

Workers of all lands, unite!

*For a Lasting Peace, for a
Peoples Democracy!*

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FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF VICTORY OVER HITLER GERMANY

Four years have passed since the day of the great victory over fascist Germany. The anniversary of this victory which put an end to the most barbarous regime of terror and oppression ever known in history was marked by all progressive mankind.

This victory was won at the Cost of a life and death struggle waged by the peoples, especially the peoples of the Soviet Union, and showed the world the powerful and invincible vitality of the Soviet social and slate system, the moral and political unity of socialist society and the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The main brunt of the war was borne by the U.S.S.R. which raised aloft the banner of the liberation struggle. Thanks to the heroism and boundless self-sacrifice of the Soviet peoples, thanks to the inspiration and organisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) both at the front and in the rear, under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin, incredible difficulties were overcome. The vaunted war machine of the fascist bandits was completely smashed and the victorious Soviet banner unfurled over the Berlin Reichstag.

“We would be committing a crime against our Motherland, against the Soviet people who have temporarily fallen under the fascist yoke and against the peoples of Europe who are groaning under the heel of German tyranny, if we failed to utilise all opportunities for accelerating the enemy’s defeat.” These words of Comrade Stalin on November 6, 1943 concisely defined the aims of the people of the Soviet Union during the war years and the peoples of other lands who were inspired by the example of the U.S.S.R., peoples who longed

for freedom and independence, for peace and international cooperation after the war.

Churchill and his clique, the magnates of Anglo-American finance capital, pursued other war aims. They were forced to agree to a military alliance with the powerful force of the Soviet Army. But their real objective was to destroy the German and Japanese imperialist competition threatening them and to establish their world domination. With this aim the Anglo-American imperialists did everything possible to weaken the Soviet Union, to bleed it white in the course of the war and to use the victory for their own ends. That is **precisely why** the opening of the second front was postponed from year to year.

But the calculations of Churchill and the Anglo-American trusts on the weakening of the U.S.S.R. failed to materialise. The Soviet Union emerged from the war stronger than before, with its prestige enhanced in the eyes of the peoples of the world who regard it as the bulwark of democracy, freedom and peace.

By unleashing war the imperialists made yet another miscalculation: instead of being strengthened by the war, imperialism emerged from it greatly weakened. A deepening of the general crisis of capitalism set in. A number of countries broke away from the capitalist system to take the path of Socialism. The victory of the Soviet Army enabled the peoples of Central and South-eastern Europe to rise against the exploiting ruling classes which had linked them with the fascist invaders, it enabled them to establish people's democracies in their countries and to bring about far-reaching social and economic changes. Today these countries, led by the Communist and Workers' Parties and enjoying the fraternal and disinterested support of the U.S.S.R., having routed their internal enemies and strengthened the alliance of the working

class with the poor and medium peasantry, are boldly laying the foundations of Socialism.

World War Two also led to an upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. The brilliant victories of the People's Liberation Army in China are stirring the oppressed peoples into action, strengthening their militant spirit and their will for liberation. The working people of Viet Nam, Malaya, Indonesia and other countries are waging an heroic struggle against imperialism.

On Victory Day, May 9, 1945, the hearts of all people were filled with hopes of a long era of peace, constructive labour, freedom and independence. These hopes were backed by confidence in the agreements reached between the victorious Powers and the establishment of the United Nations Organisation to ensure that these agreements were observed.

But only four years later the ominous clouds of war are again gathering on the horizon. American imperialism's expansionist drive for world domination, fear of the sweeping liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples and the threat of economic crisis in the capitalist countries are driving aggressive circles of the Anglo-American monopolists to unleash a new war. The Anglo-American imperialists have rejected the Soviet peace proposals, especially the proposals to reduce armaments and outlaw the atom bomb. Wherever it is possible to do so, they are kindling the flames of war. With methods, aims and slogans markedly reminiscent of Hitler, the American imperialists and their hired pseudo-scientists are propagating the theories of "lebensraum", brutal racialism and the annihilation of entire peoples by the atom bomb, are forming aggressive blocs, and establishing military bases all over the world.

The governments of the capitalist countries of Western Europe are obediently accepting the conditions imposed by

their American masters. By agreeing to the “Marshall Plan” they have subordinated the economy of their countries to the American dollar, betrayed the national interests of their peoples and the sovereignty of their countries.

Today, in keeping with the Atlantic Pact, these governments are placing military bases and reserves at the disposal of the American imperialists.

However, this servility of the Bevins, Schumans and de Gasperis to the American monopolists must not be taken to mean that there are no longer contradictions in the imperialist camp. On the contrary, these contradictions are growing sharper and becoming more and more irreconcilable accordingly as the base of capitalism shrinks and crumbles.

The peoples do not want war. Recent events show that they are prepared to defend peace with all their forces: and today these forces are stronger than those of the warmongers. Powerful demonstrations against the governments joining the Atlantic Pact were held in all countries when the Pact was signed. Millions of men and women of different political opinions and religious beliefs voiced their will for peace and their aversion for the instigators of a new war. Today the situation is quite different from what it was on the eve of the first or second world wars. Today the peoples are capable of organising a successful struggle for peace. They realise that it would be an unforgivable mistake to sit back passively and do nothing while governments and capitalist circles went ahead with the organisation of war and then confronted the people with war as an accomplished fad. The World Peace Congress in Paris was the most eloquent and unequivocal answer to the sponsors of the Atlantic Pact.

The powerful voice of 600 million organised men and women, among them figures prominent in science, art, culture and social life, rang out from Paris. These were the true

representatives of human reason. No superfluous words were uttered at Paris. The Manifesto, unanimously adopted, denounces the threat of war and its instigators, the atom bomb criminals, the violators of the U. N. Charter who have rejected all disarmament proposals, the fomenters of military blocs, the oppressors of the colonial peoples.

The mighty echo of the Paris Peace Congress reverberated with particular force throughout the world on May Day and on Victory Day when millions of people demonstrated their determination to fight for peace.

The lessons of World War Two and the emphatic desire of the peoples for peace should serve as a warning to the imperialist instigators of a new war. The Soviet Union desires peace and it is proving this by its consistent struggle for peace—a policy in complete harmony with the interests of the peoples of all countries.

The peoples of the world do not want war. They will do everything to curb the warmongers and prevent a new war. But should the Anglo-American imperialists, despite the efforts of the peace supporters, succeed in hurling mankind into a new war, then not only the Soviet people who proved to the world their ability to defend their Motherland but also millions of working people throughout the world who will seek to turn such an imperialist war into a war for social liberation and for Socialism, will rise against the warmongers, against the Anglo-American imperialists, against the enemies of peace and democracy. And whereas after World War Two the capitalists woke up to the fact that a number of countries was missing from their system, a new world war might prove fatal for the entire capitalist system.

NEW STATE LOAN IN SOVIET UNION

The Fourth State loan for the rehabilitation and development of Soviet economy was issued by the Soviet Government on May 3, 1949. The loan, originally fixed at 20 billion rubles, is redeemable in 20 years.

The people of the Soviet Union warmly greeted the new loan. Inspired by patriotism, they are striving to strengthen the might of their country. Evidence of this is the success which attended the loan. By May 8, 23,825,770,000 rubles had been subscribed—3 billion in excess of the target. In view of the target being surpassed, subscriptions closed on May 10.

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CONSOLIDATING FORCES OF DEMOCRACY, AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

PEACE CONGRESS IN TOKYO

The Peace Congress held in Tokyo on April 25-26 clearly expressed the desires and hopes of broad sections of the Japanese people. The Congress attended by 1,300 delegates, had been called by some three hundred prominent personalities in science, culture and art, together with over a hundred democratic organisations including progressive trade unions, the Communist and Workers' and Peasants' Parties and democratic organisations of Koreans and Chinese people in Japan.

Delegates pointed out that the people of Japan wanted peace and would fight for a stable peace, against the warmongers. One after another they stressed that national independence was an indispensable condition for peace.

The Congress programme of struggle for peace expressed the firm determination of the Japanese people to do everything to combat war propaganda and fascism. It also expressed the people's determination to oppose Japan's inclusion in any military bloc, and their desire to facilitate the earliest possible signing of a peace treaty. The Congress called upon the Japanese people to defend their country's national independence, culture and science, and to unite with the champions of peace throughout the world.

The Congress message to the Japanese people and to all peace supporters says:

“Today, when after much suffering we have secured peace,

we again hear voices threatening peace. This is not because the peace-loving people have already forgotten the horrors of war but because the militarist and fascist gangs are once again thirsting for war profits.”

The message continues: “We want this Congress to be the basis for the consolidation of all those who want peace and we are confident that our movement will be supported by millions of working people all over the world.”

