slandered the "innocents" Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and company and misled their Soviet comrades.

What do we see today?

Today the Tito-ites themselves admit that the break with the Information Bureau, with the CPSU(B) and other Communist Parties is not due to a "misunderstanding" or

“slander” by “traitors”. It is now clear that this is the result of a deliberate, hostile policy against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies in the interests of Anglo-American imperialism.

Addressing the Slovene Academy of Sciences in Ljubljana on November 16, 1948, Tito offered quite a different explanation for the situation that had arisen between the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, and the CPSU(B) and the Information Bureau. He advanced the provocative thesis that the reason for unfriendly relations was the economic policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies toward Yugoslavia, a policy which he claimed did not differ from the policy of the capitalist powers. “Such is the gist of the matter. There is no question of our withdrawal from the path of Socialism,” was Tito’s shameless lie. Addressing the Skupstchina in Belgrade on December 22, 1948, Tito again repeated the provocative thesis—this time in a more open and flagrant form.

Kardelj also echoed Tito when he spoke at the Second Congress of the Serbian Communist Party. Accusing the People’s Democracies and the Soviet Union of waging a “slander campaign” against Yugoslavia, Kardelj let slip that “the essential point in this campaign is: what should be the relations between socialist countries.”

Having betrayed the socialist camp, the Tito-ites charge the U.S.S.R and the People’s Democracies with having a “non-socialist” attitude toward them.

By indulging in such monstrous slander the Tito clique thought they would be able to kill two birds with one stone. First, hoped that this slander would serve to conceal from the Yugoslav people the treacherous policy of turning the country into a semi-colony of the American imperialists. Secondly, by slandering the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, they hoped to present the situation as though it were the camp

of democracy and Socialism and not the imperialist camp that is today threatening Yugoslavia's independence. Here the role of the Tito clique as the agent-provocateur of Anglo-American imperialist interests is seen in all its ugliness.

In their last May Day manifesto, the Tito-ites again openly demonstrated that they were the agents of the American pretenders to world domination. In order to cover up the aggressive nature of the North Atlantic Pact which is directed against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, in order to besmirch the widespread movement for peace and its great standard bearer, the Soviet Union, the Tito-ites, with the cynicism of professional provocateurs, accused the Soviet Union of "suppressing the principle of defence and aid to small nations, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, of rejecting the principle of economic and other cooperation and the principle of ever closer rapprochement among the socialist powers on the basis of equality." ("Borba", May 1, 1949).

The imperialist intelligence services must have been very pleased with the Tito-ites covert provocations inside the Socialist camp. And now that the Tito-ites have deliberately broken with the Socialist camp, the intelligence services are just pleased to see them in their new role.

Every day the Tito clique add to their provocative activities against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Tito-ites have turned Yugoslavia into a torture-chamber for all true socialists and democrats and into a promised land for all the enemies of democracy and Socialism. Fascist and reactionary dregs of the old regimes, all kinds of renegades, trotskyites, anarchists, professional Anglo-American spies, adventurers, murderers, thieves and other such rabble who fled

from the People's Democracies to escape punishment, are today sheltering under the wing of the Tito clique. Tito's notorious police chief, Rankovic, has boasted more than once in official speeches about the number of criminals who have swarmed to Yugoslavia from the neighbouring People's Democracies. Naturally, he has tried to present them as martyrs for "Tito Socialism". Now Rankovic is hand-picking his spies, diversionists and terrorists from this counter-revolutionary riff-raff and is sanding them to work in the New Democracies. A number of subversive gangs of this type was recently discovered in Albania. It was ascertained at their trial that these people had arranged to murder leading figures in the Communist Party and state apparatus of the Albanian People's Republic. Similar gangs have recently been discovered in Bulgaria.

The bourgeoisie has always relied on provocateurs, sending them into the ranks of the working class. There are many examples in history of a dying class, in an attempt to retain or restore its power, resorting to the services of people who are capable of the foulest activities. The Tito-ites are following in the footsteps of the arch provocateurs Azef and Doriot, Trotsky and Bukharin.

They are playing an important role in the frenzied efforts of imperialist reaction to split the international working-class movement. They have been assigned a difficult job by the Anglo-American imperialists; to disrupt the Communist Parties in other countries, particularly in the People's Democracies and to form counter-revolutionary factions there, using for this purpose provocations taken from the trotskyite arsenal of treachery. And to this end the Tito-ites are already working feverishly. Their embassies in the People's Democracies have become centres for circulating nationalist propaganda and rallying points for provocateurs and spies.

Recently Tito invented a monstrous new provocation

which was given world publicity by imperialism's powerful propaganda apparatus. "We have proof", he alleged, "that there are agents of capitalist states among high officials of certain Communist Parties." The object of this provocation is clear: to undermine the Communist Parties. The Tito news agency, Tanjug, which is now one of the main sources for feeding the Anglo-American imperialist propaganda machine with provocative slander, put out the falsehood that 300 Bulgarian Communists had been arrested on espionage charges. This canard was reproduced by the press and radio in all capitalist countries and was the basis for yet another reactionary campaign against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union.

Tito agents have also attempted to disintegrate the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece, to drive a wedge between the Slav-Macedonian and Greek working people and sow discord among them in order to weaken the liberation struggle in Greece. On May 5 the "Free Greece" radio station was compelled to expose this criminal provocative role of Tito agents in Greece.

To provide additional weapons for the imperialists' propaganda arsenal, the Tito-ites have recently staged a number of trials, putting in the dock former war criminals and other elements who are forced to slander well-known members of the Parties and governments of the People's Democracies. Two such trials were held with the People's Republic of Bulgaria "in the dock": one in Skopje last year and the other in Nish last April.

When, in the autumn of last year the Churchills, Bevins, Blums and other war-mongers met in London to set up, under the aegis of American imperialism and behind the back of the

West European peoples, a unified, western bloc military command directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, when they prepared the ground for the North Atlantic Pact the Tito-ites came to their assistance with another provocative lie designed to divert public opinion. In the Skupstchina on September 30, 1948, the Prime Minister of Serbia, Stambolic, put out the Tito-fabricated slander that government spokesmen in Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania were engaging in propaganda against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia. Imperialist propaganda lost no time in taking up this piece of slander to present the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union as the aggressors and disruptors of peace.

An even more fantastic fabrication against the U.S. and the People's Democracies was spread by the Tito-ites last March, at the very time when secret talks regarding the exact nature of the North Atlantic Pact were in progress in Washington and the Pact was about to be signed. On March 6 "Borba" carried a sensational article by one of Tito's henchmen, Moshe Pijade, headed "Regarding Balkan Federation." This concoction about the future unification of the three parts of Macedonia into a single independent state was levelled against the Bulgarian Communist Party which, it was alleged, was seeking to build up a "Greater Bulgaria" at the expense of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and Greece."

This piece of slander was immediately flashed to the dollar-subsidised propaganda apparatus of the capitalist countries. For weeks running the reactionary press of America, Britain, France and Italy intimidated world opinion with nonsense about "Moscow's new plans in the Balkans" which "threaten the integrity of Yugoslavia and Greece", with "concentration of troops near the frontiers of these states" and similar fantasies. The London "Times" (March 21) in an article entitled "U.N. Watch on Moves in Macedonia" wrote: "The

increased interest in this area is appreciated by the Greek Government because of reports, so far unconfirmable here, that Bulgaria, with the help of Russian instructors, is organising brigades of Bulgarian Macedonians for raids on both Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia... in preparation to proclaim the establishment of a Macedonian State comprising the Greek, Bulgarian and Yugoslav areas as part of a Balkan Communist Federation under Bulgarian direction". The "New York Times" repeated in an editorial on April 23 the slander about Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia being annexed to Bulgarian Macedonia to form an independent state under Soviet control.

What aims did this deliberate provocation by the Tito-ites serve?

First, they put up a smoke-screen of slander hoping it would hide from the world the vast plot against peace that was being hatched in Washington. At that particularly critical moment it was necessary to divert the people's attention from the Anglo-American warmongers. The Tito-ites offered their services for this and beat the alarm about the serious danger threatening the Balkans".

Second, the Tito-ites wanted to smear the Greek Communist Party as a "traitor party" which, it was alleged, was preparing to dismember Greece. In this way they sought to strengthen the position of the decaying monarcho-fascist clique in Greece which has been completely discredited in the eyes of the masses.

And finally, their aim was to justify the despatch of fresh contingents of British and American occupation troops to Greece.

By slandering the leaders of Bulgaria who, they assert, are seeking possession of all Macedonia, the Tito-ites are at the same time trying to foment nationalism and to present themselves as "peaceful lambs" attacked by wicked wolves.

Tito himself has only recently given further irrefutable

proof of the deliberate collaboration of his gang with the American warmongers in political provocation. It can be found in his replies to questions submitted by Kingsbury Smith, European General-Manager of "International News Service", published in the Yugoslav press on May 7. In his answers Tito tries, through this American agency, to alarm world opinion with his old story that Yugoslavia's independence and territorial integrity is threatened, hinting that certain outside efforts are being made to break Macedonia away from Yugoslavia.

The political diversions and provocations against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies in which the Tito-ites have lately been specialising will only hasten the day when, stripped of the hypocritical mask of "builders of Socialism", the real face of the traitors to their country, provocateurs in the service of the Anglo-American warmongers, will be exposed to the Yugoslav people.

SECOND CONGRESS POLISH TRADE UNIONS

The Second Congress of the Polish Trade Unions held in Warsaw over June 1-5 was a highly important political event in the life of the working class and the people as a whole.

Since the time of the first Congress, held in 1945, the trade unions of regenerated Poland grew from 1,300,000 members to three and a half million. About 90 per cent of all factory and office workers belong to trade unions.

The Congress was preceded by numerous meetings in factories, offices, and in workers' settlements. At these meetings the audiences discussed suggestions which the delegates were instructed to place before Congress. The weeks that preceded the Congress saw the development of a widespread emulation movement. Goods to the value of several billion zloty were produced in excess of the plan in honour of the Congress. Some 1,800 delegates, elected at trade union meetings, took part in the work of the Congress. Of these 1,100 came from factories and 700 from offices.

Among the guests at the Congress were trade union representatives from seventeen countries. The delegation from the Soviet trade unions was headed by Comrade Goroshkin; Comrade Frachon headed the delegation from the French General Confederation of Labour. There were also delegations from the Italian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian Rumanian, Austrian and other trade union bodies. Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions spoke at the Congress. Telegrams containing greetings were received from trade unions in other countries including longshoremen in the United States and Newcastle (Britain) Trades Council. Comrade Goroshkin's speech made a big impression on the delegates, being interrupted time and again by applause and

cheers in honour of the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin.

A rousing reception was accorded Tsien Chun-sin, representative of People's China. President Bierut, who is Chairman of the United Workers Party of Poland, and Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz, Secretary of the Party, also addressed the Congress. The Chairman of the Peasants' Mutual Aid League, in greeting the delegates, referred to the significance of the alliance between the workers and peasants and of the large-scale assistance rendered by the workers in cementing the bonds between town and countryside.

Comrade Zawadski, Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party, delivered a report on the role of the trade unions in the system of People's Democracy. Comrade Cwik, Secretary of the Central Trade Union Commission, delivered the main report to the Congress which also heard reports on: the struggle of the Trade Unions for peace; role and task of the Unions in carrying through the Six-Year Plan; draft of new rules for the Unions.

Comrade Zawadski in his report dwelt on the role of the Polish Unions in the international trade union movement. The Polish unions, he said, helped to organise the World Federation of Trade Unions and are taking an active part in the struggle against the disruptive activity of the agents of the Anglo-American imperialists in the world trade union movement.

Comrade Zawadski pointed to the greatly increased leading role played by the working class in Poland. The first dealt with the ideological and organisational unification of the trade unions. Since then the unions have become stronger and not single measure has been undertaken in the new Poland without their active participation. They helped carry through the land reform, in the nationalisation of big and medium industry, were part of the democratic bloc during the popular referendum and in the general election. Together with the Party organisations the unions fostered and organised the movement for increased

labour productivity which has now developed into mass socialist emulation.

Referring to the difficulties and short-comings in the work of the unions, Zawadski said that the explanation for these should be sought in the influx into the ranks of the working class of petty bourgeois elements from town and countryside, in the survivals of reformism, distortion of the real meaning of the independence and non-partisanship of the trade unions.

At the present moment, the trade unions are not doing enough to rally the workers for the carrying out of the current tasks, and are not devoting the necessary attention to guiding the emulation. Here and there it is possible to find trade union functionaries who remain aloof from the masses, while bureaucracy can be found at certain links in the trade union apparatus.

Comrade Cwik General Secretary of the Central Commission of Trade Unions, said that the job of securing centralisation in the Unions had resulted in setting up 31 centralised trade union bodies. The youth sections cater for 300,000 young workers. Referring to the improvement in the standard of living, Comrade Cwik said that the Ministry of Industry and Trade had expended on the social needs of factory and office workers, four billion zloty in 1947; seven billion in 1948 and, according to the plan, would expend 16 billion zloty on social services during the current year. Social insurance has been extended considerably, and now includes all agricultural workers and the families of working people.

Ninety five delegates—leading workers, trade union functionaries, teachers and cultural workers—took part in discussion.

The Congress adopted the new rules of the United Trade Unions, which will help in maintaining closer contact between the central bodies of the unions and the lower organs and the rank and file membership. Henceforth the Central Council will

be known as the Central Council of Trade Unions. Comrade Zawadski was elected chairman of the Council.

According to the new rules, there will now be a trade union organisation in each enterprise headed by the factory committee. The factory organisation will be divided into trade union groups of from twenty to thirty members, with a responsible member of charge. The Congress also elaborated the draft of a bill concerning the status of trade unions in Poland. The Congress also elaborated the draft of a bill concerning the status of trade unions in Poland. The bill has been passed on to the Sejm for ratification.

YOUTH CONFERENCE IN PARIS

The conference of the youth of the Paris district took place recently in the Trade Union House in Paris.

Delegates representing young workers were present from most of the industrial enterprises in and around the capital. Greetings were brought to the conference by representatives of the youth movement in Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. Mosku Janku, member of the Committee for the protection of working youth, greeted the young workers of Paris on behalf of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Gaston Monmousseau, Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour, and Tollet, Secretary of the Youth Section of the CGT, also addressed the gathering.

In the discussion which followed the report delivered by Paul Crot, Secretary, Youth Committee of the Paris Trade Unions, the factory delegates described the struggle which the young workers of Paris are waging for peace, for a better life, against the lowering of wages and increasing prices, against unemployment, and their work in enrolling the factory youth into the trade unions.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF SLOVAKIA. V. Siroky, Member, Presidium, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The industrialisation of Slovakia is one of the basic tasks of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in its struggle to build Socialism in our country.

Guided by the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the Party has been striving, since the national equality of the Slovaks and Czechs was effected, to create the material conditions under which the equal rights of the Slovak people could be put into practice for, owing to specific historical conditions, Slovakia has been left far behind by the Czech lands in economic development.

Socialist industrialisation and speedy economic and cultural development in Slovakia will eliminate the consequences of the national oppression of the Slovaks and make possible an all-round economic, social and cultural development of the Slovak people bringing them up to the level of the Czech people and thus further consolidating the fraternal unity of the two peoples.