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NATIONAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN'S CONGRESS

The National Convention of the American Women's Congress held in New York at the beginning of the month adopted the Congress Rules and a programme in defence of peace and democratic rights embodying the main aims of the World Federation of Democratic Women to which the Congress is affiliated.

The Convention pointed out that in view of the war danger fomented by the American monopolists. American women bore a special responsibility. It stressed the need to [...] the broadest sections of women to fight for peace. The Convention demanded that the atom bomb should be outlawed, state funds spent to improve the health and wellbeing of the people instead of on war preparations, and that the Atlantic Pact be annulled.

The Convention passed a resolution urging that the Soviet and Polish children at present held in Germany should be sent home. It also proposed that the anniversary of the destruction of the Czech village of Lidice should be commemorated as "International Children's Day."

The Convention greeted the women of Asia, Africa, the West Indies and Latin-America fighting to free their countries from the yoke of foreign oppression, and called upon the United Nations to demand that foreign armed forces should be withdrawn from China, Viet-Nam, Indonesia and South-Korea and military activities ceased in Malaya and Burma, in accordance with the U.N. Charter article concerning respect for [...]. Delegates denounced the help America is giving to rearm Japan.

The Convention demanded that the principle of equal pay for equal work should be put into practice and called upon the trade unions to start a recruitment drive for 12 million women

members and to end discrimination against women in the unions.

The Convention also decided to send a peace petition signed by 100,000 people to Austin, American representative in the United Nations Organisation.

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ALL-CANADA PEACE CONGRESS

An All-Canada Congress in Defence of Peace was held in Toronto on May 6-8. Present were over 700 delegates representing organisations of women, youth, trade unions, intellectuals and clergy from every province.

Greetings were sent to the Congress by many organisations and outstanding public figures from all parts of the world, wishing the Canadian people success in their fight for a lasting peace.

The Congress was addressed by Dr. Endicott, member of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress who reported on the World Congress in Paris, Over a hundred well-known Canadians also spoke.

It was decided to establish a permanent Canadian Peace Congress. A declaration on the political line of this Congress was adopted and a National Council of 58 members elected.

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MASS MEETINGS IN HUNGARY

Polling for the Hungarian general election takes place today (May 15). Meetings of the working people organised by the People's Independence Front were held throughout the country during the election campaign.

Over 150,000 people heard Matias Rakosi, Istvan Dobi and Ferenc Erdei speak in Szelldernek.

In Győr, townspeople and peasants from neighbouring villages look part in an election rally.

At a meeting organised in Pécs by the People's Independence Front Committee for the Province of Baranya, János Gyoengyócs, General Secretary of the independent Party of Smallholders said: "At the elections of May 15, over five million Hungarians will demonstrate whether they approve the successes we have so far achieved, the Five-Year Plan to secure a happy future for our people and the independence of our beloved country."

Meetings were also held in towns and villages throughout the country. The electorate unanimously declared that they would vote for the People's Independence Front candidates.

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UNITED ACTION OF FRENCH WORKING PEOPLE

In the past two weeks there has been much activity demonstrating the united action of the French working people.

On May 5, 110,000 employees of the electricity and gas industries held a four-hour strike in Paris and throughout the country. At the last moment the trade union of engineers and foremen and the "Force Ouvriere" organisations called on their members to join the strike. But in many places the local branches of these two organisations had already taken a strike decision.

The national councils of the General Confederation of Labour, the Confederation of Christian Workers and the "Force Ouvriere" also decided to continue the joint fight for national agreements for the metal industry.

At the Renault automobile works, with its 36,000 workers, joint delegations went to the management. Having won additional over-time pay, the Renault workers decided to go forward with a demand for an increase of 10 francs an hour on the minimum wage-rates.

An agreement for united action was also reached among the staff of the Ministry of Finance, municipal workers, garment workers, the tanning industry and agricultural workers.

The desire for unity can also be seen in the workers' increased confidence in the General Confederation of Labour. At recent elections to the joint railway councils, the CGT won 80 per cent of the seats. The number of votes cast for the CGT at engineering and iron and steel plants in Denain (Nord Department) has also greatly increased.

AGAINST NATIONALISM, FOR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

After World War Two, when the Anglo-American imperialists had openly launched their expansionist drive to establish world domination, the question of intensifying the struggle for freedom and national independence again came to the forefront, this time with particular sharpness.

The entire course of historical development in the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism shows that this struggle can be successful only if proletarian internationalism is strengthened and every manifestation of nationalism exposed and destroyed.

Comrade Stalin has repeatedly stressed that the victory of the proletariat can only be achieved under the flag of mutual confidence, in the rapprochement of the working people of all nationalities, that Socialism will lead to growing fraternity and mutual understanding between the working people of different countries, and that under Socialism nations, far from dying out, will develop and flourish.

For the purpose of defeating the united struggle of the working people of different countries, the bourgeoisie have over the years used the poisoned weapon of nationalism to enslave the working people, to divide peoples and foment predatory wars. Today the American monopolist bourgeoisie are the torch bearers of rabid nationalism, Propagation of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and “the American way of life”, claims to world domination supported by atom bomb threats the persecution of Negroes, “coloured” and “inferior Americans”, the racial “discoveries” of the American obscurantist’s—all prove that the American imperialists are worthy successors of the German fascists.

In an effort to break down the national barriers blocking of [...] expansion, the American monopolists are using the ideology of cosmopolitanism—the reverse side of bourgeois nationalism.

In mortal fear of the successes of Socialism, the imperialists with the aid of cosmopolitanism, calculate on extinguishing the sacred flame of patriotism, on befuddling the national consciousness of the peoples, and on weakening their will to fight for their freedom and independence. The imperialists are using both nationalism and cosmopolitanism with the sole aim of weakening the camp of Socialism.

American imperialism's hired agents—the Right Socialists Blum, Bevin, Saragat, Schumacher, Spaak and others—are preaching this ideology with ardent fervour. The Right Socialist cosmopolitans are applying their theories concerning “obsolete conceptions of national sovereignty” by selling their countries to the American millionaires. The “Marshall Plan” in the economic sphere, “Atlantic Pact” in the military sphere and “European Union” in the sphere of foreign policy are all helping to deprive the West European countries of their national sovereignty and turn them into U.S. satellites.

In the People's Democracies where far-reaching social and economic changes are taking place and where the bourgeoisie has been removed from power, the agents of the Angle-American imperialists are using nationalism as their main weapon against the people's democratic system, against the growing friendship of the peoples and their fraternal links with the U.S.S.R.

Where does the strength of the People's Democracy lie? It lies in the fact that strengthening socialist relations, disinterested mutual assistance, based on fraternity and equality of the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R. make it possible to build Socialism successfully and to dislodge and liquidate

the exploiting classes. The remaining representatives of the dying exploiting classes are trying to attack the people's democratic system of the dictatorship of the proletariat by fomenting mistrust and hostility between the peoples of the New Democracies and the U.S.S.R. By trying to get this or that country to break away from the general democratic socialist camp, the bourgeoisie hope they can create real possibilities for a restoration of capitalism. The striving to remain aloof from the general advance of socialist construction, to retire into the shell of nationalism, to ignore class contradictions within the country, to refuse to recognise what unites the working peoples of all lands, seeing only what can separate them—all this the bourgeoisie and their agents are assiduously cultivating with the sole idea of regaining their lost class domination.

Although the bourgeoisie has been defeated in the People's Democracies, nationalism today is the main danger to the successful construction of the new State system and the advance of these countries toward Socialism. Imperialist agents are trying to foment nationalism not only among sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia but also among backward sections of the working class. Nationalist influence is also penetrating the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies. The sharpening of the class struggle in these countries brings to the fore manifestations of nationalist tendencies and attempts to adjust the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie.

The example of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia shows conclusively where nationalism leads. This clique having gone over to a nationalist position is pursuing a counterrevolutionary, Trotskyist policy on all basic questions. To cover up this they are proclaiming that class contradictions have been "destroyed." Actually, however, they are relying on

the kulaks as the bulwark of their power.

Steadily turning Yugoslavia into a typical bourgeois republic, the Tito-ites are using the State organs to hound those who proclaim their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and their friendship with the Soviet Union. Shouting about socialist construction within the “national framework of Yugoslavia”, the traitor Tito and his gang of hangmen and provocateurs have relinquished the struggle against the Anglo-American imperialists and are now intent on inciting enmity against the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies. The nationalist Tito has become a tool of the Anglo-American warmongers who are using him against Yugoslavia herself.

The Communist and Workers’ Parties having drawn lesson from the betrayal by the Tito clique, are on the [...] manifestations of nationalism in their ranks. The well-known Resolution of the Information Bureau played an important role in this connection. The United Workers’ Party of Poland and the Communist Party of Bulgaria delivered a crushing rebuff to the right-opportunist and nationalist deviations in their ranks, as expressed by Weslaw (Gomulka) in Poland and Kostov in Bulgaria, who, by going over to a profoundly anti-Socialist nationalist position had taken an extremely dangerous path.