By its struggle up till now the Communist Party has created necessary conditions for Slovakia's industrialisation. It has brought about the nationalisation of basic industries, the introduction of planning and the establishment of fraternal mutual relations between Czechs and Slovaks. The Communist Party has ruthlessly fought against the anti-Slovak chauvinism of the Czech bourgeoisie and the anti-Czech separatism of the Slovak bourgeoisie as well as all manifestation of bourgeois nationalism within its own ranks. Of great significance for Slovakia's industrial development was the February victory over reaction and the events which followed: the adoption of

the new Constitution guaranteeing equality for Czechs and Slovaks and the formation of one united Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This opened a new epoch, an epoch of fraternal cooperation between our peoples and of building a Socialist State.

The policy of the economic, social and cultural development of Slovakia was concretely outlined in the statement of the first Gottwald Government which in 1946 called for the drafting of the Two-Year Plan. This statement declared:

“An important task of the Two-Year Plan is to create a basis for the industrialisation of Slovakia. For the unity of the State it is necessary to bring the economic level of Slovakia quickly up to that of the Czech lands. This means that conditions must be created under which raw materials and power resources can be fully utilised together with manpower reserves so that Slovakia’s old industry can be extended and a new modern industry built.

Thus Slovakia’s industrialisation started under the Two-Year Plan. Only the people’s democratic system securing the country’s development toward Socialism, proved to be capable of realising the aspirations of the Slovak people, the struggle for which is the pivot of their history in modern times.

When Slovakia belonged to Hungary whose ruling bourgeois and landlord classes aimed at destroying the Slovaks as a nation, the position of the Slovaks was made worse by the country’s general economic backwardness. In 1913, only 17 per cent of the population of the territory that is now Slovakia were working in industry or in handicraft production. Whereas, at that time nearly 41 per cent of the Czech population were working in industry or in artisan production. Slovakia lagged half a century behind the Czech lands.

In the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic the contradictions of capitalism were reflected in national

contradictions. The imperialist policy of Czech finance capital toward the Slovak people showed itself by a false conception of the Czechoslovak nation and by building up a scornful and chauvinist attitude toward the Slovaks. The growing social oppression of the Slovak people and the bourgeois policy of setting Czechs and Slovaks one against the other provided the soil for a separatist movement in Slovakia which made use of the influence of the church. The policy of the bourgeois parties and of the Social Democrats who docilely echoed the bourgeoisie also on the national question, weakened the unity of the State. Only the Communist Party (particularly after its Fifth Congress held in 1929) was able to unite the Czech and Slovak proletariat within the framework of the general working class movement and of united struggle against the common oppressors. This unity became the backbone of the fraternal co-existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples in a united, liberated Republic.

The Czech financial oligarchy closed down Slovak factories, restricted the weak Slovak industry, and aggravated the difference between the West and the East of the Republic in 1937—when Czechoslovakia was threatened by Hitler aggression—there were 105,000 workers in Slovak industry, that is, only 10,000 more than in 1913.

In the bourgeois-democratic Republic, Slovakia still had no modern industry, and backward agricultural production predominated.

The Czech bourgeoisie wanted to keep Slovakia at the level of a backward agrarian country. The people “solved” their social problems by emigrating. Between the end of the last century and the first world war, half a million people emigrated from Slovakia. During the 20 years of the pre-Munich Republic, 180,000 people left the country although it was extremely difficult to emigrate. Over 300,000 Slovaks lived on small agricultural holdings of less than two hectares; 140,000

low-paid agricultural workers constituted the biggest proletarian section in Slovakia. There were also thousands of unemployed and of unskilled workers who were able find casual employment for a few months of the year only. One-third of the population lived in conditions which even according to official bourgeois statistics were below the subsistence minimum. This was the fate capitalism had prepared for the working people of Slovakia.

The industrialisation of Slovakia is an integral part of the economic development of the Czechoslovak Republic as a whole. Planned economy can develop the productive forces more quickly than capitalism only if it develops all regions of the country, at the same time making full use of all material resources and manpower. Therefore it is essential to industrialise the regions which under capitalism were industrially backward. This applies to the whole of Central and South-Eastern Europe where the growth of productive force was restricted by the big imperialist states and concerns, and where programmes of industrialisation were drawn up after bourgeois rule had been eliminated.

The specific feature of industrialisation in Czechoslovakia is this whereas the Eastern part of the Republic, Slovakia, is an industrially backward region, the Western part, the Czech lands, is one of the most developed industrial regions in Western Europe. This means that there are favourable conditions for the industrialisation of Slovakia. Slovakia is fully supported by the economically more advanced Czech people and by the technical experience of their advanced industry. Some economists erroneously believe that Slovakia's industrialisation is a matter for Slovaks alone and only important to the Republic from the political point of view. They do not understand that without Slovakia's industrialisation we could not achieve the planned development of the whole of Czechoslovak economy and that productive

forces would continue to remain unused, as was the case under capitalism.

In determining the scale and structure of planned industrial construction for Slovakia, it is necessary to proceed from this basis: taking into consideration the natural and historical conditions in Slovakia and the correlation between industrial and agricultural production, the utmost development of productive forces in industry and agriculture must be secured. The industrialisation of Slovakia should consolidate the unity of the entire people's economy of the Republic. Consequently, in industrialising Slovakia, the needs of the whole economy of Czechoslovakia should be taken into account.

The question of the rate of industrialisation is also extremely important. The speedy development of the productive forces in the people's democracy and the superiority of our new social system advancing toward Socialism can be proved by the following figures: under capitalism, between 1900 and 1937, the number of workers in industry rose, on the average, by 1,180 each year but during the Five-Year Plan the annual increase will be at the rate of 18,000, that is, fifteen times.

The rate of industrialisation and of industrial development in Slovakia can be seen from the following: on August 1946, there were 131,269 workers (excluding building workers) in Slovak industry: on July 31, 1948 there were 176,859 workers. The Five-Year Plan envisages a further 49 per cent increase in the number of industrial workers in Slovakia.

The ratio between industrial and agricultural production is changing as follows: in 1946, the ratio of Slovak industry to agriculture was 45:55; in 1948 it was 50:50 and in 1953 it will be 58:42. It should also be remembered that agriculture is developing considerably at the same time. The average annual increase in Slovakia's industrial production in 1949—1953 will amount to 16.7 per cent.

The policy of the industrialisation of Slovakia is also shown by the amount of capital investments. For example, under the Five-Year Plan, 23.4 per cent of the country's entire industrial capital investments will be allocated to Slovak industry. Slovakia will also receive considerable technical help from Czech industry.

The speedy growth of industrial production, higher living standards and increased buying by the population resulted in the rural market being restricted. At present it is essential to greatly increase agricultural production in order to satisfy the growing demand. This will be achieved by organising state farms in Slovakia, by further mechanising agriculture, by setting up peasant poultry and cattle breeding farms and peasant cooperatives.

When the Two-Year Plan, was launched, Slovakia had a surplus manpower which had to be utilised. Some 250,000 Slovaks worked on economic construction in the Czech lands. The number of people employed in Slovak industry went up by 52,000. In 1948, the demand for manpower grew more quickly than the ordinary intake. It is necessary to plan the transfer of manpower from agriculture to industry. To fulfil the Five-Year Plan 125,000 new workers must be recruited into industry and construction work in Slovakia. The matter of training new skilled workers and technicians for all sectors of the economy is now under consideration.

In Slovakia the working class was much weaker numerically than in the Czech lands while the number of small producers was nearly twice as big. This facilitated the machinations of the bourgeoisie who hoped to turn Slovakia into a stronghold of reaction. The bourgeoisie, however, forgot that in their progressive aspirations the Slovak people were firmly supported by the Czech working class. That is why the industrialisation of Slovakia is of such great political significance. It will increase the ratio of the working class, and

will strengthen its leading role in our State.

The development of industrial centres in Slovakia will create the material basis for an unprecedented cultural upsurge among the people. At present 529,086 children are attending elementary and secondary schools and there are 13,000 students in higher schools. New higher schools are being built. The best works of classic Slovak literature are now available to the people. A new, socialist culture is making its appearance.

These profound social and economic changes are giving birth to a new man in Slovakia, a man who is shedding the prejudices of the defeated classes, who is an active patriot, loving people's democratic Czechoslovakia and the great Soviet Union in which he sees the main and reliable bulwark of the new free life he is building—a man who is filled with feelings of profound international solidarity with the working people of all countries.

AFTER CONGRESS OF ITALIAN SOCIALISTS. Giancarlo Pajetta, Member, Board, Communist Party of Italy

The Socialist Party Congress of which the consistent supporters of working class unity led by Pietro Nenni took the Party's leadership into their hands, was not only a great victory for the left-wing but also gave striking proof of the growth of the socialist movement and of the power and successes of the democratic movement in our country.

After the 1948 general election the clerical and reactionary forces, dizzy with the success won by a colossal election fraud planned to split the people's front, isolate the Communists, diminish their influence and then go over to a decisive attack for their complete elimination. The first step is carrying out this plan was the attempt to force a breach in the front where it seemed weakest; to compel the Socialist Party by concentrated pressure, to abandon the pact of united action with the Communists, to undermine the party and direct it along the path of the Saragat Right Socialists. The Saragat followers willingly offered their services, and opened fire from all their batteries to pave the way for de Gasperi and the Americans.

The moment seemed to be appropriate and the reactionaries were already rejoicing at their initial successes. But the Socialist Party emerged from the election struggle disappointed. The groupings and sabotage of the right-wing had prevented it from winning the results it had hoped for. The struggle between the various factions was steadily sharpening due to personal and local differences.

After the Genoa Congress of 1948 when the centrists seized the leadership, the situation in the Socialist Party was difficult due to the moral depression and pessimism of a large part of the membership concerning the situation in the Party

and its political perspective.

The first success that delighted the Saragat followers and the Christian Democrats was the formal dissolution of the Popular Democratic Front on the demand of the centrist leadership of the Socialist Party, despite the opinion of the Communists and Left democratic elements in the Front. The British and French Social Democrats also interfered in this and COMISCO used promises, corruption and threats to break the Front. But a few weeks after the Congress, the situation at home and abroad together with the militant spirit of the mass of the people, exercised a positive influence on all working class organisations and caused bitter disappointment among those who hoped to liquidate the Socialist Party as the revolutionary organisation of a considerable section of the Italian working people.

The attempt on Comrade Togliatti's life made on July 14 resulted in a mass movement unprecedented in the history of our country, when the Socialists resolutely and unanimously stood shoulder to shoulder with the Communists. The policy of violence and persecution which affected hundreds of rank and file Socialists and which caused profound indignation among the masses, as well as the Saragat followers' open support for this policy, helped the Socialists to act more determinedly in unity with our Party.

The Communist Party was at the same time demonstrating by its work, its loyalty to its allies and its strength which made it the rallying point for the opposition. The Communists did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the Socialist Party. They cooperated with its centrist leadership, although they warned the working people that unity could be closer and more effective. They tried to make the policy of unity not a subject for polemics but the pivot of their daily work, so that not words but facts should give confidence to the supporters of unity and convince those who were still confused.

The influence of the international situation operated in the same direction. The great danger which the signing of the Atlantic Pact represented for our country forced the Socialist Party to oppose de Gasperi and his accomplices, and struggle more determinedly than ever in unity with the Communist Party.

At the same time the support for the Atlantic Pact and the de Gasperi government's blackmailing use of the Church, weakened the already meagre influence of the Saragat men who had compromised themselves by cooperating with the Government. After the general election, according to the plans of de Gasperi and Saragat, this opportunist grouping was to become a rallying point. But in fact the grouping was rapidly disintegrating. Thus, the Florence Congress of the Socialist Party this year was held in quite a different situation and with different perspectives from those of the Genoa Congress last year. The ground had been cleared of petty election quarrels, centrist illusions had disappeared, the smokescreen of the Rights had been swept away by reality, and the Socialists were left to decide whom they would join, not on the basis of speculation about the advantages of one or another election programme, but on the basis of actual facts and the results of the struggle.

At the regional congresses Romita was seriously defeated. Only a few federations where he had personal influence remained loyal to him. He was able to gain only 10 per cent of the votes which means the Right-wing of the Socialist Party virtually lost its chance of leadership in the Party.

The left-wing, which came out at the Congress in united ranks including the most authoritative representatives of Italian Socialism, from Nenni, Morandi, Basso, Cacciatore and Lizzardi to Pertini, who on the eve of the Genoa Congress supported the centre, secured over 50 per cent, an absolute majority of the votes.

Consistent! application of the unity policy, and the elimination of all manifestations of opportunism and compromise with the practice and conception of the Right Socialists, can guarantee new successes for the Italian Socialist Party.

The municipal, regional and trade union elections have shown that the Rights are rapidly losing ground while the Left Socialists still retain strong positions in many places and among many sections of working people. These elections have also shown that the unity policy is a condition of success both for the Communists and the Socialists. According to the opinion of all political observers, the recent election in Sardinia which was a big success for the Communists and brought good results for the Socialists, would have resulted in decisive victory for the popular opposition had the Communist Party proposal to contest the election with a joint list of candidates not been vetoed by the centrist leadership of the Socialist Party which frustrated the local organisations attempts to secure united action.

Today the Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy are faced with the need to consolidate their unity on the basis of mutual recognition of a policy which would place the working class in the centre of a broad front of struggle for freedom and peace, and which would facilitate the unification of all those forces who have freed themselves from the fraud of April 18 and who are anxious to put an end to the political monopoly of the Christian Democratic Party, and to struggle against its policy of subordination to American imperialism. It is not just a matter of creating some kind of organisational line-up and of fitting into it a movement which is becoming broader and more powerful, it is not a question of proclaiming formal declarations of alliance nor of merely talking about unity. It is vital now that the common recognition of the aims and methods of struggle should bring about real activity. That is

why the unity between Communists and Socialists is by no means an agreement of our Party with one of the factions of the Italian Socialists. It is a loyal agreement of all Communists with all Socialists who have not forsaken the path of class struggle and internationalism.

The Socialist Party emerged from the Florence Congress stronger and more united than before. It can be anticipated that those who voted for the centrists, following their declaration of loyalty, will give a practical demonstration of their loyalty by working along the lines indicated by the Congress. The Lefts, on their part, although there were no centrists among the Party leadership, announced their desire not to be the leadership of a faction, but an expression of the will of the entire Party and agreed to the suggestion about electing an Executive Committee providing representation for the various trends in relation to their strength.

The Government and the Right Socialist press in an endeavour to cover up their inglorious failure resorted to a diversion—a noisy demonstration around the “Romita business” and the so-called “latest split”. Actually, Romita was forced to withdraw from the Party, having convinced himself that he could not exercise any real influence as long as he adhered to his opportunist standpoint. Just now, Romita is trying to exalt in the eyes of the Saragat men the significance of his treachery in the hope that something will come his way in the event of a reshuffle in the Cabinet.

Romita’s attempt to get the Italian Socialists to take the “third path” ended in failure. The Saragat men while keeping somewhat shy of this new rival in the event of their having to share the leading posts allocated to them by the Christian Democrats, at the same time dread demagogic manoeuvres of any kind in the present circumstances.

Romita and his faction of “independent” social-democrats are banking on new manoeuvres and on a policy of demagogy

which would enable them to build up their playing at “opposition” and make their brand of anti-Communism different from the anti-Communism of the clericals. They aim at capturing the votes which went to Saragat in the general election and which he failed to hold in all subsequent elections.

That which the yellow press has sensationalised as the “crisis of Italian Socialism” is nothing but a crisis of traitors and opportunists who, having been abandoned by the working people, are groping in the dark and are sinking more and more into the depths of treachery.

The other day Saragat, almost forcibly and with the complicity of d’Aragona who compromised himself by flirting with Mussolini, ordered his followers to leave the General Confederation of Labour.

The unpopularity of the splitting policy among the rank and file Saragat people was evident in the forcible methods employed and in the violation of every aspect of inner-Party democracy. Only a few days after the order the Saragat rank and file at the Railway Workers’ Congress denounced Saragat and championed unity.

In vain does the bourgeois press dress up as big battles the manoeuvres of certain generals without armies in the lobbies of Parliament. The working people are reinforcing their unity and are waging the struggle with renewed energy. The overcoming of social democratic illusions and securing the return to their own flag of these honest workers who were confused and demoralised by the treacherous policy of the Rights—such is the task facing the Communists and revolutionary Socialists, a task which they will succeed in carrying out by heading the struggle of the working people.

HUNDREDS OF AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS GO OVER TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The working people of Austria are realising more and more clearly the treacherous nature of the policy pursued by the Right leaders of the Austrian Socialist Party.

Great indignation has been caused among rank and file Socialist workers by the conspiracy between the leading clique of the Austrian Socialist Party and capitalist circles concerning what they call “bringing Austrian economy back to normal”. In actual fact that this means a further fall in the living standards of the mass of the people.

Instances of Socialist Party members going over to the Communist Party have rapidly increased lately. According to the newspaper “Osterreichische Volkssiimme”, many hundreds of Austrian Socialists are leaving the Party to join the Communists. In the course of the last three weeks alone 190 Socialists went over to the Communist Party in the Favoriten district of Vienna, 42 in the Floridsdori district, and 50 in the Mödling district.

EXPERIENCE OF PARTY WORK

Congress of Algerian Communist Party

The congress of the Communist Party of Algeria held in Oran from May 26 to 28, was attended by 400 delegates. Greetings were brought to the Congress by Comrade Ennafaa Mohamed from the Communist Party of Tunisia, Aissa el Abdi from the Communist Party of Morocco, Gabriel d'Arboussier, General Secretary of the "African Democratic Federation," and by Jacques Duclos from the French Communist Party.

Comrade Larbi Buhali, Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party made a report to Congress. After analysing the international situation and showing that behind the French colonisers there stood the American imperialists. Larbi Buhali summarised the successes of the Communist Party of Algeria. During the recent election the votes won by the Communist Party considerably increased in the working class centres and wherever the people had the opportunity of voting freely.

Outlining the path of Algerian national liberation Larbi Buhali said: "We want to unite all the Algerian people irrespective of their origin or religion, against their common enemy—imperialism and colonisation. The struggle for national liberation is inseparable from the struggle for freedom, land and bread".

The Communist Party of Algeria calls for unity which is vital now more than ever he went on. National parties and progressive organisations can and must unite to achieve certain aims, for example, to secure the liberation of political prisoners, to oppose Algerian being sent to fight in Viet-Nam to combat the Atlantic Pact.

Jacques Duclos was warmly applauded when he gave his message of greetings. He said: "In the struggle against colonisation and imperialism the French Communist Party marches at the side of the Communist Party of Algeria. We are waging a common struggle."

Duclos called upon the delegates to do their utmost to set up a united mass party in Algeria which would fight for national liberation, against the colonisers, for bread and land.

Congress delegates from the various provinces of Algeria spoke about the need to extend the struggle for national liberation, and to consolidate the people's masses.

Each time the glorious role of the Soviet Union, the successes of the People's Democracies and the names of Comrades Stalin and Thorez were mentioned they were greeted with stormy applause.

Membership Verification In Rumanian Workers' Party

The verification of the Party activists, arising from the decision of the Political Bureau of the Rumanian Workers' Party (November 1948) has been completed in most regions of the country. The course of the verification revealed that the great bulk of the activists were loyal to the cause of the working class and were good Party members. Aided by members and non-members of the Party, the verification commissions uncovered and expelled from the Party alien and hostile elements that had penetrated the ranks.

The Political Bureau noted that the verification of the activists represented an important landmark in the struggle for the political, organisational and ideological consolidation of the Party. For the remaining members of the Party, verification begins during the current month.

Resumed Enrolment Of Probationers For Hungarian Workers' Party

Arising from the verification of the membership of the Hungarian Workers' Party, acceptance of new members was stopped last autumn for the time being.

The recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party decided to resume as from June 1 the enrolment of probationers.

Since the majority of the present 130,000 probationer members consist of members demoted during the verification in February, admittance to full membership will begin only on November 1. Until November 1 Party membership will be granted only in exceptional cases and only by decision of the Central Committee.

The Plenum decision points out that with a view to improving the social composition of the Party, priority in admitting members will be given to workers who have distinguished themselves on the job, brigade leaders and members of the work brigades, innovators, trade union activists and active members of other social organisations.

Outstanding agricultural workers and working peasants, scientists, technicians, teachers and art workers and others who are contributing to the cause of strengthening the People's Democracy will also qualify for priority admittance.

Meetings In Communist Party Czechoslovakia Discuss Results Of IXth Congress

Meetings of the membership and activists of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are being held throughout the country devoted to the results of the recent Party Congress.

Comrade Bastovansky, general secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, addressed a large gathering of Party members in Bratislava. Comrade Slansky, general secretary of the Party, spoke on the results of the Congress at a meeting in Plzen.

On June 2 over 10,000 Party activists from factories and offices in Prague gathered in the hall of the Industrial Exhibition, where the Congress was held. Addressing the gathering on the results of the Congress and the tasks of the Communists, Comrade Zapotocky, Prime Minister of the Republic, stressed that the IXth Congress, the keynote of which was unity and consolidation, represented yet another blow at Czechoslovak reaction and its defenders abroad. It was a demonstration of the unity of the working class and the working people of Czechoslovakia.

Everywhere the keynote of the meetings of the members and activists in the rallying of all Communists and the working people for the carrying out of the decision of the Party Congress, for fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, and strengthening the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Work With Leading Party Cadres. Zenon Nowak, Member, Central Committee, United Workers' Party Of Poland

Among the tasks facing the people's power and the Party immediately after the liberation of Poland, that of finding trained cadres was and still is a vital task. The Party's cadres work during the past five years has produced good results. We have been able to mobilise the working class and the peasantry to rebuild Poland from the chaos left by the Hitler invaders.

Moreover, because a correct policy was adopted towards people engaged in mental labour, the majority of them, particularly technicians, have also been drawn into the work of construction.

The Right, nationalist deviation which affected part of our Party leadership had a negative influence on the policy of selecting and training cadres. People were often appointed to responsible jobs without a proper verification of their political qualities. The result was that alien elements got into the economic and administrative apparatus and even into the Party organs which affected their work.

In the course of the struggle against the Right deviation, especially after the August 1948 Plenum of the Central Committee, important measures were taken to overcome these serious short-comings.

The Central Committee is now devoting a great deal of attention to training cadres and raising the ideological level of the membership. Until now there were two central Party schools—a one-year school in Warsaw and a six-month school in Lodz. There were also 16 three-month regional Party schools and over a thousand evening courses in various towns, attended by a total of 80,000 students. There were courses for the Party Active of 750 rural districts. The Organisation Bureau of the Central Committee considered this network of party schools insufficient and drew up a number of concrete measures to develop re-fresher courses for the Party Active. It was decided to extend the courses in regional schools to six months, the Lodz school to a year and the Warsaw school to two years.

However, the serious shortage of leading cadres for work in the state apparatus in industry and the countryside cannot be solved merely by establishing schools. In order to overcome the shortage of cadres, the Party is now promoting factory workers to leading posts, selecting the more capable, advanced workers. This policy must be pursued still more boldly. It will

strengthen the leading role of the working class in the People's Poland.

After the August Plenum of the Central Committee, the rate at which industrial cadres were promoted greatly increased.

Party organisations realised the importance of this work, and began to give it more attention. More important still, they changed from the old haphazard fashion of promoting cadres to organised methods. According to incomplete data, by April 1 this year over 15,000 workers had been appointed to posts as managers and various grades of administrative work. Along them were 3,646 textile workers, 2,925 miners and over 2000 metal workers.

Results in the Pokoj iron and steel plant are significant. The Party committee initiated political and technical training for selected cadres. Of 30 workers who recently finished the courses, 18 have been promoted foremen and deputy foremen, while the others are retained as reserves. The best specialists are given the task of helping and looking after the new cadres. There are already 18 such patrons in the Pokoj plant, each with a group of several workers.

One of the main tasks of the Party committees is to devote constant, daily attention to the newly promoted comrades, for there are still some instances of a bureaucratic, indifferent attitude to these workers.

After the August Plenum, the work of selecting cadres in the countryside underwent a big change. Representatives of the Right deviation used to call the exploiting kulak a "good farmer". Due to this Right opportunist concept, the "good farmer" dominated some of the leading committees of the Peasants' Mutual Assistance Union, the Union's regional cooperatives and the regional People's Councils and even penetrated into the basic Party organisations. A great deal of work has been done to oust the kulaks from the rural

organisations. According to incomplete figures, 8,223 kulaks have been expelled from local branches of the Peasants' Mutual Assistance Union and 6,111 from among the regional cooperative organs. Their places have been taken by active poor and medium peasants. In spite of prophecies from the "cautious" comrades that the cooperatives and the Peasants' Union would not work without the help of "the good farmer", these organisations are making rapid progress. The poor and medium peasants see for themselves that these bodies are really their own organisations and are giving them active support. Kulaks have also been ousted from the regional People's Councils.

Because insufficient class vigilance was shown in the selection of rural cadres, state farm managers and administrators were, for a long time, the old landlords who had been given posts by Mikolajczyk when he was Minister of Agriculture. Therefore, it is not surprising that there were frequent cases of sabotage. In 1948, 316 agricultural labourers were appointed to these posts and are now successfully developing the State farms and increasing their profitability.

Thousands of workers and poor peasants have now been appointed to state, municipal, state trading and cooperative posts.

In pre-war Poland, higher schools gave entry only to the children of the privileged classes. The effect of this lingered on after the war had ended: in 1947, only 4 per cent of students in higher schools came from working class families, and only 0.2 per cent from poor peasant families. The percentage for secondary schools was only slightly higher.

To develop a people's intelligentsia, the universities were reorganised. Preparatory courses and a year's entrance course have been introduced for young people who have no matriculation certificate. This has already made a big difference in the social composition of the student body. In the

current school-year, 88 per cent of the students attending preparatory courses, 69 per cent of “entrance year”, and 49.9 per cent of the first year university students come from working class and peasant families. Undoubtedly, these are big successes for the Party, but they are by no means sufficient. The Party is concerned to make still further changes in the social composition in higher schools since the enormous construction work that has to be done and the sharpening class struggle make it necessary to train theoretically matured cadres as quickly as possible.

To realise the targets of the Six-Year Plan put forward by the Unity Congress of the United Workers’ Party, from 800,000 to 900,000 skilled workers are needed, 80,000 to 100,000 technicians and 24,000 engineers. Agriculture can only be reorganised if thousands of agronomists, tractor drivers, agricultural instructors, cooperative chairmen and book-keepers are found for the countryside. Planned development in education, culture and public health can only be achieved if we are able to train some 7,500 doctors, 20,000 school teachers, 2,000 higher school teachers and scientific workers and 1,000 workers for other branches of culture. The struggle to fulfil the Six-Year Plan means that thousands of workers for local government, for the cooperatives and the trade unions must be trained—people able to cope with the growing tasks, to overcome difficulties and frustrate any manoeuvre of the class enemy.

The Party is concentrating on solving this problem which is of such importance for the success of the Plan. Diverse courses are now being started all over the country. This year, nearly 400,000 people are attending courses for training specialists and agricultural workers; 475,800 people are studying at other schools including 31,000 who are training to become teachers. There are now twice as many students in the higher schools than was the case before the war.

But our cadres work is still not good enough, and the cadres departments far from perfect. Their work is not planned. They have not always succeeded in doing away with the state of affairs when they behave as some kind of “mediation office”. Not all our Party committees have realised that to develop cadres successfully the basic work should be done in offices and enterprises, leaving guidance and control to the Party cadres department. Not all the leading members of departments realise that they are personally responsible for cadres work.

A serious shortcoming in cadres work in the past was a lack of coordination in giving new cadres assignments. This sometimes resulted in people being given the wrong job and even in trying to attract cadres by offering higher wages, better working conditions and so on. There was also a lack of boldness in giving posts to women. The recent Plenum of the Central Committee stressed the need to intensify work with the women’s Active.

The Central Committee set before the entire Party the task of intensifying the work of training, developing and allocating cadres. Work has been started to give specialists political training in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. A list has been drawn up of jobs which should be filled only in agreement with the various Party committees. This will have the effect of concentrating the attention of the Party Committee on the decisive factors.

With the sharpening of the class struggle the vigilance of Party committees in selecting and verifying cadres has increased. Measures have been taken to create reserves without which no planned activity in this sphere is possible. Personnel for the cadres departments is now selected with special care.

The problem of cadres is one of the most serious and important problems facing the Party. We shall be able to solve it only by improving the work of educating, teaching and

allocating cadres, and by utilising the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). A realisation of this is being felt more and more in our Party and all its organisations.

Political Education In Socialist Unity Party In Germany. Fred Oelssner, Member, Central Board, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

When the Socialist Unity Party was formed in April 1946, the ideological and theoretical level of the majority of the membership was extremely low. The old cadre of the German working class movement—those who had been tried and grounded in Marxism—were mostly exterminated by fascism. The minds of the majority of the German people, including the working class, were poisoned by twelve years of fascist propaganda.

Because of this, the Socialist Unity Party had, from the very outset, to devote considerable attention to educational work in the Party.

In our Party, theory is studied at special evening classes held in the branches once a month. Attendance at these classes is compulsory for all Party members, and the Central Party Board issues special booklets each month. These are published in 200,000 copies and are primarily intended for the lecturers. In preparation for the classes, the district Party organisations hold meetings of lecturers to discuss the subject of the next class which is outlined according to the conditions in each district. However, not all Party branches have yet organised regular education evenings and the instructional meetings do not as yet, correspond to the necessary requirements.

Last year two-week Party schools were started in a hundred

of the biggest factories in the Soviet zone. The students are released from work to attend these schools. The curriculum is closely linked up with production tasks at the factories with the aim not only of improving the general ideological education of the Party members, but also of making an immediate improvement in the entire work of the Party organisation.

The present 120 district Party schools constitute the first level of Party schools. They have an enrolment ranging from 30 to 60 students. The four-week course is based on a unified curriculum drawn up by the Central Party Board, covering theoretical problems and questions of practical Party work. So far over 100.000 students have graduated these schools.