The Communist Parties are combating nationalism in their ranks as a dangerous expression of bourgeois influence. Substituting “general interests” for the class interests of the proletariat, obliterating the boundary between the Party, the working class and the people by dulling the consciousness of the Party members, nationalism threatens the Party with loss of its class orientation, with the danger of going over to the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, that is, to a betrayal of the cause of Socialism and of the freedom of their native land.

In the New Democracies, the nationalists display, above all, hostility toward the Soviet Union, which is the guarantee of

the victory of Socialism in these countries, the guarantee of their national existence. The altitude to the Soviet Union is the keystone of genuine proletarian internationalism for all Communists, for all genuine patriots.

Everywhere the Communists ruthlessly expose each and every manifestation of nationalism and wage a relentless struggle for its eradication. They devote close attention to the question of international education, utilising for this purpose the rich experience of the standard-bearer of proletarian internationalism, the glorious Bolshevik Party.

The experience of the U.S.S.R. shows the enormous significance of friendship between the nations for the building and defence of the socialist system. Only the leadership of the working class, the Communist Parties and international proletarian solidarity can secure the success of the entire titanic struggle waged by the peoples. The experience of the CPSU(B) likewise shows that friendship between the nations is secured by the Party of the proletariat in the course of a ceaseless struggle against all manifestations of nationalism.

History has pronounced judgment on the imperialist camp. The camp of peace, of friendship between peoples, of democracy and Socialism, headed by the Communist Parties and the Soviet Union, is winning and its triumph is assured. Reinforced struggle against nationalism, for proletarian internationalism, is one of the vital conditions for this victory.

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SUCCESS OF ECONOMIC PLAN IN RUMANIA

The working people of the People's Republic of Rumania are successfully carrying out the 1949 economic plan. Industrial targets of the first four months were fulfilled by 107.3 per cent. In the coal industry the target was fulfilled by 106.4 per cent, iron 136, cast iron 106, steel 118, rolled steel 103, oil production 105.7 and oil processing 101.4 per cent.

During this period both the number of workers and the wage fund went up. Large-scale social and cultural measures have been taken to improve working conditions and to raise the living standards of the people in town and country.

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STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONALISM IN BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. V. Kolarov, Member, Political Bureau, Bulgarian Communist Party

Certain manifestations of nationalism were observed in the Bulgarian Communist Party immediately after September 9, 1944, that is, after the overthrow of the monarch fascist dictatorship and the establishment of the people's democratic power. They were expressed, firstly, in the fact that sometimes the press and some of our comrades in their speeches underestimated the decisive **role** played by the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army in the events which succeeded September 9, events which changed fundamentally the social and political order in Bulgaria. Secondly, they were expressed in certain instances, in the absence of a clear understanding of the **decisive role played** by the Soviet Union and the heroic Soviet Army in enabling the Bulgarian people to preserve their national independence and territorial integrity and to emerge with the minimum damage from the disastrous war into which they had been hurled by the monarcho-fascist clique.

The years of self-sacrificing struggle of the Bulgarian people against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and their indomitable energy in defence of freedom and national independence against imperialist encroachments can be fully appraised and correctly estimated only in connection with the sweeping victories of the Soviet Army over the Hitler hordes, with the invincible might of the Soviet Union and its enhanced international prestige.

The nationalist mistakes of the post September period were noted in good time and corrected. Today the Party is on the

alert against any such dangerous distortion of historical truth.

The nationalist deviation, as represented by Traicho Kostov, constitutes a much more serious danger. Firstly, because it came to the fore after the eradication of the nationalist mistakes committed by the Party in its appraisal of the events of September 9, and secondly, because it found expression not merely in an estimation of a particular issue, but in relation to one of the main questions of the Party's political line, namely its attitude to the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). The danger of the nationalist deviation as represented by Traicho Kostov is enhanced because Kostov's toleration and encouragement of patently anti-Soviet sallies and sentiments are interwoven with profoundly incorrect methods in Party leadership and state administration, methods which in no way correspond to the organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Public discussion and condemnation of Kostov's attitude became necessary when the Central Committee of the Party recognised that this was not just a question of a single mistake which, no matter how serious, could have been rectified had Kostov genuinely acknowledged his error and set about rectifying it. Actually, the line pursued by Kostov represents a system of political mistakes based on a glaringly expressed nationalist deviation and anti-Party attitude towards the methods of Party leadership, dangerous to the Party and the State.

This is borne out by a number of irrefutable facts.

After the law governing state secrets had been passed, a law designed to prevent Anglo-American and other spies from having access to material and information of vital importance to the independence of our state, Traicho Kostov, as Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, personally issued an order that this law be applied to Soviet representatives. In doing so he displayed his obvious mistrust of the U.S.S.R. with

which Bulgaria maintains close political and economic relations, which reflect the socialist essence of the state system and the mutual relation between the two countries .

Traicho Kostov made this decision without informing the Political Bureau or Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party. Ignoring the fact that trade relations between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria are based on complete mutual confidence, that “secrets” and commercialism do not figure in these relations, Traicho Kostov systematically withheld from Soviet trade representatives the price at which Bulgaria sells certain goods to capitalist states. He admitted this only after one of the members of the Political Bureau confirmed that Kostov personally had issued this directive which had been applied during the past years. This fact shows that Kostov’s deviation in relation to the Soviet Union dates back to a much earlier period and that it is deeply rooted.

The political evaluation of these facts must be made in the light of the present international situation.

We are witnessing an anti-Soviet campaign waged by the imperialist camp, unprecedented in its malignance. This campaign represents an attempt to shake the confidence of the peoples in the Soviet Union, to undermine its international prestige, to bring about the moral isolation of the U.S.S.R., and to prepare imperialist aggression against it. The demarcation line nowadays, that which divides the imperialist and anti-imperialist camps, is precisely **the attitude towards the Soviet Union**. This attitude unerringly defines what camp the given country, given government or social political group belongs to.

The imperialist campaign is also being waged against the friends of the Soviet Union—the People’s Democracies. The most poisonous arrows are directed today against our Republic which treasures its friendship with the Soviet Union. The imperialists, while seeking to intimidate us, are

demonstratively patronising the Trotskyite Tito clique, promising it every assistance, trying thereby to impress upon us that only betrayal of the Soviet Union will save us from the vengeance of the imperialists.

On the background of these facts Comrade Dimitrov at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party held on January 18, concisely defined Kostov's attitude toward the Soviet Union. He described Kostov's attitude as anti-Soviet (which Kostov himself admitted). The assumption that the law governing state secrets, which is directed against Bulgaria's enemies, could in any way concern Bulgaria's relations with the Soviet Union can only be described as anti-Soviet: equally hostile in relation to the U.S.S.R., was the mistrust and the shameful assumption that the Soviet Union might injure the State interests of Bulgaria.

Protection of Bulgaria's trade interests was given as the reason by Kostov for with-holding the price of certain goods during trade talks with the U.S.S.R. But it is an obvious fact that were we to base our trade relations with the Soviet Union on the same foreign Communist Parties. [...] with the capitalist state we would be faced with insurmountable difficulties and would finally be confronted with economic disaster.

Due to the Soviet Union's unstinting aid we emerged successfully from the critical years and are now raising the country's economic level and confidently laying the foundations of Socialism. The socialist character of the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria makes superfluous the withholding from the U.S.S.R. of any kind of State secrets.

Without drawing any parallel between the line pursued by Kostov and the present policy of the Tito clique, it should be noted that refusal to inform the U.S.S.R. of economic and other questions relating to Yugoslavia (even though every information was given Yugoslavia's representatives in Moscow

at the time—Djilas, Kardelj and others) marked the starting point of the Yugoslav Government's withdrawal from its alliance with the U.S.S.R. and its switch over to the imperialist camp.

Traicho Kostov sharply criticised (too sharply since the facts and circumstances did not warrant this) violation of the collective principle in Party leadership by certain functionaries. But he, himself, in his position tried to turn collective leadership into to a figment. He arrogated to himself the deciding of questions of the greatest Party and State significance. In this way, with "his" methods he introduced something like **Bonapartism** into the Party.

The roots of Traicho Kostov's nationalist mistakes are contained in the survivals of his Left, sectarian past, and in his selfish careerist outlook which has nothing in common with Bolshevism.

Traicho, Kostov acted hypocritically toward the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Comrade Dimitrov. On the one hand he used the authority of the Political Bureau and Comrade Dimitrov to give weight to his directives, and, on the other, increasingly ignored the Political Bureau thus trying to buttress his personal position and to advance himself as the actual "leader" of the Party. He behaved just as the Left sectarians did after the Leipzig trial: they, too, in words recognised the leading role of Comrade) Dimitrov while in practice they tried to retain the Party leadership.