Next come the four-month laender Party schools. There is one of these in each of the live laenders in the Soviet zone and in Berlin. Each school has 95 to 160 students. The curriculum includes: dialectical materialism, political economy, the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the history of the German working class movement, basic questions of Party structure. District schools are the first stage in training active branch members. Laender schools are for training leading workers for the Party and in the mass organisations in the districts and the laenders. Nearly 5,000 people have been trained in these schools.

Then, there are five special school in some of the laenders. These are short-term schools for two to three weeks. At these, various aspects of Party work are studied, such as organisational questions, developing cadres, municipal policy, and so on.

The Central link of our system of Party education is the two-year Karl Marx Higher Party School. At present 66 students are taking this course, finishing in October 1949. In February 1950, another group of 80 students will start this course. The two-year school is for training cadres in theory and propaganda. Simultaneously, 164 students—leading workers'

in the laenders—are attending a six-month course in the Higher Party school. And, finally, two to three week courses with a total register of 60 students are functioning in the Higher Party school.

Teaching methods are similar in all schools. Each subject is introduced by a special lecture. After this the students study the necessary literature and hold group discussions. To acquaint the students with the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and to get them into the habit of using classics for individual study, attention is concentrated on independent study.

There are about 525 tutors at the Party schools, which makes it necessary to undertake refresher courses for tutors. During one month every year all the Party schools stop work to give time to improve the work of the tutors. According to the decision of the Central Party Board, each tutor must at least have attended a laender Party school and each laender school tutor a six-month course of the Higher Party school.

Despite this wide Party educational network, there is still a shortage of experienced cadres which cannot be overcome solely by new cadres graduating from the Party schools. At the same time, it is often exceedingly difficult to take leading comrades away from their work for a few months to send them to school. To overcome this, the Party Conference directed that individual study by Party members, and the Active, should be started on a wide scale.

In carrying out this decision, we shall, accordingly as we improve the organisation of the educational network, do our best to see that the Party members make a serious individual study of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Socialist Unity Party can become a party of the new type only by educating the membership in the spirit of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

ITALY UNDER YOKE OF MARSHALL PLAN. Mauro Scoccimarro, Member, Secretariat, Communist Party of Italy

A year has passed since the Marshall Plan was first put into effect, and many people are asking what its results are and what has been its effect on Italy's political and economic development. And among the Plan's supporters, the answers given are most contradictory.

One thing is clear however—the situation has changed in the past year. Hopes and illusions have disappeared, the blind confidence of those whose expectations in the Plan have been shattered by reality has now given way to uncertainty and uneasiness. The real aim of the Marshall Plan is becoming more and more clear: to reorganise Italy's economy to meet the demands of American imperialism. The country is to become a market for American monopolies; it is being deprived of all possibility of competing with American production. All this has a far-reaching effect on the development of Italian economy, sacrificing one branch of industry and encouraging another, and in general making the entire economy dependent on American imperialism.

The Economic Situation

When the Marshall Plan was launched a year ago, Italy's economy was in a state of depression and crisis. In 1947, production which after the war had dropped by over 50 per cent (compared with 1938) rose gradually to 80 per cent. But in the second half of the year production again fell to less than 65 per cent. The depression continued in the first months of 1948

until April when the Marshall Plan began to operate. Because of the low level of production many people thought that the Marshall Plan would give a powerful impetus to Italy's economic development. But this did not happen.

In 1948, the production average hardly reached 81 per cent of 1938; it went up to 89 per cent in September but dropped to 82 per cent in December, 78 per cent in January and 75 per cent in February 1949. Seasonal slackness and the shortage of electric power, undoubtedly, contributed to the drop in production, but the slump was too great to be explained by these two factors. The upsurge is partial, uneven and uncertain: in some industries (e.g. food and rubber) a real revival can be observed; others are still stagnant (textiles, chemical, woodwork and electrical industries) or are even experiencing further depression (engineering, mining etc.)

American raw materials are only being partially utilised. By January 31, 1949, nearly two-fifths of the entire stocks of raw materials were still unused. Up till now over one-third of the country's productive capacity has not been utilised. The number of unemployed has increased by 400,000. There are also other significant facts to fill-in the picture: the number of bankruptcies has risen 46 per cent, the number and the total sum of dishonoured bills 70 per cent.

All this shows that after a year of the Marshall Plan, Italy's economy has not emerged from depression and crisis.

Two characteristic features should be noted in Italy's economic situation: the unevenness of rehabilitation and the structural deformation of the economy. These two factors have had a considerable influence in the development of the political struggle. That is why it is necessary to clarify their real significance.

The uneven nature of economic rehabilitation was particularly evident during the 1947 depression. This was not one of the usual periodical crises of capitalist economy. It was the result of a specific economic and financial policy which should be defined as a monopoly policy. One of the main factors of this crisis was the failure of purchasing power in the home market brought about by the reactionary policy of burdening the working people with the greatest part of rehabilitation expenditure.

After the Communists and Socialists had left the Government at the beginning of 1947, this policy was pursued so rigorously that economically, the country just could not stand up to it. A policy of the monopoly circles, it was carried out in various forms. Through inflation which resulted in a lowering of real wages, nearly 500 billion lire were exacted from the people in the course of two years. Then the stage of deflation started (September 1947). Dismissals began, unemployment grew. A blow was also delivered at the middle sections of the population resulting in many medium and small enterprises going bankrupt. The greater part of production and, consequently, of profits was concentrated in the hands of the more powerful financial and monopoly groups. A practical expression of this was a drop in production and the stagnation of productive forces.

At the same time, small and medium depositors were ruined by a speculator's manoeuvre unprecedented in our history. During the first six months of the year, quotations for securities on the stock-exchange reached an extremely high level. People rushed to buy them. Later, the quotations slumped disastrously below the nominal value. In the course of eight months industrial securities declined in value to the extent of 800 billion lire. Thus national saving were literally plundered at the expense of the middle sections of the people: and this plunder was organised by a handful of financial magnates. At

the same time capital was exported abroad illegally to the extent of over 500 billion lire. Nor is this all. An extraordinary property tax was levied which particularly hit small proprietors, and indirect taxes were increased.

In 1947, all these factors were operating simultaneously. They brought about impoverishment of the broad masses of the people, a drastic fall in consumption, a production slump and later a crisis. The shrinking of the home market which became even more restricted as a result of the reactionary policy of the monopoly circles who dictated their demands to the Christian Democratic Government, proved to be a noose around the neck of Italian economy.

These were the conditions under which the Marshall Plan came into operation, with all the stipulations and restrictions to prevent the rehabilitation of Italy's economy, aiming instead to adjust it to the demands of American imperialism. The restoration and development of certain industries is hampered while the existence of others is doomed.

A telling example is the fate of "Whitehead Motofides," in Leghorn. This was a large-scale torpedo plant producing for the Italian Navy and employing thousands of workers. After the war the plant closed down, but the workers themselves organised the production of knit-goods machines. Previously such machines were produced in Germany. At present there is a shortage of these machines on the European market. The workers and technical personnel at Whitehead's designed a machine which, from the technical point of view, proved superior to existing types. But, unfortunately, similar machines are produced in the United States. After the Marshall Plan had come into operation, the American manufacturers began to export their machines to Italy, although from the technical point of view they were inferior to the home-made article. The Leghorn workers had hardly produced their machine, which was recognised as an excellent example of precision

engineering, when their path was barred by American competition protected by financial damping in the form of Marshall Plan loans. Thousands of workers were thrown out of work: the Leghorn plant is doomed.

This is how the interests of foreign monopolies are interwoven with the interests of Italian monopoly circles. Both of them are hindering the country's development and its economic rehabilitation.

Struggle of the Working People

The de Gasperi Government's economic policy, defending the interests of the most reactionary circles in the country, was launched in 1947 in the form of an offensive against the broad masses of the people. The working people, and particularly the working class, vigorously resisted this policy. In their struggle against inflation, the working people led by the General Confederation of Labour won a sliding wage-scale, according to which wages are reviewed every three months and automatically increased in conformity with the rising index of prices. A speeding-up process of inflation then began which gave the employers advantages in the intervals between the wage increases. However, this resulted in the lira depreciating at a quicker rate inside the country than abroad which hampered exports. Reaction started a campaign against the "sliding scale", claiming that it was the cause of the inflation. The Government and the Confederation of Industrialists tried to abolish the sliding wage scale but the strength, determination and energy of the working class defeated all their attempts.

Then the transition to a policy of deflation began. Dismissal became the most serious danger for the workers. The workers set up a "blockade" against dismissals and have for a long time been resisting reaction's pressure.

At this stage, strikes are sometimes an ineffective means of struggle: complete stoppage of work can even help the plans of the capitalists. For this reason the workers are applying new forms of trade union struggle: “non-cooperation”, token strikes, and strikes in single workshops, etc.

After the general election of April 18, 1948, reaction offensive became much more vicious. The working people could no longer completely prevent dismissals. Therefore, they took steps to restrict the consequences of dismissal by forcing the employers to give discharge pay and subsidies to the dismissed workers and to open schools for re-qualification. In Milan the workers were able to prevent the “Caproni”, “Breda” and other works from being completely closed. The struggle is becoming daily more fierce. The police are interfering in labour disputes as an armed militia of the employers.

The reactionaries attempted to split the trade unions. The Christian Democrats withdrew from the General Confederation of Labour. However, the majority of the people, including the Catholics, refused to follow the splitters. The attempt to split the trade union movement failed. The General Confederation of Labour retained its power and was able to launch a counter-offensive. At present a campaign for higher wages is being fought in the chemical, textile and iron and steel industries, while in others a fierce battle is being waged against dismissals. In the countryside some 2 million agricultural labourers began a general strike for higher wages.

One reason for the intensity of the working people’s struggle is that the employers are also trying to achieve political aims such as the liquidation of the works’ councils. But the working class will never agree to this since it would mean once again subordination to the arbitrary demands of the employers as was the case under fascism. The militancy and determination of the workers are at a high pitch.

Political Situation

After a year of the Marshall Plan, the political situation in Italy is more complicated.

The increase in the number of labour disputes, the numerous strikes caused by the employers' implacability, police action against the workers, restrictions of democratic liberties in violation of the Constitution—all these create an atmosphere of extremely tense economic, political and social relations throughout the country. The more reactionary circles are out to establish a police state. The parties of the working people, the trade unions and other popular organisations are denounced as enemies which must be eliminated and are subjected to all kinds of oppression, and violence aimed at reducing them to tiny groups isolated from the people. But the working class organisations have displayed ability to resist and fight back in this white-hot atmosphere whipped up by reaction because they uphold the aspirations and demands of the widest social sections. Every attempt to destroy this movement with the help of the police prove fruitless.

Faced with this situation the movement for an openly fascist regime is gaining ground among the more reactionary circles of the ruling classes. With conditions as they are at present, this would mean civil war.

Public opinion is becoming anxious about the future. A year ago it was claimed that the Marshall Plan would restore Italy's production, would serve as a powerful impulse in rehabilitating the country and would consolidate freedom and democracy. Today, on the contrary, the facts are that the economy is still stagnant and unemployment is growing. It was claimed that the Marshall Plan would not lead Italy into any compromising political and military commitments. Now it is clear that the Plan has led Italy into the Atlantic Pact. It was claimed that the Marshall Plan would cause the opposition

forces, particularly the Communists, to decline. But something quite different has happened: the opposition has strengthened, and the influence of the Communist Party in particular, has increased.

The municipal elections, especially the very important Sardinian elections, show that, slowly but surely, those masses of the people who voted for the Christian Democrats or other Government parties on April 18, 1948 are now going over to the opposition parties.

These facts show that the reactionary bloc of April 18 is beginning to fall apart and that a new political orientation is maturing among large sections of the population. The Government's reaction to this is to intensify police repressions against the opposition parties and to intrigue within their ranks in an effort to provoke crises and splits. For example, after the recent Florence Congress of the Italian Socialist Party, when the Left secured a majority, a group of Rights led by Romita withdrew from the Party.

At the same time a new split in the General Confederation of Labour was provoked by the Republicans and the Right Socialists breaking away. But this new split will not prevent the CGT, led by the Communists and Socialists, from carrying out its task. The CGT remains the biggest and most powerful trade union organisation of the Italian working people. Neither police repression nor splitting manoeuvres will be in the least successful. The opposition front is steadily consolidating and is combating the Government with ever greater energy. It can deliver the heaviest blows against the Government precisely on the basis of the consequences of the Marshall Plan.

After one year of the Marshall Plan the people are growing more confident that if the Plan were welcomed by the de Gasperi Government as an anchor, it may well prove to be the stone around its neck which will sink the Government. Actually, it is through the Marshall Plan that the de Gasperi

Government's cringing before foreign and Italian monopolists is being laid bare.

The Government's policy is the policy of the monopolies, that is, of the most reactionary circles. This policy, formerly carried out by fascism, is being continued by the Christian Democratic Party. This policy means enslavement by foreign imperialism, it means military ventures, reaction inside the country, industrial stagnation, unemployment and poverty.

The indignation and protest of the broad masses of the people against this policy are steadily increasing. At the head of the masses marches the opposition, and in the front ranks is the two million strong Communist Party, allied with the Socialist Party. The Communist Party is showing to the Italian people the path of struggle, the path of isolating the reactionary circles and restoring the unity of all true democratic forces—that is, of the majority of the Italian people—around the most active and advanced section of the people. This is the path to a new life for Italy.

PEASANT FESTIVAL IN POLAND

Poland held a peasant festival—Swento Ludowe—on June 5, organised by the peasant parties Stronnietwo Ludowe and Polskie Stronnietwo Ludowe together with the Peasants' Mutual Assistance Union. Rural organisations of the United Polish Workers' Party also took part in the festival.

There were meetings and demonstrations in 720 localities—villages, area and regional centres. The working peasants took part on a mass-scale and with great enthusiasm.

Following the example of the workers who honoured May Day and the Second Trade Union Congress with pledges to overfulfil production targets, the working peasants honoured their festival by developing a mass movement to grow more crops, cultivate waste land, increase state deliveries, build village community centres, repair bridges and schools, and so on.

Millions of poor and medium peasants and workers from state farms as well as delegations of industrial workers celebrated the peasant festival. Their slogans were: support for the struggle for peace, waged by the peace-loving peoples, led by the Soviet Union and against the warmongers; for the consolidation and extension of the alliance of workers and peasants against rural exploiters and speculators; for the further development of agriculture and of all types of cooperatives in the countryside; for strengthening the people's democratic state.

In view of the preparations being made by the peasant parties—the Stronnietwo Ludowe and the Polskie Stronnietwo Ludowe—to unite into a single peasant party, one of the main slogans of the festival was the unity of the working peasants to speed up the development of the countryside along the path of reorganisation.

STRUGGLE OF GERMAN PEOPLE FOR UNITY OF GERMANY. Wilhelm Pieck, Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Four years have passed since fascist Germany's unconditional surrender. But the German people have not yet been allowed to sign a peace treaty. The unity of Germany and the signing of a just peace are the main demands of the powerful people's movement now developing throughout the country.

As early as the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in December 1947, the First German People's Congress was held in Berlin, attended by 2,200 delegates. The Congress elected a peace delegation to the London Conference and instructed the delegation to tell the ministers of the German people's desire for unity and the speedy signing of a peace treaty. V. M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, proposed that the German delegation should be received, but the foreign ministers of the Western powers rejected his proposal. The imperialist press appearing in Germany in the German language could not conceal its glee. At this time all attempts to bring together representatives of the German parties to formulate the German people's viewpoint on creating all-German governmental organs in keeping with the principles of the Potsdam agreement, proved fruitless because of the stubborn resistance of West German politicians headed by Schumacher.

These people do not want any all-German meetings, for such meetings go against the aims of Anglo-American monopoly capital. American imperialism aims at turning Germany into a colony and the industrial region of the Rhine-Westphalia into an arsenal for preparing a new war.

The imperialist powers can only achieve their programme

of dismembering Germany and strengthening the system of capitalist exploitation in Western Germany if they are supported by German political figures and organisations. In June 1948, the Western powers published their so-called London recommendations. These envisaged the formation of a Parliamentary Council which was to draw up the constitution for Western Germany. There were quite a number of politicians and organisations in Western Germany who knuckled under to the London dictate. But the more these gentlemen philosophised about the “Constitution” during these meetings in Bonn, the greater was the German people’s discontent at these plans to carve up the country. The imperialist powers imposed Marshall aid on the German people, promising to recognise the West German State as an equal, provided it joined the North Atlantic Pact.

Nearly a year has passed since the Western powers brought in the separate currency reform to help toward their programme of dismembering Germany. In Western Germany they believed that this would lead to a speedy revival of industry and trade, and bring the whole economy “back to normal”—in other words, to peacetime conditions. These “peace time conditions” have actually led to unemployment, higher prices, lower wages and bankruptcies of enterprises. The number of unemployed in the Anglo-American zone is over 1,300,000 and over a million workers are on short-time. The number of bankruptcies mounts every month and despite the people’s need for consumer goods, unsold goods pile up in the factories.

The continued dismantling of enterprises in Western Germany should be added to this picture. As is known, in 1945 and 1946 plants were also dismantled in the Soviet zone with the result that war industry disappears in this zone. It was clear to every honest peace-loving person that this dismantling was only partial compensation for war-damage, to which the Soviet Union was fully entitled.

It is different matter in the Western zone where quite another motive lies behind the dismantling: this is not purely compensation for war-damage but is done in the interests of the American and British monopoly trusts. In the North Rhine-Westphalia laender the dismantling of synthetic fuel plants will begin shortly. As is known, Germany has few oil resources and therefore must either import fuel or produce it synthetically. The United States, on the other hand, owns the greatest oil resources in the world. The Anglo-American oil concerns insist that the synthetic fuel plants are dismantled so that they shall be rid of all competition in this sphere. When the plants are closed 10,000 workers will be out of work.

The present wave of dismantling is also spreading to other chemical plants in Western Germany, bringing unemployment to thousands more factory and office workers. Indignation at these severe measures is growing among the population of the Rhine Westphalia industrial region. It has assumed such dimensions that even the Protestant and Catholic churches are protesting. Special services were held in churches and the bells were tolled while the plants were being dismantled.

The disastrous results of dismantling and the consequent trade policy can be seen from the example of Pirmasens in the Province of Pfalz. This town is famous for its boot and shoe industry. At present less than one-fifth of the town's productive capacity is being used although only 1,000 machines have been dismantled. There are one million pairs of unsold shoes in the town. Nearly one quarter of the population is either out of work or working short-time. The reason for the catastrophic situation in this centre of the boot and shoe trade is very simple: Western Germany is inundated with American footwear, and the local manufacturers there are not allowed to trade with Eastern Germany. This example is typical of the majority of other towns and industries in Western Germany.

All foreign trade in Western Germany has been placed

under the control of American monopoly capital. As marketing gets more difficult in the U.S. itself, the American monopolists want to sell to Europe and to their Western German colony the goods which have been so long on their shelves.

As the situation in Western Germany becomes more acute all sections of the German population begin to ask: Where do we go from here? It is becoming clear to them that the policy of Western imperialism is splitting Germany, and completely surrendering Western Germany to the American monopolists, which lead to the impoverishment of the broad masses of the people. However, the economic policy of the Americans is not only affecting factory and office workers, but also the manufacturers.

The Western occupation powers have done everything to hinder the movement for unity and a just peace. In the American Zone and in the American sector of Berlin all propaganda in favour of the People's Congress movement has been banned. These Berliners who on March 18, 1949 hung out black, red and gold flags in honour of the German Revolution of 1848 were dragged to police stations and committed to trial. True, the British occupation authorities have not officially banned propaganda for the People's Congress. But at the same time they did not permit elections to the Third German People's Congress to be held in their zone or in the British sector of Berlin.

But in spite of these obstacle and prohibitions, the election of the Congress met with a powerful response in Western Germany. In the Soviet zone 95.2 per cent of the electorate took part in the election. Of these 61.1 per cent, that is, 7,943,949 electors voted "Yes". In making an estimation of this result must be remembered that the political parties, broadcasting stations and occupation authorities in the West came out with foul and disgusting slanders to prevent the people from voting. But the electorate in the Soviet zone did

not allow themselves to be confused. The overwhelming majority voted “Yes”, and even those voting-papers marked “No” were not a vote against the unity of Germany and against peace: they can be explained by the influence of false demagogic propaganda.

The Third German People’s Congress which opened on May 29 was attended by 1,400 delegates from the Soviet zone and 616 delegates and guests from the Western zones. All the reports and speakers in discussion demanded unity, a just peace treaty and the withdrawal of occupation troops. The manifesto to the German people unanimously adopted by the Congress is in the same spirit. This unanimity was expressed in the delegation elected to go to the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris.

Speakers representing all the laenders of Western Germany told the Congress facts about the state of industry, agriculture and culture in their Zones which exposed the disastrous results of the policy of the Western occupation powers and the catastrophic situation that will arise if unity is prevented in Germany. Not only working class representatives spoke. There were also manufacturers, journalists, students and scientists—representatives of all professions. All of them realised the need to unite East West Germany if the German people are to live in peace and develop a healthy economy.

The Third German People’s Congress urged the formation of a broad national front of all Germans in favour of German unity and peace. This national front shall be wider than the framework of the People’s Congress movement. Delegates from Western Germany were particularly enthusiastic in their support for the formation of the national front, and it should be pointed out, that no nationalist note was struck in any of the speeches or suggestion for the Manifesto. On the contrary, it constantly stressed that this national front to fight for the country’s unity, for peace and independence was not in

contradiction to the peaceful aspirations of the neighbouring peoples, but, on the contrary, was to support of them.

With great enthusiasm, the Congress elected a peace delegation to go to the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers. This delegation included representatives from all the German parties and organisations. The Secretariat of the German People's Congress, re-elected by Congress, immediately requested the Foreign Ministers to receive the peace delegation in Paris so that it could put before them the demands in the Manifesto. This request was supported in Paris by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Vyshinsky. However, the Ministers of the Western powers once again rejected the proposal.

All supporters of German unity protested sharply at this refusal of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S., Britain and France. Throughout Germany, in the factories and in various organisations, the demand is again being put forward that the Ministers should hear the Congress delegation. These demands show the desire of the peace loving forces of the German people to act together in spite of zonal barriers and laender frontiers, and irrespective of party affiliation.

The demand for unity and peace evoked such a powerful response from the German people that the enemies unity and peace treaty made use of similar slogans to deceive the masses. Thus, the imperialist press and its German satellites are trying to interpret the stand of the Soviet delegation at Paris as though the Soviet Union were the enemy of a united Germany and the supporter of permanent control over Germany. They made this slanderous assertion to disguise the reactionary aims of the imperialist forces. The American Federation of Labour deemed it necessary to table the cards of its masters. The A.F of L programme submitted to the Paris Conference demands that the occupation authorities should stay in Germany to protect the German people and Western Europe from Communism, as the programme puts it. In reality the question is to protect the

interests of the American monopolists in Germany and Western Europe, who are striving to preserve the occupation of Germany and to prevent its unification

The desire of millions of people for a lasting peace was warmly expressed at the People's Congress and similarly at the Third Congress of the Free German Youth Union, held on June 1-4. This desire found expression in the youth festival of the Soviet zone held in Leipzig on June 5-6. The enthusiasm of hundreds of thousands of young people, their determination to spare no efforts in building democracy and their deep realisation that it is necessary to live in friendship with the youth of all the world shows that the call for unity and peace is meeting with a growing response among our young people. The corrupt hack-writers and politicians in Western Germany working for the America monopolists are putting up new barriers in the way of the people's aspirations for a united, peace-loving Germany. However, their plans for dismembering Germany and bartering it to the American monopolists are doomed to failure, because the people's masses are against them and because without unity and a peace treaty Germany will only prove to be a constant centre of unrest in Europe and of the whole world.

The task of the peace-loving forces in Germany is to create the broadest national front of the who, because of their love for the Fatherland, are ready to fight for unity and peace until a peace-loving democratic Germany becomes a reality.

CONFERENCE OF ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

A conference of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held in Bombay at the end of May.

A report on the work of A.I.T.U.C. during the two years since the previous conference declared: Repressions against the A.I.T.U.C. and its leaders are accompanied by manoeuvres to split the Indian trade union movement. These manoeuvres are carried out by the enemies of the working class, the reformists and leaders of the Socialist Party. The most important task of the A.I.T.U.C. is to form a powerful united front of the Indian working class to prevent this split and resist the growing capitalist onslaught against the working class.

Today the A.I.T.U.C. is the only militant trade union organisation of the Indian working class. It guides the struggle in defence of the workers' rights, against the intensifying capitalist offensive. In spite of repression and the attempts of splitters, the A.I.T.U.C. remain the truly representative organisation of the Indian working-class.

The report gives detailed figures showing the drop in the real wages of the workers and the terrible conditions of the working people. The official government figure for industrial unemployment is 1,500,000.

The A.I.T.U.C. gave full support to the decisions of the World Peace Congress. In its decisions the conference condemned the London agreement concerning India's continued inclusion in the British Empire.

A resolution on the North Atlantic Pact said: The A.I.T.U.C. denounces the North Atlantic Pact as an aggressive pact designed to bring about the world domination of the Anglo-American imperialists. The Pact has aimed at

suppressing the proletarian movement in all countries and the growing liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. It has been produced in order to prepare war against the Soviet Union, the land of peace and Socialism. The overwhelming majority of the Indian people are in favour of peace, freedom and Socialism. The Indian people see in the Soviet Union the bulwark of peace and Socialism, the stronghold in the struggle against war and capitalism.

Chakkarai Chettiar was elected Chairman of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and S. A. Dange, the former Congress Chairman now in prison, was elected General Secretary.

ENEMIES OF MARXISM

In the Tito clique of bourgeois nationalists, Kardelj has the reputation of being a theoretician.

On May 28 this year, Kardelj made a speech in the Yugoslav Skupshtina about the people's committees.

In his speech the most striking thing was the petty-bourgeois bragging. He boasted that they (Kardelj, Tito and their cronies), had never made mistakes in estimating the nature of people's democracy, and made the claim that they were the first to give a Marxist analysis to the new phenomenon of the development of the people's democratic system. After falsely, like a good trotskyist, accusing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and other Communist Parties of ideological and political confusion, Kardelj says: "You will not find such phenomena and theories in our country nor in our literature, nor in the policy of our Party".

Nobody has ever even thought of Tito, Kardelj, Rankovic and Djilas as Marxists. Neither the history of the international Communist movement nor the history of the Communist movement in Yugoslavia knows anything about their Marxist merits.

The Tito gang, pretending to the international role of "developers of Marxism", and shamelessly ascribing to themselves the merits of the Yugoslav people, usually clamours: We organised the partisan movement in Yugoslavia, we waged a national liberation war... consequently we are Marxists.

But nobody can seriously pretend that a partisan commander is a Marxist simply by virtue of being a partisan commander. Nor has the entire Tito clique any better reason for claiming the role of Marxist theoreticians than such a partisan.

Who can seriously regard Tito as a Marxist—Tito who

declared that the programme of the People's Front was the programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? It seems that the People's Front, whose social composition is extremely mixed (including kulaks and speculators) dictates its programme to the Communist Party. Kardelj boasts that they have never been confused in their theoretical estimation of people's democracy. But here is what Tito said in 1946 in Zagreb on the nature of people's democracy: "We tell the peasants that they are the firmest basis of our State not because we want to win their votes but because they are really this basis." It is purely social-revolutionary, kulak chatter which denies that the proletariat is the main leading force in the system of people's democracy.

In 1947, Djilas tried to prove that it was "completely incorrect and senseless to call separate meetings of the trade unions and the people's Front. They should be held together for the trade union is also in the Front". Djilas belittles the role of the working class to such an extent that he considers independent working class meetings impermissible and drives the organised workers to attend meetings of the Front where they are dissolved in the general mass of Front members, including kulaks and speculators.

Writing in "Borba" last year the "theoretician" Moshe Pijade maintained that in Yugoslavia the trade unions—that is, the working class—did not play any role in the liberation struggle and because of this were not the main force in the Yugoslav State system.

In his speech in the Skupshtina, Kardelj, generalising on the question of the negation of the leading role of the working class in the People's Democracies said that "for the dictatorship of the working class it is not violence that is essential, as the philistines believe..." Consequently, according to Kardelj, only philistines think that violence is an essential feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that violence is not

imperative for the dictatorship of the proletariat. And thus we get dictatorship of the proletariat without the violence against the bourgeoisie! This reveals Kardelj as an out and out bourgeois nationalist.

And all this is presented by the Tito obscurantists as “a further development of Marxism in Yugoslav conditions”.

V. I. Lenin had gentlemen of the Kardelj type in mind when he wrote:

“In defining the term ‘dictatorship’, Kautsky tried his utmost to conceal from the reader the fundamental symptom of this concept, namely: revolutionary violence.” (Vol. XXIII, p. 343, Russ. Ed.)

Refuting the anti-Marxist assertions that the dictatorship of the proletariat allegedly concerns only the use of force against the bourgeoisie, Comrade Stalin points out: “But of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean only force, although there is no dictatorship without force. (“Problems of Leninism” p. 129).

Lenin also wrote: “The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society.” (Vol. XXV, p. 190, Russ. Ed.)

Anyone can judge now what kind of “Marxist” is Mr. Kardelj who has taken upon himself to teach Marxism to the CPSU(B) and to the other Communist Parties. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, including the suppression of the exploiting minority by the working class is not essential for Kardelj evidently, because it does not suit the Yugoslav bourgeois nationalists.

Kardelj had to falsify the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat so that the bourgeoisie of town and countryside should have no fears, so that the bourgeoisie would understand that the draconic measures of the anti-

Communist Rankovic police regime were directed only against the Communists, the friends of the Soviet Union.

The anti-Soviet malice of Kardelj is boundless. An enemy of the Soviet Union, Kardelj denies that socialist democracy has been consistently achieved in the Soviet Union. He has the effrontery to say that: “the principles of socialist democracy... have not been realised to the full even by the Soviet power in the Soviet Union”.