At the time of the Leipzig trial Traicho Kostov was among those Left sectarians who, temporarily, prevailed in the leadership of the Party. While the working class of the world and progressive people everywhere were expressing their admiration of Comrade Dimitrov and by their moral support were trying to wrest him from the clutches of the fascist hangmen, only the Left sectarians in Bulgaria withheld their

support. Kostov upheld the Left sectarian leadership in those days. Right until the utter bankruptcy of the Left sectarian Trotskyite line in May 1934, Traicho Kostov defended it in the Party press. This fact from his past cannot be passed, over in silence today, especially when in view of his serious political mistake the question arises: who is Traicho Kostov?

After his actions had been exposed Kostov at first tried to evade matters by a formal “self-criticism” of his mistakes ; but he admitted afterwards that the matter was one of objective anti-Soviet actions, of becoming dizzy with success, of the survivals of individualism, and so on.

Later, however, he evidently decided, at he had gone too far in his “self-criticism”, and in letter to the Political Bureau delivered an attack against the Party leadership. On learning that [...] unanimously condemned Kostov [...] a meeting of the Political Bureau held on March 7 that he wanted to withdraw the letter, expressed his regrets, and said that he had written it in “a moment of picture and as a result of morbid mistrust.”

Then, having slandered the Party and its leadership, Kostov sought to show that he was taking a step forward in his “self-criticism”. But without success, for Kostov lacks the most essential element of self-criticism—sincerity toward the Party.

At the Plenum of the Central Committee Kostov again changed his tactics. This time he acted the factionalist who is ready to do everything in order to get himself rehabilitated. He whitewashed his mistakes and sought to place responsibility on others. He even attempted to slander the Political Bureau, to split the Central Committee Plenum and sow distrust between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the CPSU(B).

But he miscalculated badly. His attempts to shake the unity of the Party and to cause a rift in the Party leadership ended in failure. The Plenum rebuffed his factionalism and demonstrated the unbreakable unity of the Party round its

Central Committee, headed by Comrade Dimitrov, a unity based on the correct Bolshevik policy of confidence in the CPSU(B) and Comrade Stalin.

Only when he realised that nothing whatsoever would come of his factionalist attempts, and upon finding himself isolated did Kostov decide on unconditionally admitting his mistakes and the correctness of the organisational measures taken in relation to himself.

But this was merely bowing to the inevitable. From the very outset it was clear to the Plenum delegates that Traicho Kostov could no longer occupy leading positions in the Party and in the Government, since it was in these positions that he committed his grave crimes and demonstrated his failure as a leader. It was also clear to the Plenum that Kostov could no longer remain a member of the Political Bureau because by trying to place himself above the Party leadership, by trying to usurp the leadership, he had already placed himself outside the Political Bureau. In such circumstances he could only have caused harm as a member of the Political Bureau.

Such was the unanimous decision of the Plenum. The Plenum of the Central Committee undertook to acquaint the membership with Kostov's mistakes and to warn the Party of the need for vigilance and resolute struggle against any and every manifestation of anti-Sovietism—the most heinous form of nationalist deviation.

At the meetings which took place after the Central Committee Plenum, the Party activists and all the Party branch organisations condemned Kostov's grave political mistakes and the nationalist deviation expressed in these mistakes. The Party members displayed a high degree of consciousness in evaluating nationalism as an instrument of the foreign imperialists and of the class enemies within the country who are straining every effort in their attempts to smash the front of

peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the great Soviet Union, to drive a wedge between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, and between Bulgaria and the other People's Democracies. This would be the quickest and surest means of striking at the national independence of Bulgaria and of taking her into the imperialist camp.

Comrade Dimitrov's warning that Traicho Kostov, irrespective of whether he wished it or not, would become the standard bearer of all reactionary and restoration elements, proved to be correct. The reactionaries who [...] proclaimed [...] are calling on their supporters to rally round Kostov to fight the Bulgarian Communist Party and Fatherland Front Government, and to bring about a rift between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and the anti-imperialist camp.

Indivisible unity and consolidation of the Party round its general line, round the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Comrade Dimitrov, is the best answer to the slander campaign now being waged by the enemies of the Party and of our people in connection with the Kostov affair.

Resolute struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and factionalism will reinforce the ideological and organisational unity of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

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PARTY LIFE

CONGRESS OF DANISH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of Denmark held its Sixteenth Congress in Copenhagen on May 5-8.

Opening the Congress, Comrade Axel Larsen greeted all working people fighting for the peace and independence of their countries.

In a message to the Congress the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) wished the Communist Party of Denmark further successes in consolidating the democratic forces in Denmark in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for the national independence and sovereignty of their country, for a lasting peace and security for all peoples”.

Fraternal delegates from the Communist Parties of Sweden, Norway, Poland, Eastern Germany, Finland and Great Britain also greeted the Congress.

The Congress heard and discussed the Central Committee’s report submitted by Comrade Jensen, Vice-Chairman of the Party, and the report by Comrade Sven Nilsen, Organising Secretary of the Party, “The Party in the struggle for peace and national independence”.

“Our main task”, said Nilsen, “is the struggle for a lasting peace, for people’s democracy and for national independence”. He stressed the need for close links between the Communist Party and the working people, and the need to expose the treacherous activities of the Right Social Democratic leaders. “We must not wait until a crisis is upon us, we must act at once and bring all our forces into action”, he said. “We must win the

cooperation of all those willing to defend peace and independence”.

The Congress adopted the programme which in draft form had been discussed throughout the Party during the past four months. It also elected the Executive Committee of the Party.

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PLENUM OF U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The “Daily Worker” reports that a meeting of the National Committee of the United States Communist Party held on April 23 and 24 to consider the political situation at home and abroad resolved to intensify the struggle for peace, civil rights and economic security.

In its analysis of the political situation, the National Committee pointed out that the increased danger of war arising from the signing of the North Atlantic Pact created a new stage in the struggle for peace. In this stage it was possible to rally wide masses of the peoples, irrespective of their political beliefs or party affiliation in the struggle for peace.

The American people and the working class, continued the Committee’s resolution, are beginning to understand that Wall Street’s “cold war” is propelling the United States into a military catastrophe from which the masses recoil in horror. This creates new possibilities for the broadest united action against the warmongers, for a day-to-day struggle of the united front on the concrete questions of the fight for peace and against war. This new stage of still sharper struggle for peace also demands and makes it possible to mobilise all the determination energy and militancy of the American people.

The National Committee particularly stressed the need to fight against the imperialists’ false assertion that war is inevitable and the need to strengthen the people’s confidence in a victorious struggle against the Wall Street warmongers and so prevent them from unleashing a new world war.

The Committee concluded that the widespread discontent of the mass of Americans at the Truman Government’s violation of its election pledges opened new possibilities for

organising a struggle on a united front to compel the Wall Street controlled bipartisan Government to fulfil its promises.

It pointed out that the American people faced an economic crisis which had been developing in the country since the end of last year.

Economic crisis is threatening all capitalist countries, said the resolution. The total number of unemployed in the United States is well over five million and continues to go up. About twelve million workers are on short-time and this figure is also mounting. Until now unemployment has particularly been felt by Negroes, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, women and the youth.

The National Committee noted that the form and rate of development of the economic crisis were determined by such factors as the extent to which Wall Street would be able to place the main burden of the crisis on the masses of the American people and the rest of this burden on the peoples of the Marshall countries. They were also determined by the expanding war economy.

The re-armament programme would slow down the development of the crisis of overproduction, but in the long run would only result in strengthening the tendency to develop war economy, thus creating conditions for inevitable economic collapse on a catastrophic scale.

On the basis of this analysis of the political situation, the National Committee formulated a programme of struggle to defend the living standards of the people and force the monopolies to bear the expense of the developing crisis. The National Committee also put forward demand for higher wages and for a shorter working day without wage reductions. These demands, declare the Committee, must be linked with the struggle for peace, for equal rights, trade union unity, defence of the rights of the Communist Party and all progressive

organisations now threatened by reaction.

The National Committee emphasised that the Communist Party must wage an ideological struggle against all bourgeois reformist and revisionist theories and ideologies which claimed that crises could be avoided without eliminating capitalism and that Wall Street's plan for world domination would secure prosperity for the people of the United States.

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YUGOSLAV TROTSKYITES' PATH OF BETRAYAL AND TREACHERY. R. Zambrowski, Secretary, Central Committee, United Workers' Party of Poland

In its unanimous resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties stated: "by their anti-Party and anti-Soviet Views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and their refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau; the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist Parties affiliated to the Information Bureau, have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken up a position of nationalism".

While severely criticising their mistakes, the Information Bureau Resolution gave the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party the opportunity to rectify them. We remember, however, how the Tito clique reacted to this Resolution. At the time, the Yugoslav renegades shed copious crocodile tears over the "injustice" of which, they alleged, they were victims and the "groundless" charges levelled against them. They swore fealty to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Today, less than a year after the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, the Tito-ites have gone over completely to the imperialist camp, while the outrageous role they are playing in the interests of Anglo-American imperialism is fully in line with that of the Trotskyite

renegades at the time of their final degeneration.

Now that the American imperialists are fruitlessly trying to disguise the aggressive nature of the Atlantic Pact behind a flood of phrase mongering about its defensive nature and the alleged aggressive aims of the Soviet Union, the help given by the propaganda apparatus of the renegade Tito is particularly important to them. This help is by no means disinterested. It takes the form of slandering the Soviet Union and circulating the lie that the U.S.S.R. does not observe the principle of equality of small nations, that it makes the People's Democracies dependent upon it, holding up their industrialisation and so on.

In fact, the successes in industrialisation achieved by all People's Democracies **precisely because** of the fraternal aid given by the Soviet Union, particularly expose the treachery of the Tito clique which is deflecting Yugoslavia onto the path of economic degeneration, the path of capitalism, of enslavement by the imperialists.

The Tito clique's provocations in the Balkans, the constant threats to Bulgaria and Albania are of considerable use to the American imperialist warmongers who are surrounding the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies with a vast network of military-strategic bases and who are attaching particular importance to strategic bridgeheads in Italy and Greece. The imperialist press expresses the hope that Tito's constant threat will hamstring the People's Democracies in the Balkans.

Finally, an essential factor linking the Tito-ites with Anglo-American imperialism is their foreign trade policy which, under the cover of talk about Yugoslavia's industrialisation, is actually drawing the country into the Anglo-American imperialist sphere of influence and is turning it into a base of strategical raw materials for Wall Street. Joseph Alsop, writing

in the "New York Herald Tribune", cynically stated that there was no need to fear that American arms sold to Yugoslavia would fall into Russian hands, for the bullet sold today to Yugoslavia would most likely find its way to Russia through the skull of a Russian. "News Week" let the cat out of the bag when it stated that the American Government had decided to enter into normal economic relations with Marshal Tito and to end Yugoslavia's economic quarantine. Firstly, the export of strategically important goods on the 1 B list will be allowed (the export of certain goods to Eastern Europe is prohibited). Later the export of certain goods on the 1 A list (scarce raw materials, planes and military equipment) will be allowed.

True to their Trotskyite nature, the Tito-ites are trying to disguise the whole of this treacherous, renegade policy with Left, socialist phraseology. They either put forward the ridiculous argument that they are deceiving Anglo-American imperialism into helping Yugoslavia to "build Socialism", or they refer to a "Borba" article in which in some obscure way, for appearance sake, they once expressed themselves against the Atlantic Pact, or to the speech of Tito at Brion who, according to the "Washington Post" of April 12, hurled imprecations and accusations against the Information Bureau and against the capitalist press for criticising his regime. It is well-known that the capitalist press stopped criticising Tito long ago and that Tito only brings the capitalist press into the picture in order to get more publicity for his slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Incidentally, the capitalist press shows a considerable amount of understanding toward these "Left" manoeuvres of Tito. For example, the abovementioned article in the "Washington Post" declared: Tito must act with the greatest circumspection. There is no doubt that many of the Communist who support him... might leave him if it became known that this split was not only

political but also ideological.

The speedy rapprochement between the United States and Tito is causing alarm among certain monarchist-fascist circles in Greece who are afraid that the stream of dollars pouring into Greece might diminish as a result of an agreement between the United States and Tito. For instance, the Greek fascist newspaper "Etnikos Kyais", fearing Tito competition, made a pathetic appeal to the Americans. "What are you expecting from Tito?" it wrote. "He proved to be a poor friend to the Russians and will never be a good friend to the American... Beware of buying him too dearly. Devote your attention to Greece and to Greece alone".

The Tito clique's foreign policy which leads to Yugoslavia's growing economic and political dependence on the war mongers' camp and assigns her a temporary role of a disguised base of imperialism against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, is closely linked with the Thermidor policy of the Yugoslav Trotskyites, with their course set for steering the country into a bourgeois State.

True, in all their speeches, the Yugoslav leaders swear that they are "building Socialism" and that they "remain loyal to internationalism". Actually, under the mask of socialist phraseology, these Trotskyites are doing everything possible to plunge the peoples of Yugoslavia into the struggle against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Tito is trying to rally round his "platform" all sections of the Yugoslav people, including the most reactionary political groups of Nedic and Pavelic. The Skupshtina, each regional council, university, diocesan gatherings of the clergy, sports club—all are forced by the Tito-ites to adopt "unanimously" slanderous resolutions attacking the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

This campaign is accompanied by a systematic incitement to nationalism, the revival of Great Serb chauvinism and speculation on Croat and Slovene separatism.

The short-lived and ostentatious organisational regeneration in the Yugoslav Communist Party was undertaken by the Tito-ites because they feared that the Information Bureau would immediately be supported by the whole working class. The provisionally camouflaged People's Front recently celebrated the triumph of the policy of the above class People's Front as the "main political force in Yugoslavia".

The Yugoslav Trotskyites' rejection of the principle of the leading role of the working class both in theory and practice becomes clear when one considers also the mass enrolment of officials, petty bourgeois and kulak elements into the Communist Party, the fierce terror of Rankovic's agents who are recruiting collaborators from among the Chetniks and Ustashi to work against the proletarian core of the Communist Party; when one considers that the Tito clique is systematically lowering the living standards of the working class, and placing the entire burden of Tito's Caesar-like plans on their shoulders; when one considers the mass exodus of workers to the countryside and, finally, the degeneration of the voluntary brigade movement into a system of compulsory labour.

The Tito clique has actually deprived the Yugoslav working class of its leading role; the working class is oppressed by an increasingly degenerating military-bureaucratic clique which, together with the kulaks, constitutes the pivot of the Tito dictatorship.

In 1937, Comrade Stalin defined Trotskyism in these words: Present-day Trotskyism cannot be described as a political trend in the working class movement. It is an unprincipled gang of wreckers, saboteurs, spies, murderers, of inveterate enemies of the working class hired by the

intelligence services of foreign States.

Later the activities of the POUM trotskyite group in Spain and of the remnants of Polish trotskyism, who, under the Hitler occupation, engaged in anti-Soviet and subversive activities, fully confirmed this definition by Comrade Stalin.

The situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia differs from these examples in that this clique of Trotskyites is in power in Yugoslavia. Here we have a case of the Thermidor degeneration of people who ascribe to themselves the merits of the working people and who are cashing in on the Yugoslav people's heroic struggle for social and national liberation, a struggle which was victorious only because of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitler fascism and because of the concrete help the Soviet Union gave to the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The fact that they are in power determines the characteristic features of the Yugoslav Trotskyites. But no matter how much the woe-begone Trotskyite theoreticians of the Djilas and Moshe Pijade breed declaim about the "dialectics of Yugoslavia's specific road to Socialism" about their "fidelity" to Marxism-Leninism, the activity during the last twelve months of the steadily degenerating Tito Trotskyites unquestionably proves that here we have to do with an "unprincipled, careerist clique of political swindlers, a gang of political double-dealers", who are leading Yugoslavia along the path of increasing cooperation with Anglo-American imperialism, along the path of restoring capitalism and transforming the country into a bourgeois state.

The essence of Trotskyism as is well-known, was that it fought against the Soviet power, trying to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union as the vanguard and stronghold of the international proletariat. Trotskyism sought to destroy the confidence which the working class of all countries reposed in

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks); in the Bolshevik Party as the party embodying all that is most advanced in the international working class movement; as the party which, thanks to the genius of Lenin and Stalin, developed Marxism-Leninism and is rightfully recognised as the leader and teacher of international Communism.

The Yugoslav Trotskyites of the Tito clique, as was the case with Trotsky, are engaged solely in trying to destroy the confidence of the world proletariat in the Soviet Union. They are doing everything to undermine the international prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in an attempt to prove that Bolshevism is not the most advanced science, is not the strategy and tactics and the model for all Marxist Parties.

Following in Trotsky's footsteps, the Yugoslav Trotskyites are now parroting his words about the "dogmatism" of Bolshevism and its theory.

The Tito clique is banking hard on the past, shamelessly monopolising all the credit. Because of this it has up till now succeeded in influencing certain sections of the working class and those groups of Communists less tempered in the spirit of internationalism. But at the same time, the ranks of those Communists faithful to the internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav working class and loyal to the Yugoslavia which not so long ago was developing and strengthening in the ranks of the camp of Socialism and democracy headed by the Soviet Union, are increasing.