The falsifier, Kardelj, is doing all this to “prove” that the anti-Communist, anti-democratic regime set up by the Tito clique in Yugoslavia represents the highest type of socialist democracy!

It is known that in home policy the Tito-ites have irrevocably taken the path of restoring capitalism, a process which is being speeded-up particularly in the countryside where under cover of the ceaseless Tito propaganda about “producer cooperatives” and that “capitalism is no longer growing in the countryside”, the kulaks are consolidating themselves in still stronger positions in economic and political life.

It is known that every day the Tito-ites are more and more drawing Yugoslavia into the orbit of Anglo-American economy, subordinating Yugoslavia’s economy to Anglo-American imperialism.

It is known that both at home and abroad the Yugoslav provocateurs are pursuing an irreconcilably hostile anti-Soviet policy. The main thesis in their propaganda which Kardelj reiterated in his recent speech, is the well-worn thesis of the Hitlerites and the Anglo-American imperialists about “Soviet imperialism” reworded by the Tito-ites who present the Soviet Union as adopting an attitude of “inequality” toward small nations and subordinating them politically and economically to the interests of the Soviet Union.

Then Kardelj goes on to say that the Tito, anti-democratic

regime is in form closest of all to the Soviet system.

Is not this the meanest of mean attempts to distort Soviet socialist democracy and once again deceive the Yugoslav people, making capital out of their genuine friendship for the Soviet Union?

The idea that the transition from capitalism to Socialism—that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat—can be realised in various political forms, is alien to Kardelj, the anti-Marxist metaphysician, the man who cannot understand the real meaning of dialectics. He denies that the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are being carried out in the People's Democracies.

He cannot see that the revolutionary creative power of the proletariat is inexhaustible. Concrete historical conditions can bring forth and do bring forth new forms of the political organisation of working class power.

This has taken place in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe where it became possible to realise working class power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, not in the Soviet form but in the form of the system of people's democracy. This is a historical fact recognised by the entire international Communist movement.

Neither Lenin nor Stalin has ever made absolute one or another form of organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin repeatedly stressed that it was a question of the **type** of power, of the **type** of the State, that the dictatorship of the proletariat had existed historically in the form of the Paris Commune, and that it now existed in the form of Soviets. But this is one type of State—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin and Stalin reason as really great dialecticians. They do not bind the hand of the proletarian parties in carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat. They point to the Soviets as a type of the dictatorship of the proletariat already realised in the Soviet Union under modern conditions. That is why the Soviets

are the model for the proletariat of all countries. The Soviets are the type of State power for which the proletariat throughout the world should strive in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and build Socialism.

The generalisation of the experience of building Socialism in the People's Democracies and the scientific, theoretical definition that in these countries the dictatorship of the proletariat is being realised in the form of a people's democratic republic where the working class is the ruling force with political power in its hands, is a new contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and is a new triumph of the genius of Stalin's teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But Kardelj is not in the least concerned with the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He is not interested in the historical experience of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a number of countries in new forms of organisation of the working class power. Like one of Shchedrin's pompous characters, Kardelj declares that "this cannot be", and this is the end of his "science". He hysterically cries: "It is incorrect, unscientific and stupid to say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is expressed either in the form of the Soviet power or in the form of people's democracy".

Only a person who does not know the A.B.C. of Marxism and fumes against it could, like Mr. Kardelj, talk such nonsense which is contrary to reality and common sense.

All this shows once again that the bourgeois-nationalist Tito clique has nothing in common with Marxism. How can there be any talk of Marxism when the Tito-Rankovic gang have destroyed a considerable part of the Communist cadres in Yugoslavia, when tens of thousands are languishing in prisons and concentration camps, and when thousands of Communists have been shot!

At the same time this gang has accepted into the Party many of yesterday's Chetniks and Ustashi, kulaks, speculators

and other such elements and has turned the Party into an auxiliary apparatus of the blood-thirsty hangman Rankovic and utterly destroyed all the principles of a Communist Marxist-Leninist Party.

P. Yudin

THE “MARSHALL PLAN” IN OPERATION

A Geneva despatch published in the French weekly newspaper “La Tribune des Nations” reports that European countries will import from America grades of coal which are already plentiful in Europe. Surplus coke for home consumption amounts to 100,000 tons in Britain, 70,000 tons in Italy, 30,000 tons in Belgium. There is also much surplus industrial coal in Europe.

Transport difficulties and shortage of foreign currency are the pretext put forward for the import of coal in reality, the Marshall Plan administrators are insisting on exporting coal to Europe, since, through a shortage of markets, some U.S. mines are in danger of closing down.

TORTURE IN GREEK CONCENTRATION CAMP

A group of prominent E.A.M. leaders and leaders of trade unions and of the progressive organisations are due to be court-martialled in Athens shortly. Among them are Vasilis Markesinis, former Secretary of E.A.M.; Pandelis Simos (Karagizeos), general secretary of the National Mutual Assistance organisation, member of the Central Council of E.A.M., and former secretary general of the Greek Tobacco Workers' Union; Tasos Heinoglu, former editor of the newspaper "Elefteri Ellada" and twelve others.

All of them were due to be tried at the end of February together with Papparigas, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour. But after the murder of Papparigas, the trial was postponed and the accused were sent to the Makronisos concentration camp for "further interrogation."

Between May 9 and 27 eight of the accused were terribly tortured. The executioners tried to drag from the prisoners a renunciation of their political views and also false testimony so that their accusers could find "grounds" for their charges.

The prisoners were thrown into the sea as many as 20 times in 24 hours and when they reached the shore they were mercilessly beaten with rods and truncheons. They were kept awake for 12 days and nights, forced to work by night, and by day to stand naked in the scorching sun with packs weighing 20 kilos on their backs and their arms in the air. Those who could not endure the torture were beaten again. When they lost consciousness they were drenched with water and stood on their feet again.

On May 28 the accused were taken to Piraeus in a terrible state with their intestines smashed. Three of them have tuberculosis in an acute form.

This is how the monarcho-fascist hangmen are behaving in Greece. This is how the newly-hatched dictators and suppressors of Greece, the American imperialists, the modern inquisitors and disciples of Himmler, are teaching them to act. Such is the real value of “the American way of life” and of the “freedom of the great transatlantic democracy” brought to Europe.

IN LIBERATED CHINA

In the liberated towns and villages of China the democratic authorities are restoring industrial and agricultural production.

According to the Sinhua agency the greater part of the industrial enterprises in North and Central China have been restored. In Peiping, for example, a total of 3,300 enterprises are functioning. The Kuomintang left the industry in a state of stagnation. Production was at an extremely low level and the workers received miserably low wages. After the liberation, the Peiping trades council sent a special commission to the factories to help in looking after the workers' interests.

In Shanghai, the largest city in the country, industry has likewise been restored. Most of the state-owned and private textile mills are functioning, including more than 60 per cent of the mills belonging to the former Kuomintang Central Textile Corporation. The rice-cleaning plant in Shanghai is also in operation. With a view to regulating the exchange of goods between town and country, a special commission has been created which will supervise buying and selling of products from cooperatives and other public organisations.

Radio, post, telegraph and telephone service are functioning in Shanghai. Rail transport between Shanghai and Woosung has been resumed. Trains are running regularly between Shanghai and Nanking. A branch of the East China People's Bank opened in Shanghai at the beginning of the month. The new branch will guide the work of the people's banks in Anhwei, Kiangsu and Chekiang Provinces.

Half a million pupils and students are attending the elementary, secondary and higher schools in Shanghai. The victims of Kuomintang repression have been released from their jails and thousands of captured Kuomintang wounded have been sent home after having their wounds treated.

A special railway corps has been enrolled in Peiping to

repair and equip the railways. The Peiping-Hangkow line is under repair. The electric power station in Nanchang capital of Kiangsi Province has been restored. Administrative committees for the purpose of democratising factory management, are being formed in the industrial enterprises in Peiping, Nanking and other cities. Workers will elect their own representatives to these committees. There will be equal representation for workers and technical personnel and the committees will be headed by the manager of the given enterprise.

The People's Bank of China is helping enterprises with subsidies. The military control authorities are opening registration bureaux for the purpose of securing work for the unemployed. The thousands of homeless refugees in Nanking are being helped to return to their homes. The local peoples' authorities have already registered over a thousand refugees who will receive free railway and river steamer tickets to their homes.

The Communist Party of China is training the cadres needed for work in the administrative, economic and cultural organisations.

A military-political school for workers is already functioning in Shanghai. Courses and schools are being opened in the Kiangsu Province and elsewhere.

The teaching in these schools is conducted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

STRIKE SOLIDARITY

A remarkable display of international working class solidarity has been given by dockworkers and seamen in ports in Britain, U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Cuba and other countries who, supporting the strike of the Canadian seamen, have refused to unload and man Canadian ships. Canadian ships have been tied up in foreign ports for more than two months and many vessels have had to make the return voyage to Canada with their cargoes undischarged. The strike which is nearing its tenth week, was called by the Canadian Seamen's Union to protect wages and conditions against encroachments by the ship-owners. The Seamen's Union has a splendid record of class struggle, and the ship-owners aided by the Canadian Government, are straining every effort to smash this organisation.

Scenes of incredible brutality and police violence have accompanied the strike. Seven strikers have received gunshot wounds, scores have been clubbed and hundreds arrested in Canadian and foreign ports.

A strike-breaking organisation, the "Seamen's International Union", an affiliate of the ultra-reactionary American Federation of Labour, was imported from the United States to supply blackleg crews for the idle Canadian ships.

In Montreal the crew of a British ship refused to sail when they learned that among the passengers were strike-breakers intended for the Canadian ships strike-hound in British ports.

In London and elsewhere working class women have opened food centres for the Canadian strikers.

Heartened by this magnificent display of international solidarity, the strikers have closed their ranks and are confident of victory.

THEORETICAL TRAINING OF PARTY ACTIVE

Education in the Rumanian Workers' Party has been greatly extended recently. Evening courses have been organised for Party members and the industrial Party Active. The course of 17 lectures is held twice a week.

Area Party committees allocate tutors for these courses and send their best propagandists to give lectures and lead discussion groups. During April, nearly 13,000 Party members attended these courses.

Fifty-five thousand Party members are studying the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) individually. For them discussions are held from time to time.

Five-week Party schools have been organised for leading members of Party branches at factories, state farms and machine-tractor depots. At present 16 such schools are functioning attended by 564 students.

Twenty-six Party schools with a Course of 100 days have been started for the members of area, regional, district and factory Party committees as well as for leading workers in mass organisations and the State apparatus. During the first half of 1949, 1,115 persons passed through these schools, and at present there are 933 students. Alongside problems of party life, a prominent place in the curricula of all Party schools is devoted to studying the history and experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The highest stage of Party education is the central A. A. Zhdanov lecture school attended by 82 students and the Stefan Gheorghie Party University attended by 130 students. A two-year term of studies, and a bigger student body are planned for the central Party school.

There is also a six-month central Party school in the

Hungarian language attended by 56 students.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN HUNGARY. G. Marosan, Assistant General Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party

A year ago, on June 12, 1948, the Congress of the Hungarian Communist and Social Democratic parties decided to unite the two parties into the Workers' Party. This step restored the ideological, political and organisational unity of the Hungarian working class.

The split in the Hungarian working-class movement date back to World War One when the opportunists, predominating in the Social Democratic Party, openly went over to the bourgeois camp. In 1919, working-class unity was restored in the name of the socialist revolution. As is known, the Hungarian working class won power for the first time and established a Soviet Republic. However this unity was brought about without first drawing the necessary demarcation line between the Right Opportunists and vacillating centrists—a fact which was one of the main reasons for the tragic defeat of the revolution. The Communists soon realised this.

The defeat of the first proletarian revolution in Hungary led to the banning of the Communist Party, to the Right Social Democrats reaching an agreement with Horthy reaction and to the domination of Right traitors in the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. In their counter-revolutionary struggle against the Communists, the Right Social Democrats were supported by the Horthy police whom they, in their turn, also helped.

Despite difficulty and danger, the members of the illegal Communist Party continued their work in the Social

Democratic Party and trade unions to combat opportunism and treachery.

The activity of the Left Social Democrats inside their party always depended on the activity of the Communist Party in the working-class movement. This was particularly evident during World War Two after fascist Germany had attacked the Soviet Union. During this period the struggle intensified between the right and left-wings of the Social Democratic Party which had already grown much weaker. The left-wing gradually draw closer to the Communists. In the meantime the united front of democratic forces ready to fight the Hitler and Horthy regimes developed. The Communist Party was the initiator and leader of this movement.

In March 1944 German-fascist troops occupied Hungary. The Social Democratic Party was banned. A dual leadership was formed. The Right headed by the then general secretary of the Party, Ferenc Szeder, sought way and means of reaching an agreement with the party of the “Crossed Arrows”—Hitler’s direct and open agent in Hungary. This gave the Rights the possibility of legal work. This line was supported by the Right trade union leaders, among them the leaders of the metal workers’ union Lajos Kabok and Sandor Karacsoni who, were for legality at all costs. In this way they betrayed many trade union functionaries, including themselves, to the Hitlerites. The Left Socialists, headed by Sakaszits went underground. Acting on behalf of the Social Democratic Party, Sakaszits concluded an agreement with the Communist Party in September 1944 for a united front and on the question of unification after the country’s liberation.

However, the fusion of the two parties did not take place immediately our country was liberated by the heroic Soviet troops. The former Right leaders of the Social Democratic Party were not expelled from its ranks. As a matter of fact they were pardoned and acquitted, since the Lefts failed to subject

them to severe criticism. Taking advantage of this, the Rights rallied to fight against an agreement with the Communist Party. But the moral and political influence of the great victory of the Soviet Union which gave us our liberation together with the consolidation of the Communist Party which became the leading force of the working class movement and of the people in the country, helped to strengthen the position of the Left in the Social Democratic Party to the extent that they were able to fight successfully for working-class unity and defend it against the bitter attacks of the Rights.

There was no uniform leadership in the Social Democratic Party. It could not be otherwise for the leadership was not united in its ideology or strategy and therefore had no clear perspective. The Rights openly propagated “western” bourgeois democracy. The Lefts, for their part, were inclined to accept the programme of the Communists which aimed at establishing a people’s democratic order in Hungary. The centrists in the Social Democratic leadership supported a people’s democracy in words but in deeds they backed the line of the Rights, the line of bourgeois democracy and of close collaboration with the forces of the bourgeoisie in order to dislodge the Communist Party from power. With this object in view the Rights, together with the centrists, started to recruit into their ranks non-proletarian elements, particularly petty-bourgeois elements. This was done in the name of “party chauvinism,” from the standpoint of placing the interests of the Party first. As a result, the social composition of the Social Democratic Party changed—there was a decrease in the proportion of proletarian elements. All this was done with the purpose of breaking the Social Democratic Party away from the Communist Party.

The Rights and centrists demagogically took advantage of the country’s post-war difficulties. The Lefts combated this demagogy. But, notwithstanding the comradely criticism and

fraternal advice of the Communists, the Lefts were slow to realise that “Party chauvinism” is the main tool of the Rights and Centrists, that it helps to dislodge the Lefts from the Party, helps to disrupt working-class unity and upholds the interests of the bourgeoisie in the name of “western democracy”. The Left Socialists were too late in combatting this position of the Rights. The explanation for this is that for a certain time the Left Socialists themselves were influenced by the demagogy of the Rights who set the “interests of the Party” against the interests of the working class. In this way the Rights gained an even stronger foothold in the Party.

The Right Socialists in the West, especially the British Labour Party, played a considerable role in this matter. It was under their influence that in 1947 the Hungarian Social Democratic Party decided to tackle the job of reviving the weakened social democratic movement in the Balkans. To heighten Party competition with the Communists they convened the Danube Conference of Social Democrats to which they invited the British and Dutch Right Socialists as observers. Healey, head of the Labour Party International Department brought instructions from London that agreement should be reached among the leaders of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party to break with the Communists.

Even then in Budapest and later at the Social Democratic Conference in Brno, Healey told me personally that it was not against Mindzenty and clerical reaction that the fight had to be conducted; on the contrary it was necessary to rely on support from clerical reaction in the struggle against the Communist Party.

Whereas in the past Labour Party interference had weakened the position of the Lefts, putting pressure upon them, whereas they were still flattered by the “advice” of the Labour Party that the Social Democratic Party alone should take power (i.e., dislodge the Communists as in France), the new task put

forward by Healey helped the Lefts to appreciate the real aims of British imperialism's Labour agent. It became clear to us why the Rights in the Political Bureau of the Social Democratic Party had always opposed the plans of the Communist Party for the country's economic and political reorganisation. We realised why the Rights were so fervent in their defence of the conspirator Ferenc Nagy, why the British and American intelligence services placed their agents in Government bodies and in the Social Democratic Party where they helped to provoke those who supported unity with the Communist Party.

At the 1947 election, the Rights and centrists succeeded in mobilising the majority of the party against the Communists. But the vacillating policy of the Social Democratic Party, especially its anti-Soviet election propaganda, lost it the vote of the workers. Instead of the expected "decisive victory" in the election, the Social Democrats met with defeat. First place was won by the Communist Party whose firm and consistent policy yielded results. The Rights and centrists (as the class struggle grew sharper the centrists went over more openly to the Rights) tried to use this defeat to dislodge the Left Socialists.

In the meantime the Left Socialists, not ashamed to learn from the Communists, finally started an ideological struggle against the Rights—these traitors to the working class—against the agents of Anglo-American imperialism. The treachery of the Blums and Mochs in France who fired on strikers, exposed the Rights as the agents of the bourgeoisie. The Rights were ideologically and organisationally smashed under the concentrated blows of the Communists and Left Socialists who joined forces. The Lefts strengthened their position in the leadership of the Social Democratic Party: notorious Right leaders were expelled and the party ranks purged. The new Left leadership supported by the workers took a firm line for unity with the Communist Party.

We openly recognised the correctness of the ideology and

strategy of the Communist Party. The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism has been embodied in practice, justified by the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party and the historical achievements of the first Socialist State in the world—the great Soviet Union. We realised that a united party of the working class should be formed not on a mixture of Marxism and opportunism, but on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is the basis on which the Social Democratic Party united with the Communist Party.

A year has passed since the Communist Party united with the Social Democratic Party which had been purged of its right wing. What has this fusion given the working class and the people of Hungary?

First, the “theory” that the working class is stronger when it is divided into two parties has been disproved.

As in other countries where the fusion of the working class took place on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, this was not merely a pooling of forces. The fusion multiplied the forces of the working class and enhanced its role in all spheres of state and public life. It meant that the victories of the people’s democracy were finally secured. It also follows from this that in the capitalist countries where the working class is divided, the Social Democratic Party is a breach through which enemy influence can penetrate into the ranks of the working class, where this party, like the Austrian, the Schumacher or the British Labour Party, is the principal proponent of bourgeois influence in the working class—in those countries the ideological defeat of Right social democracy and the fusion of the working class are a vital condition for the victory of the working people over the forces of reaction, for the establishment of people’s power and the construction of Socialism.

Secondly, the fusion of the two workers’ parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism gave the working peasantry

confidence and the necessary support in their struggle against the kulaks. It greatly strengthened the workers' and peasants' alliance and helped to win general recognition of the leading role of the working class.

The fusion of the working class completely cut the ground from under the feet of the enemies of democracy in the country. In a country like Hungary, whose capital has more than half a million industrial workers, the working class led by a united Marxist-Leninist Party became invincible. Our enemies can console themselves with the promises of Washington and London. All enemies of the people, including working-class traitors who have fled the country and are now openly joining forces with the fascists, are converging on these promises like fish rising to the bait. But their efforts will be of no avail. The people of Hungary have firmly taken the path of building Socialism.

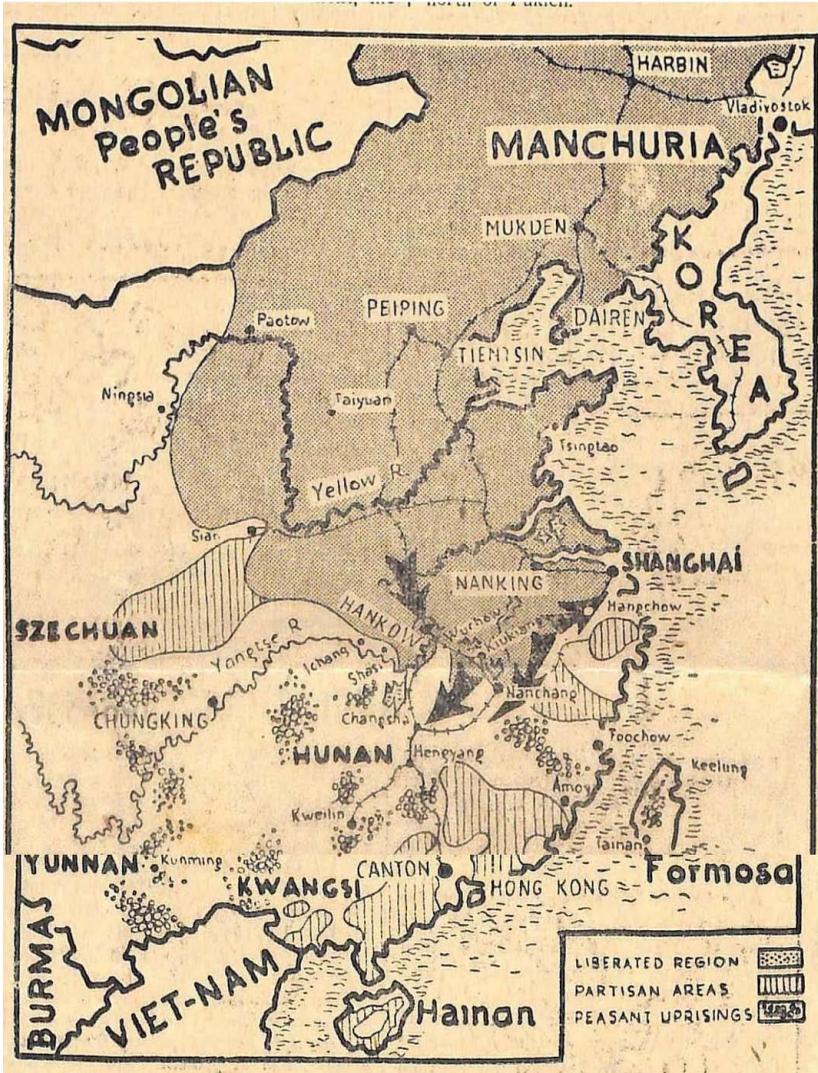
Then again, the "prediction" of the opponents of unity that the Communists would "swallow" the Social Democrats as a result of unification was not justified. The superiority of the Communists in the political struggle and constructive work was the reason for his "prognosis". Former Social Democrats now recall these enemy "predictions" with a smile. It is a fact that unification made it possible to develop many valuable cadres of the former Social Democratic Party. More former Social Democrats attended various party courses and lectures in the course of a year than during thirty years in the Social Democratic Party which neglected the education of cadres. Only unification made it possible for former Social Democrats to successfully master the great weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory and to become fine, selfless Communists. In the course of the past year: former Social Democrats have come forward in all spheres of Party and state life.

Our Party, and the People's Front guided by it, scored a brilliant victory at the election of May 15. It was a victory on

the home and international front, a victory won, thanks to the unification of the Hungarian working class.

The unification of the working class in Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Poland shows the working-class movement also in the other countries the only correct path in the struggle against imperialism and for Socialism.

MILITARY POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA



The offensive waged by the People's Liberation Army during the autumn and winter of 1948-49 marked a turning point in the liberation struggle in China.

In the course of this offensive, the People's Liberation Army demonstrated its ability to wage successful large-scale operations. As a result of the autumn and winter battles, the main forces of the Kuomintang army were destroyed. Its losses amounted to nearly two million men. The remainder of the regular Kuomintang forces, numbering a little over 1,000,000 men, were dispersed between Sin-kiang and Formosa. The morale and fighting spirit of the troops were at a low ebb. The masses of the people supported the Liberation Army and the policy of the Communist Party which heads the democratic front. The debacle of the Kuomintang armies proved to the world that the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime had lost its remaining influence among the people and that its only support rested on military force and American imperialist aid.

By the beginning of 1949, the balance of forces obviously did not favour the Kuomintang camp. Faced with a profound military and political crisis, the Kuomintang resorted to other means of struggle. The Sinhua Agency described the situation at the time as follows: "Now, when the Kuomintang sees that it cannot prevent the victory of the Chinese people by armed force alone, it is attaching increasing importance to political means of struggle."

At first Chiang-Kai-shek and later his successor, Li Tsung-jen, proposed that peace talks with the Communist Party should be opened. As a preliminary to these talks, they demanded, the immediate cessation of hostilities, that is, that the People's Liberation Army should halt its successful offensive. The Kuomintang proposed an "honourable peace" concluded on "equal terms".

The Communist Party of China, basing its policy on the interests of the State and the people, sought time and again to

end the bloodshed of civil war. And this time, too, the command of the People's Liberation Army, notwithstanding its superior strength agreed to negotiate.

The famous Eight Points formulated on January 14 by Mao Tse-tung, on behalf of the Communist Party, served as a basis for the negotiations. These conditions expressed the hopes and aspirations of the Chinese people. And, on the basis of the Party's Eight Points, a mass movement for peace developed throughout the country.

The Li Tsung-ien-Ho Ying-chin Government agreed to the Party's conditions, and talks opened in Peiping on April 1. Chu En-lai, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, headed the Communist delegation and General Chang Chi-chung was chief representative of the Kuomintang.

The course of the negotiations showed that the Kuomintang was not in the least interested in peace, that its sole concern was to gain time. Nearly two weeks were spent on a preliminary exchange of views. During that time the Kuomintang leadership was feverishly preparing to continue the civil war. New army groups were hastily formed and mobilised, defences along the Yangtse fortified and troops regrouped.

A new wave of repression against the democratic elements and supporters of peace swept through the Kuomintang areas. These reprisals and the "peace" manoeuvres of the Kuomintang were engineered behind the scenes by Chiang Kai-shek through the medium of his puppets in the government and the army command.

In mid-April, the two delegations formulated a peace agreement on the basis of the Eight Points. But on April 20, the Kuomintang Government refused to ratify this agreement. The noisy peace talk of the Kuomintang reactionaries was designed to deceive the Chinese people and to cause a rift in the democratic front. These reactionaries hoped, in the course of

the breathing space, to receive further help from their master, the American imperialists.

Full responsibility for the deadlock in the peace talks and the continuation of the civil war rests with the Kuomintang ruling clique. Once again they exposed themselves as foreign agents and as the inveterate enemies of the Chinese people.

In an Order of the Day to the People's Liberation Army, Mao Tse-tung and Chu Ten pointed out that behind Li Tsung-jen and Ho Ying-chin and the American imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek who are trying to hold up the victorious liberation of the Chinese people and the peaceful solution of China's home affairs.

Troops of the People's Liberation Army received the order to launch a decisive offensive and to destroy all reactionary troops who dared offer resistance, to liberate the people and to defend the independence and integrity of China's territory and her sovereignty.

Leaving the door open for a peace settlement, the order stressed again that should the Kuomintang Government or local government officials show themselves willing to sign the peace agreement drawn up in Peiping, they should be given the opportunity to do so.

On the night of April 21, the People's Liberation Army launched a new large-scale offensive along the lower reaches of the Yangtse. In the very first days of the fighting, the People's Liberation Army crushed the resistance of the Kuomintang troops southwest and east of Nanking and advanced on the Kuomintang capital.

The successful crossing of the Yangtse, one of the world greatest waterways, dashed the hopes of the Kuomintang that this heavily-fortified water-barrier would prove unassailable.

Two days after the offensive was launched, the People's Liberation Army approached Nanking Threatened with encirclement, the garrison abandoned the defences and fled in

panic from the city.

The President, Government and high officials also fled: Li Tsung-jen and his personnel boarded planes for Kwangsi. Ho Ying-chin and a number of ministers for Shanghai, while the remainder flew to Hongkong.

Nanking was liberated on April 23.

After the liberation of Nanking, the People's Army rapidly developed its offensive in the direction of Shanghai, Hangchow,

Nanchang and the south. The Kuomintang suffered heavy losses in the battles fought in the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow triangle—a total of eight Kuomintang armies were completely destroyed in this area.

But the main operation on this front developed in the Shanghai area. By May 10, troops of the People's Liberation Army had approached the outer defences of this important economic centre, one of the world's greatest ports.

The Kuomintang command mobilised all its forces for the defence of Shanghai. It boasted that the city would be defended to the last man. The battle for the city raged for two weeks. On May 24, the People's Liberation Army pierced the inner defences and during the next two days mopped up the Kuomintang troops who fled in disorder along the only escape line open to them, along the Whanpoo River leading to the sea. In the course of a month's fighting along the lower reaches of the Yangtse and further to the southeast the People's Liberation Army liberated vast territories and more than a hundred towns including the cities of Nanking, Shanghai, Nanchang and Hanchow. It liberated the provinces of Anhwei and Kiangsu, a great part of Chekiang, the northeast part of Kiangsi and the north of Fukien.

At the same time the People's Liberation Army developed its offensive on other sectors of the front. On May 17 it liberated the towns of Hankow, Wu-chang and Hanyang". These three towns form a big economic region and their fall to the People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of the entire central and lower Yangtse valley.

In North China, Kuomintang garrisons were encircled in a number of towns. By the end of April and May the People's Army had liberated Taiyuan, capital of Shansi Province, and the towns of Ta-tung, Anyang and Hsinsiang. The Kuomintang lost up to 125,000 officers and men here. The vital port of Tsing-tao has also been liberated.

The People's Liberation Army also developed offensive operations in Northwest China along the Lunghai railway. On May 20, Sian, capital of Shensi Province, was liberated as well as a number of other towns. At the same time, active guerrilla operations were launched behind the Kuomintang lines. In the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwang-si, Hunan and Yunnan the guerrillas have liberated up to one hundred districts. More than 40,000 regular troops of the People's Army and over 100,000 guerrillas are operating in these regions.