These detachments of Yugoslav Communists will grow in spite of the Rankovic terror and the malicious propaganda of Djilas and Moshe Pijade. Their influence on the ranks of the Yugoslav working class and working peasantry will become stronger. They will be able to end the shameful period of Titoite treachery and bring People's Yugoslavia back onto the path of Socialism and real national sovereignty, back into the

fraternal family of the countries of Socialism and people's democracy.

The Polish working class which moulded its internationalism in a stubborn fight against nationalism, a struggle which was fought over a number of years, watches the struggle of the Yugoslav Communists against the nationalist and Trotskyite Tito clique with hope and confidence. It is convinced that the struggle in Yugoslavia is a guarantee of the country's revolutionary, and socialist regeneration.

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40 YEARS' OF LENIN'S "MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM"

GREAT IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF COMMUNIST PARTIES. Academician M. Mitin

I

V. I. Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," first published in May 1909, is numbered among the immortal work of Marxist science.

To this day "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" retains its scientific and ideological value. Far from becoming obsolete, Lenin's scientific theses acquire a particular force in the present struggle against all kinds of anti-scientific, reactionary theories in the sphere of philosophy, sociology, natural science and politics.

The idealistic philosophy of Mach and his followers which became widespread in Russia in the epoch of reaction after the 1905-07 revolution, served as the immediate reason for Lenin's book.

The peculiar feature and danger of this philosophy lay in the fact that it undertook a campaign against Marxism, against its philosophy, using Marxist phraseology and referring to the latest discoveries in natural science.

Lenin, who had closely followed all trends of philosophical thought in Russia and in the West, made a profound study of contemporary natural science and, on this basis, exposed the bankruptcy of Machian philosophy as a modern form of idealism.

In “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” Lenin routed idealism, laying bare its reactionary nature and insolvency from the viewpoint of modern and, above all, natural science. He showed that Machism was a bitter enemy of the working class and of Socialism. In this work Lenin enriched Marxism with an analysis of the international working-class movement in the epoch of imperialism and enriched Marxist philosophy with his conclusions on modern natural science.

Lenin’s “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” developed further the philosophy of Marxism, it marked a new, higher stage in the philosophical development of modern science.

In his book “The Foundations of Leninism” Comrade Stalin gave a classical characterisation of the role and significance of Lenin’s “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism”, Stalin wrote: “Perhaps the most striking expression of the great importance which Lenin attached to theory is the fact that none other than Lenin undertook the very serious task of generalising, in line with the materialist philosophy, the most important achievements of science from the time of Engels down to his own time, as well as of subjecting to comprehensive criticism the anti-materialistic trends among Marxists. Engels said that “materialism must assume a new aspect with every new great discovery”. It is well known that none other than Lenin accomplished this task for his own time in his remarkable work Materialism and Empirio-Criticism”.

Lenin’s “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” the anti-materialistic trends among Marxists. Engels said that “materialism must assume a new aspect with every new great discovery”. It is well known that none other than Lenin accomplished this task for his own time in his remarkable work Materialism and Empirio-Criticism”.

Lenin’s “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” became the theoretical groundwork of the Bolshevik Party. In this work

Lenin, entering the lists against the enemies of Marxism, upheld the theoretical foundations of Communism—dialectical materialism—and developed it further in keeping with the new historical conditions.

This great philosophical work occupies an honoured place among Lenin's programmatic writings which played a decisive role in paving the way for the Marxist Party of a new type.

II

As is known, Mach and Avenarius were the founders of the Machian trend in philosophy in the 70 's and 80 's of the last century. Machian philosophy represents the typical subjective-idealist philosophical school, the basic thesis of which can be summarised as follows: the world is the combination of my (subjective) sensations.

This philosophy contributed nothing new or original, and as Lenin pointed out in his book, it simply repeated the views of the old and long-since refuted subjective idealist school of Berkeley (18th century) and of Fichte (19th century) and the agnosticism of Kant. With genuine Bolshevik passion and amazing scientific force, Lenin demonstrated the worthlessness of these idealistic "theories", their harmfulness and servility before the bourgeoisie.

In "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" Lenin ridiculed the false assertion of the Machians who alleged that their philosophy was the "philosophy of modern natural science." Lenin showed that, on the contrary, their philosophy actually represented a departure from contemporary science, that it was an idealist distortion of the latest discoveries in physics and directly served obscurantism.

Mach, in his day opposed social democracy, slanderously

asserting (and here he surpassed all subsequent reactionaries in the sphere of science), that Socialism would result in slavery, that Communism would lead to equalitarianism in the matter of satisfying social and personal needs.

Characterising the sociological views of the Machians, Lenin laid bare their real social nature. Their reasoning, he wrote, expressed “the infinite stupidity of the philistine, smugly retailing the most hackneyed rubbish under cover of a new “empirio-critical” systematisation and terminology... as in epistemology, so in sociology—the same reactionary content under the same flamboyant signboard.”

Here it is important to note that Austro-Marxism which, as is known, represented the ideology of shameful betrayal of the working class and its struggle for Socialism, based itself on Machism in the sphere of philosophy. Most of the “theoreticians” of Austro-Marxism either wholly supported the Machian position (F. Adler) or tried to combine Machism with neo-Kantianism (Max Adler, Otto Bauer, K. Renner).

Similar to the Austro-Marxists and other revisionists of Marxism in the camp of social democracy in the West, the present-day Right Socialists in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against Communism, base themselves in one way or another, on the rotten, subjective idealist philosophy of Machism.

The outstanding thing about his Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” is the fact that Lenin tested the basic theses of Marxist philosophy—philosophical materialism, the dialectical method and historical materialism—against the background of the contemporary revolutionary experience of the proletariat, the background of scientific data and culture, thereby imparting its modern form to Marxist philosophy and enabling the Party to take cognizance of the new laws of the contemporary epoch.

From the heights of modern science and revolutionary

experience, Lenin laid bare the worthlessness, bankruptcy and reactionary essence of all attempts to refute Marxism.

Comrade Stalin, continuing the classical line of Marxist philosophy under new conditions further developed Lenin's brilliant ideas. The entire progress of the working-class struggle and the advance of science fully confirm the scientific power of Marxist philosophy as presented and substantiated in "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism."

With the greatest scientific exactitude Lenin characterised the main processes in philosophy in the bourgeois world in the epoch of imperialism. He criticised and exposed all the latest forms of idealism which in the lifetime of Marx and Engels had just made their appearance but later flourished in the new historical epoch.

Machism, neo-Kantianism, empirio-criticism, empirio-symbolism, the philosophy of the Immanentists, pragmatism, positivism, physical idealism and so on and so forth—all these modern idealist trends were widespread in the bourgeois world in the new epoch and to this day are presented as something "new" in philosophy.

Carrying forward Marx and Engels' philosophical line, Lenin subjected these trends to scathing criticism.

Since its publication, Lenin's book has acquired vast international importance. Although written 40 years ago, each evaluation, each argument, each characterisation levelled against idealist reaction sounds as if it had been written today.

As is known, the centre of philosophical obscurantism and of struggle against Marxism has now been transferred to the United States and Britain. Modern bourgeois philosophy has been placed in the service of Anglo-American imperialism. An analysis of the present state of bourgeois philosophy strikingly reveals the decline, degradation and corruption of bourgeois ideology. Denial of objective truth, belittling the significance

of science and scientific laws, boasting about the helplessness of reason and science, religious revelation cloaked in all kinds of philosophical devices—such is the picture presented by bourgeois philosophy today. Its immediate social task is to defend the bourgeois order, bourgeois “democracy”, to refute materialism, to spread a dense ideological smokescreen in order to befuddle the man in the street.

Lenin’s book which exposed all these forms of bourgeois ideology is a powerful ideological weapon of the proletarian parties in their struggle against idealism and in defence of the Marxist world outlook.

III

“Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” is of great significance in supplying the materialist-dialectical answer to the latest phenomena in the realm of natural science, and especially in the realm of physics. As is known, after Marx and Engels and up to the lime of the appearance of Lenin’s work, there had been a real revolution in physics, a revolution which demanded a revaluation of the old ideas and even of the theoretical foundations of physics. Discovery of the electron structure of matter, the collapse of the old ideas concerning mass as the invariable property of matter, in which the old physics had specialised, and the discovery of new law in the conception of the microcosm—this flood of discoveries which affected physicists, was used by idealist reactionaries in science for a campaign against materialism. They set out to “prove” that “matter disappears”, “mass disappears”, that only energy remains, energy without mass, that is to say, non-matter energy, and this being the case, the collapse of materialism is proved.