On Hainan Island, for example, districts with a population of 350,000 have been liberated and 22 people's councils set up.

The refusal of Kuomintang soldiers and officers to fight against the People's Liberation Army and the surrender of entire units are becoming common occurrences. The Sinhua Agency reports that during May a total of 52 Kuomintang naval vessels surrendered to the People's Liberation Army.

The working people in the liberated areas are giving an enthusiastic welcome to the troops of the Liberation Army. In Nanking, Hankow, Shanghai and other cities, thousands came onto the streets to greet their liberators. Industrial workers in Nanking, Wu-chang, Hangchow and other towns formed civil-

defence units before the arrival of the People's Liberation Army and prevented the retreating enemy from destroying the factories and enterprises. A few days after the liberation, life was back to normal in these towns: factories are working and the various public offices are functioning as usual. In Hangchow workers returned at once to their posts in the power stations, paper-mills and other enterprises.

The latest blows delivered by the People's Liberation Army have deepened the political crisis and have hastened the disintegration of the Kuomintang camp. The Kuomintang leaders are now concentrating in Canton and Formosa where they are feverishly preparing to continue the armed struggle in the South and Southwest. They are making desperate appeals to American imperialism for aid.

In the United States, their appeals are being supported by Dewey, McCarran, Bullitt, Chenault and others. These warmongers are demanding that the U.S. Government should give more aid to the Kuomintang, even to the extent of armed intervention.

In a statement issued to the press, the Chairman of the People's Military Revolutionary Committee of China declared that the People's Liberation Army demands that Britain, the United States and France withdraw their armed forces from China and cease their assistance to the enemies of the Chinese people.

The more hopeless their position, the more furious is the resistance of the doomed Kuomintang reactionaries. The Chinese people, whose struggle is led by the Communist Party, headed by Mao Tse-tung, have still a great deal to do in order to completely crush the resistance of Kuomintang reaction and transform China into an independent democratic State.

I. Sergeyev

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

The 48th annual conference of the British Labour Party took place in Blackpool June 6-11. The main purpose of the conference was the desire of the right-wing leaders to secure formal sanction for their new “programme”, Labour Believes in Britain.

The rank and file had no say whatsoever in formulating this programme.

The astute politicians who dominate the Labour Party published it too late for the local Labour organisations to submit resolutions on it. They announced at the conference that no vote on any section of the programme would be allowed. The trouble-some two hundred resolutions submitted to the conference by the local organisations and which really reflected rank and file opinion were likewise skilfully side-stepped by the official machine.

The conference met at a time when dockers, railwaymen, and miners were engaged in strike action, when due to the anti-working class nature of the recent budget the entire working class in Britain was seething with discontent. But the Right leaders had eyes only for the general election due to be held next year. “Labour Believes in Britain” differ so little from the statements of Churchill’s party that “The Times” could say of it “the elector next year is likely to find it harder than ever to choose between the contestants simply by reading their respective programmes”.

The delegates were treated to a spate of demagogic oratory by the outgoing Chairman, Griffiths, followed by Morrison, Attlee, Bevan, Cripps and of course Mr Bevin himself.

In his opening remark Griffiths made it clear that the Labour leaders regarded the Communists, as their main enemy and not the monopolists who run the country and who are in intensifying exploitation of the working class.

Bevin, parroting his master Churchill, thundered against Communism in the sphere of foreign policy, and, as usual, made a rabid attack against the Soviet Union. However, in an attempt to side-track criticism the wily demagogue sought a sentimental refuge by hinting that this might be his last appearance at a Labour Party conference as Foreign Minister.

A classic example of “Labour democracy” followed when only seven speakers, all of them Bevin supporters, were allowed to take part in the debate. This, of course, was a manoeuvre to deceive world public opinion and create the impression that the policy of the Labour imperialist warmongers had the approval of the British people.

Having gagged the opposition, the Right leaders got a formal sanction for their election programme which is a programme for maintaining and defending capitalism and can only lead as capitalism has always led, to crisis, unemployment and war.

BRITISH WORKERS CONFER “DEGREES” ON CHURCHILL

On May 19, when Liverpool University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Law on Mr. Churchill, two thousand people gathered at a public meeting in the city sent a special message to the warmonger-in-chief.

The message read in part: “Your record is one of continuous attacks against the vital interests of the workers in this and other countries, while today you lead the most reactionary grouping throughout the world in an attempt to plunge the world into a third world war... We, the true representatives of the peace-loving people, confer upon you the degrees of Doctor of Wars, Master of Oppression and Fellow of World Reaction”.

U.S. “GOOD NEIGHBOUR POLICY” IN CUBA

While the United States Government claims that it is only too glad to help develop “backward areas”, American imperialism is actually doing everything to hamper the industrialisation of undeveloped countries.

The discussion over U.S. textile exports to Cuba is a glaring example of this. As the Cuban trade unions state, this is ruining Cuba’s own textile industry. Cuban textile manufacturers and trade union leaders are demanding that the Government should take steps to protect the Cuban market from American textile dumping. This dumping has already resulted in the 12 biggest plants in the country being closed down and nearly 20,000 workers being out of work.

According to the newspaper “Hoy”, police broke up workers’ demonstrations demanding that the Government should take concrete measures.

KULAKS IN YUGOSLAV COOPERATIVES

New “peasant cooperatives” have sprung up in Yugoslavia like mushrooms after rain, following the “historical” Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

In the course of a few weeks, broad masses of the peasantry were “re-educated” and “voluntarily” joined the cooperatives. What the Yugoslav adventures are so loudly advertising as a mass cooperative movement of the working peasantry is actually the forcible recruitment of the rural population into the so-called cooperatives. It is no less than a new form of the Yugoslav kulaks’ exploitation of the poor peasant. This campaign was necessary to the Tito-ites, the enemies of the Yugoslav people, so that they could discredit the idea of Socialism among millions of Yugoslav peasants.

The hypocritical phrase-mongering by the Tito “theoreticians” that capitalism is no longer growing in the countryside and that the Yugoslav village is undergoing successful “socialist” reorganisation, was recently unwittingly exposed by the Tito paper “Omladina”, organ of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav People’s Youth Organisation, in its issue, No. 50.

In an article entitled “On the attitude of certain district organisations to the question of developing agricultural production” the author gleefully reported that 30 new cooperatives were formed in the Ruma region in the course of three months. But the inexperienced author slipped up. By the end of March, we read, 21 “groups of youth activists” were formed in newly organised cooperatives. These groups were made up of 350 poor peasants, 450 middle peasants and 400 rich peasants.

And so, among the activists alone, there are 400 kulaks! This shows that the Tito way of building Socialism is very

acceptable to the kulaks and their sons, seeing that they have decided to become his activists. What “Borba” conceals, “Omladina” reveals.

A GLANCE AT THE “AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE”

During a visit of some months to the United States I tried to find out what the average American means by the “American Way of Life”—a fashionable expression used by the U.S. publicists which is even found now in official diplomatic documents. But no two explanations tallied. It appears that the “doctrine” has not yet been formulated. Not a single philosopher in this land of “unlimited opportunity” was bold enough to take the risk.

During the Presidential election when the Americans were voting against Dewey’s reactionary war programme put forward on behalf of the Republican Party, an old film was being screened in a cinema on the outskirts of New York. The house was filled with children (at the entrance plastic plates were given away to small girls as an advertisement). In the film Charley Chaplin, the star, was seen leaving Europe with a group of ruined adventurers, gangsters and destitute people. On board ship he was persecuted and was always in tears. But when the Statue of Liberty appeared on the screen, the children whistled enthusiastically to show their approval for they thought that Charley’s sufferings had come to an end. Just as in the old emigrant stories, the “American Way of Life” began for them with the Statue of Liberty.

Today, emigration to the United States has ceased. Now it is mainly fascists who land there protected by the “displaced persons” law. But American propaganda tries to keep alive the old illusion about the charms of emigration as though the Wall Street monopolist network has not now spread to all continent. However, illusion is not a sign of well-being but of poverty. The want that drove emigrants to leave their homelands haunts them as much as ever in their new home, the United States. The

emigrants still look for the “American Way of Life” behind the Statue of Liberty. But emigration has become an endless migration inside the U.S.. According to statistics issued by the registration bureau of the U.S. Trade Department last October, over 2,300,000 people have moved to California from other states during the past eight years. Have these people found the “American Way of Life” in California?

California is not the only state which attracts migrant workers: practically every state is affected by this movement. Millions of people are moving from East to West, from South to North and vice versa. To escape lynching and racial discrimination in the South, Negroes are selling themselves as cheap labour to Northern manufacturers. Northern workers hope to get higher wages in new factories in the West. At a casual glance it might seem that the migrants, having no definite trade, are not workers. In fact they are victims of the particular American fever, the chase for work. There is also “another type of “migration”—from one profession to another. I met an aeronautical engineer working as a compositor, a university teacher working as a bricklayer; lawyers working as waiters and so on. These millions of people cannot understand the meaning of the “American Way of Life” when it is impossible to get a living.

The first time that I personally experienced the “American Way of Life” was when I was handed an entry document into the U.S.. The words “white race” were written against my name. Not a single diplomat is immune from receiving this document. The moral humiliation occasioned by such words assumes material form will every step taken on U.S. soil. Nowhere is man so humiliated as in the United States.

For anyone who has not been to America it is difficult to imagine the system of discrimination against the Negroes: it ranges from restrictions on political rights and wages to lynching and other atrocities. Racialism impregnates the whole

atmosphere like a suffocating poisonous fog, provoking a feeling of disgust and revulsion.

However, the Americans have carefully kept one place—and one place only—where discrimination is officially prohibited. This is the federal district of Washington, the city of Washington, the capital of the greatest democracy in the world, as the Americans put it. Whether the people who created this “oasis of democracy” suffered more from hypocrisy or from sadism, I find it hard to decide. It is true that in Washington the Negroes travel in the same trams as the whites. But on the outskirts of the city Negroes who are going to Alexandria (the neighbouring town) must change in to a special car. I hardly believed my eyes when I saw above the lavatories at the road-side filling-station which surround the capital of the “greatest democracy in the world” the signs: “for white people” and “for coloured people”.

The American capital is paying for its “democracy” in a very peculiar way. There is not a single theatre in the capital. The national theatre was closed, for otherwise it would have been necessary to have mixed Negro and white audiences.

However, even in the federal district of Washington crude racial discrimination is practiced, although it does not go as far as the gallows, as in the other states. Last September, the police faked a pretext to raid a private house where white and Negro war veterans had met. The unwritten law concerning lower wages for Negroes is applied in Washington as in the other states and the State Department, as if in revenge for the non-discrimination law, has given itself the pleasure of employing only Negro lift-boys. White people who do not observe the discrimination rules are persecuted by the law and by public opinion. I went to see one of America’s grottoes, which is supposed to be the most beautiful in the world. There was a queue to pay which I joined. I could not understand why the doorkeeper invited me so insistently to another cash-desk.

When I turned round and looked at the queue where I was standing I realised why. It was the “black” queue.

I was not in the Southern states. Nevertheless, I could not understand why so many people believe that in the Northern states the Yankees are against discrimination. Everywhere there are Negro ghettos, everywhere porters and loaders are Negroes, everywhere there is race prejudice.

The family of an American woman, Mrs. D. has lived in the Northern states for two generations. Mrs. D. says she is a supporter of the Roosevelt policy and “regrets that the Americans are on bad terms with the Russians”.

“It was better during the war”, she told me. “Then we were allies”. She was indignant and surprised when I said that I had read in the newspapers about the growing activity of the Ku Klux-Klan, this terrible organisation of murderers. And when I asked for her opinion on discrimination, in general, she suddenly became a “white” and said in a confidential tone: “Discrimination is a curse for the sins of our forefathers who bought black slaves here to work for them. And now we have to defend ourselves or we should all become Negroes as a result of the biological strength of this wild race”. And Mrs. D. is delighted that, due to the appalling conditions, the U.S. Negro population is decreasing each year.

Mrs. D. certainly does not speak for Americans who have rid themselves of racial prejudice. She does not speak for the young white Americans arrested in Baltimore together with young Negroes for the “crime” of breaking the discrimination law during a football match. Neither does she speak for the Society of War Veterans which rallies those who fought together against the Nazis, regardless of the colour of their skins. Mrs. D. believes that the “American Way of Life” exists, but she cannot say what it means.

There are a few general formulae which can be often found in the speeches of Mr. Byrnes, and most of the other American

politicians and in newspaper articles. For them the expression “American Way of Life” is the highlight of their philosophy. These formulae include such phrases as “equal opportunity”, “free competition”, “no State interference in private affairs” (this principle has led to large-scale bribery) and “the self-made man”. In the general political plan the same illusion is fostered about America as a whole, which the big businessmen pompously refer to as “the land of the free”.

All these phrases form the ideological basis for the “American Way of Life” to which must be added racial discrimination, the anti-Communist witch-hunt launched by the press of the trusts and all kind of hooligan organisations.

The propagandists of the “American Way of Life” are virtually engaged in anti-Communist propaganda.

Giving evidence before the notorious Parnell Thomas, Henry Dexter White, one of the last of Roosevelt’s supporters who died from heart failure during the Un-American Committee investigation against him, said that he certainly supported all the principles of the “American Way of Life” but did not want to be used as an anti-Communist tool by Parnell Thomas. This statement shocked the Committee which believed that anti-Communism was the basis of the “American Way of Life”. The officials of the passport bureau and the post-office, Washington taxi drivers who note addresses they are asked to drive to—all of them are learning the “American Way of Life” from J.B. Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The average American is terrorised by tear gas and truncheons not only when he is on strike but also in his everyday life. During the election campaign I witnessed the following scene in one of the Washington stores. Two salesmen had bet on how many American presidents had been called Thomas. To check up, one of them telephoned the Congress Library. The Library had asked him his name and

address and why he needed such information. The man was so upset that he asked the other sales man with horror: "Have I done something un-American?"

Such things seem incredible to those who did not witness the fierce campaign against the "reds" and the fantasies staged by the Un-American Committee during Dewey's election campaign through the medium of the monopoly press with its many million circulation, the radio and the cinema.

The Vatican is also a faithful advocate of the "American Way of Life" This stalwart bastion of reaction is constantly all the alert. The propagandists of the "American Way of Life" do not speak about the Vatican but it is there, invincible, behind the political scenes and behind the Hollywood screen, censoring and making propaganda.

While the film "Joan of Arc" (Vatican version) is being screened on Broadway, on Fifth Avenue in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Cardinal Spellman indulges in his anti-Soviet propaganda.

Posters outside invite people to join the celebration of the "Fatima Madonna" week and to pray for "Russia's conversion" and "world peace". It would be a mistake to think the "Fatima Madonna" week was a new invitation of Cardinal Spellman. As explained in the cathedral magazine, "Fatima Madonna" week was proclaimed in 1917 in connection with the October Socialist revolution.

What then is the "American way of life" ?

The "American way of life" is the world outlook of the big monopolists who consider everything in their interests "American" and everything against them "un American". "The American way of life" is an attempt to conceal the class struggle which is leading to the destruction of the capitalist system.

GHR. PREOTEASA

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