When preparing to write “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” Lenin engaged in a detailed study of the new discoveries in the sphere of natural science and philosophy. Lenin showed wherein lay the crisis of bourgeois science. He wrote: “The **essence** of the crisis in modern physics consists in the breakdown of the old laws and basic principles, in the rejection of objective reality existing outside the mind, that is, in the replacement of materialism by idealism and agnosticism.”

Lenin pointed out that scientists who do not understand the dialectics of nature regard theories only as symbols, signs, and marks, and deny the existence of objective reality independent of the mind.

However, Lenin not only diagnosed the essence of this ailment of bourgeois science. He also pointed the way out. He gave philosophical answers to all the new data in the sphere of natural science. He showed that the existence of the objective material world existing outside the mind is the starting point of materialism. No discovery in the sphere of natural science can get over this point. On the contrary, it can only confirm it. Any scientist studying the structure of matter has to deal with this objective world.

Lenin showed that dialectical materialism places no obstacles in the way of making profound study of the laws of nature, of investigating the “secrets”, of the structure of matter. All that dialectical materialism demands from the naturalist, Lenin points out is that he should realise that he is dealing with the objective world, which exists materially, independently of the mind. The collapse of obsolete laws and conceptions concerning the world by no means signifies the collapse of our knowledge of the world. On the contrary, it testifies to the strength of human knowledge.

Lenin’s “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” provides the

key to all the new questions arising in the theory of natural science in connection with modern scientific achievements. Modern science has advanced still further in its knowledge of the structure of matter and of its laws. Knowledge and practical use of atomic energy, study of cosmic rays, new discoveries in chemistry and biology confirm Lenin's brilliant prognosis concerning the lines of development of natural science. All the complex and varied phenomena can be correctly assessed only from the philosophical standpoint developed in "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism". This book has become the handbook of those Soviet scientists who are making a study of nature. The beneficial influence of dialectical materialism on science is evident in the teachings of Michurin and Lysenko in biology.

IV

"Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" is a model of the militant Bolshevik Party spirit in the sphere of philosophy.

Throughout the whole of his work, Lenin reveals with the utmost clarity the struggle between the two basic trends in philosophy—materialism and idealism. He repudiates all attempts to "transcend" the "one-sidedness" of materialism and idealism, to proclaim a "new trend in philosophy," to give the new trend a new label—positivism, realism, etc. Lenin described such philosophical stratagems as professorial charlatanry.

With genuine Bolshevik passion Lenin denounces all "contemptible" middle-of-the-road parties in philosophy who on every question confuse the materialist and idealist trends. With remarkable profundity, Lenin shows how harmful, worthless and fruitless are the attempts to bypass these two basic trends in philosophy.

The spirit of Bolshevik principle and a reconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology, no matter how veiled or relined its form, emanates from every page of this great work.

Comrade Stalin, in his brilliant study of the problems of dialectical and historical materialism, carried forward Lenin's great ideas. Comrade Stalin wrote that dialectical materialism was the world outlook of the Bolshevik Party. This thesis, which is a direct continuation and development of the Lenin idea of the party spirit in philosophy, brilliantly expresses the scientific and party significance of our philosophy.

“Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” provides the key not only [...] understanding of the world but also to its revolutionary transformation. It instils in the reader a boundless hostility toward idealism, meta-physics and obscurantism. Today, forty years alter this work first appeared, its great ideas shine brighter than ever.

“Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” is one of those scientific works that cannot be “banned” or “proscribed”. The revolutionary philosophy of Marxism-Leninism possesses an irresistible appeal. Wherever a revolutionary thought is found, wherever scientific thought is striving to penetrate into the essence of the laws of society and nature, it is impossible to get along without Marxist philosophy, because Marxism is the only consistent scientific philosophy corresponding to the demands of modern science.

As the years pass, this classical philosophical work of Lenin is taking a greater hold in all countries. And this is understandable. In the imperialist countries, particularly in the United States and Britain, which have become centres of modern reaction and obscurantism, the progressive elements

are basing themselves on the modern scientific world outlook. Consistency in science and in the struggle for a progressive world outlook leads inevitably to dialectical materialism, to the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's book is invaluable as a source for mastering the most progressive, most scientific world outlook, a source which inspires resolute struggle against all forms of modern philosophical and ideological reaction.

For this reason, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" is a powerful weapon of the Communist Parties in their struggle against imperialism, against all forms of capitalist slavery.

In the People's Democracies, each day witnesses a more pronounced philosophical and ideological struggle against the bourgeois world outlook, which still holds sway in the minds of the intelligentsia, and which often finds expression in works on natural science, history, political economy and in university chairs and pulpits.

Further successes in building Socialism will depend more and more to what degree and with what consistence the intelligentsia and advanced cadres of workers and peasants rid themselves of the bourgeois world outlook.

It is necessary to remember that, as the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union teaches, ideological and philosophical struggle is one of the forms of the class struggle for Socialism.

That is why it is necessary now to engage seriously, as Lenin put it, in philosophical research in the sphere of ideology in the People's Democracies.

Lenin's brilliant work "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" will be invaluable to the Marxist parties in this great and difficult job.

PRICE CUTS IN BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Council of Ministers has decided to cut bread prices and to remove certain restrictions on food and building materials.

From May 9 the price of rationed bread came down from 50 to 20 leva a kilogram and of unrationed bread from 100 to 80.

Eggs have been taken off the ration. A free market in other agricultural products purchased by the State above the delivery plan is also being introduced.

Five thousand tons of cement, 7,000 crates of glass and other materials are now available in addition to the amount of building materials scheduled for the second quarter of Bulgaria's plan.

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ISTAMBUL PROTEST MEETING AGAINST HIGH PRICES

A large-scale meeting to protest against rising prices was held in Islambul on May 8. According to the newspaper "Zafer", the meeting was attended by 10,000 people bearing posters which told the Government: "Open your eyes and look at the hungry nation which is feeding you"; "The Government has launched an anti-tuberculosis drive through high prices". Other demonstrators carried cartoons. One, captioned "Low prices", showed a shackled worker in padlocked prison cell marked PRP (People's Republican Party).

The meeting was addressed by several deputies and also by representatives of local organizations of the Democratic Party who strongly criticised the Government.

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NEW LECTURERS IN RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

When the first group of lecturers of the Rumanian Workers' Party finished their course, a meeting was held in the A. A. Zhdanov Central Lecturers' School under the auspices of the Party's Central Committee. Leaders of the Central Committee were present at the meeting which was held on May 7.

Forty-seven students graduated from the school, the majority with flying colours. On the suggestion of the Central Committee's selection commission, most of the students will work in the central propaganda department. The rest will undertake leading work in mass organisations, Party schools and regional Party committees.

At the meeting the students unveiled a memorial plaque to A. A. Zhdanov.

The reorganisation of the Lecturers' School into a Higher Two-Year Party School to train theoretical cadres is planned for the near future.

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PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL BOARD, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The thirty-second plenum of the Central Board of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, held on May 4 and 5, decided to intensify the struggle for peace, to consolidate the democratic system in the Soviet zone, for the democratic unity of Germany, to sharpen vigilance towards manifestations of nationalism inside the Party and to continue to clear the Schumacher's out of the Party.

The Plenum drew the Party's attention to the need to raise the ideological level of the membership and to study more profoundly the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). It outlined a number of economic tasks and also tasks in preparation for the election of delegates (May 15 and 16) to the Third People's Congress.

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ELECTION GAINS FOR DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN ITALY

At the municipal elections in Civitacastellana on April 24, the Left bloc won 3,313 votes or 55 per cent of the poll. The bloc of the Christian Democratic Party, the Saragat Party and the fascist group polled only 2,349 votes. The importance of this result is clear when one remembers that after the events of July 14 last year (the attempt on Comrade Togliatti's life) Scelba, Minister of Interior, dissolved the Socialist and Communist municipal council of Civitacastellana and arrested many local democrats.

Elections for the Aosta Valley regional council held at the same time are equally significant, showing how the Christian Democratic Party has lost its influence among the electorate. The Christian Democrats polled but 11,978 votes, having lost over 16,000 compared with April of last year. The Left parties won 11,352 votes. But although their majority was very slender, the Christian Democrats got most seats on the council as a result of the new electoral law brought in a few days before the elections.

Elections for the Sardinian regional council on May 8 also showed that the Communists and other democratic parties had increased their influence. On June 2, 1946, the Communist Party won 65,000 votes in Sardinia. At the general election of April 18, 1948, the People's Democratic Front (Left parties and groups) polled 122,000 votes. But at the elections on May 8, the Communist Party polled 110,000 votes while all the Left parties together polled a total of 176,576 votes. The de Gasperi Government Party lost 124,000 votes compared with April 18, 1918.

Although they were held in an atmosphere of police terror

and active clerical support for the Christian Democrats, these elections showed that the working people of Italy preferred to vote for the true champions of peace and national independence.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM. V. Kopecky, Member, Presidium Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

More than a year has passed since February 1948 when the Czechoslovak people, led by the Communist Party, frustrated the cunning designs of reaction, completely took over power and let out on the path to Socialism.

And while international reaction and Czechoslovak émigré reactionaries were sitting back and wondering just how the Communists in the course of five swift-passing February days had been able to score such a decisive victory and win the battle for power in a legal, constitutional and democratic way—the Czechoslovak working class and the working people had already got down to the job of rapidly changing the face of their country with revolutionary fervour.

Relying on the regenerated National Front which unites the political and creative forces of the people, our Party considers that its main task is to work tirelessly to consolidate the victorious power of the working class and working people, to advance successfully toward Socialism in conditions of the People's Democracy.

Socialism has now become the immediate goal of the working people of our country, and without any doubt, serious steps have already been taken toward Socialism since February 1948. It suffices to quote as an example the fact that industry which plays a tremendous role in our national economy is now nearly 100 per cent nationalised. Through its policy of gradually restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements from all spheres of economic life, our Party has achieved

further important results. Since January 1949 a great deal has been done to organise State trade, not only foreign trade, but also large-scale wholesale and retail trade inside the country. The time is not far off when all trade will be in the hands of the State and the cooperatives, and distribution based on socialist principles. The beginnings of reorganisation of small-scale production have already been made on the initiative of the small producers themselves. Small enterprises are beginning either to join up with the nationalised enterprises or are being reorganised into public enterprises in the form of producer cooperatives.

In the countryside the mass organisation of agricultural cooperatives is in full swing. The task of these cooperatives is to develop the mechanisation of agricultural production, ensure State deliveries, improve agriculture in every way and provide the preconditions for social forms of agriculture. With the growing alliance between poor and medium peasants and the steadily growing fraternal alliance between workers and peasants, these agricultural cooperatives are the backbone of our struggle against the kulaks.

Czechoslovakia's first Five-Year Plan, started in 1949 after the Two-Year Plan had been successfully fulfilled, marks the beginning of socialist construction in our country. The Five-Year Plan is an extensive constructive programme which will raise the country's industrial capacity, especially that of her heavy and machine-building industries, as well as her economic power. At the same time the Plan will bring Slovakia's economy up to a level equal to that of the Czech lands, thus cementing a firm material basis for the fraternity of the two equal nations—the Czechs and Slovaks.

In the process of the creative work being carried out in our country the powerful united trade unions are introducing various methods for increasing the productivity of labour,

rationalising production processes and increasing the profitability of the enterprises. Labour emulation, shock work, rationalisation of production and the organisation of volunteer work brigades are giving splendid results. Labour is being attracted to industry on a mass scale in many ways, including the transfer into industry of superfluous office workers of the State and public administration. Factory directors, executives of administrative and public bodies are being promoted from among the working people.

An ever greater part of the economy, including prices and wages, is now planned. While we apply new, socialist principles in the State and financial administration, we are also beginning to regulate prices and profits, and, in this connection, are taking steps systematically to raise the standard of living. The establishment of a State planning administration as the central body coordinating the activity of all public economic organs is an important step toward building the new socialist organism of our people's democratic state, for which we take as our example the experience of the Soviet Union.

The development of our country after February has also yielded rich results in the sphere of foreign policy. It has been possible, above all, to strengthen our ties with the other people's democracies. Czechoslovakia's treaties of alliance with Poland and Bulgaria, and the recently concluded agreement with Rumania acquired real import only after February. Only then was Czechoslovakia able to tackle the urgent problem of breaking down the barriers which the old ruling classes of Czechoslovakia and Hungary had erected between their two countries in the past. To our joy Czechoslovakia and Hungary have established an alliance which strengthens the front of the people's democratic countries in Central Europe and shows how strong are the international feelings of the peoples of these two countries.

Another change is that the Hungarian population in Czechoslovakia today enjoys all democratic and civil rights.

Czechoslovakia also attaches great importance to her relations with Eastern Germany. The desire to establish closer cooperation is in complete accordance with the position of the progressive elements and the mass of the people in Eastern Germany who, like the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Poland, oppose the revival of the power of German capitalism, which if in the service of U.S., British and French imperialism.

Since the victorious February days of 1948 the people of Czechoslovakia have travelled a long path of ideological development. They realise that the path to Socialism is bringing them, in keeping with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in ever closer contact with the other People's Democracies, with the other forces of the international socialist front. The people of Czechoslovakia also realise that the path to socialism calls for the sharpest struggle against the treacherous Tito clique in Yugoslavia which for the sake of nationalism has betrayed the interests of international fraternity and the traditional relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Post-February Czechoslovakia, the target of vicious slander by International reaction, has today established the closest ties with the Soviet Union—the great fraternal ally to whom the peoples of Czechoslovakia are not only indebted for their liberation, but also for their present happiness. Countless are the instances of generous economic aid given by the Soviet Union, for which we thank Generalissimo Stalin personally. The formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid has helped to promote economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on an ever wider scale. This cooperation has foiled the attempts of the western powers to make things difficult for Czechoslovakia and to retard her

economic development by trade discrimination and by blocking imports.

The Czechoslovak people consider it their essential task to take part in the great world struggle for peace which entered a decisive phase after the signing of the Atlantic Pact. The Czechoslovak people realise that the criminal intentions of the imperialist instigators of a new war threaten their very existence. Our determination will not be weakened by the campaign of slander set loose against us by the reactionary circles of the West which were responsible for Munich and which today with the help of Czechoslovak émigré reactionaries are trying to organise espionage and subversive activities in our country. These reactionary intrigues are merely hastening the process by which our country will be rid of the remnants of capitalist elements and strengthen the determination of the people to carry out our socialist reorganization more quickly.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia appreciates the importance of the historical tasks that have fallen to its lot. It realises that in conditions of the sharpened class struggle which accompanies socialist construction, the ideological re-education of the people is of the utmost importance along with the social and economic reorganisation of the country. An imperative task is to eliminate the ideological survivals of the capitalist past and the influence of the capitalist West, a past which was so assiduously cultivated by the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. From 1919 onwards, this bourgeoisie sacrificed the interests and the very soul of the people to the Western imperialists. We are waging this big ideological struggle confident of success.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism is becoming the beacon lighting up all our activity. All members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—more than two

million—are studying Marxism-Leninism.

The system of Marxist-Leninist education is also continually spreading to new groups of working people. The biggest circulation of Marxist-Leninist classics still fails to cope with the demand. The Party is preparing the mass publication of a number of Stalin's works.

The whole of our Republic is following the preparations for the Ninth Party Congress which will open at the end of May. We are genuinely glad that when we welcome our guests from the fraternal Communist Parties to the Congress we shall be able to demonstrate our revolutionary proletarian internationalism, our boundless love and devotion to the Soviet Union, and its great Communist Party—the leading party of the international Communist movement.

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TITO CLIQUE'S LATEST CRIME

“Jedinnost”, a democratic Yugoslav newspaper published in Toronto reports that according to information from Yugoslavia, Branko Vukelic is in danger of being sentenced to death. Vukelic, a well-known Yugoslav leader, was counsellor at the Yugoslav Embassy in Ottawa. He is now in prison in Zagreb.

Hero of the liberation war in Yugoslavia, Vukelic was recalled and arrested by the Tito-ites because he had opposed the nationalist, anti-Soviet Tito clique. According to “Jedinnost”, Vukelic is kept in solitary confinement and refused all visitors.

The news of Vukelic's arrest caused great indignation in Canada. The Council of Canadians of South Slav origin and similar organisations of Yugoslav Canadians passed numerous protest resolutions demanding that Vukelic and other Yugoslav patriots arrested by the Tito clique should be released.

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GROWING CONTRADICTIONS OF IMPERIALISM. R. Palme Dutt, Vice Chairman, Communist Party of Great Britain

The general crisis of capitalism has now developed continuously at an accelerating tempo over roughly three and a half decades. The first world war demonstrated that capitalism, having reached the stage of monopoly, of imperialism, of the completion of the division of the world, could no longer carry forward the development of the productive forces it had released, but could only explode into violent destructive conflict for the redivision of the world, thereby dealing a mortal blow to all reformist illusions of peaceful progressive development within capitalism, and creating the conditions for the awakening of the working-class and its allies to the urgent tasks of overthrowing imperialism and advancing to the achievement of the Socialist Revolution. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the successful maintenance of the new Soviet State against the onslaught of imperialism, established the first breach in the world system of capitalism and demonstrated that the era of the world socialist revolution had begun. Such was the character of the opening of the general crisis of capitalism.

It is only necessary to contrast the world situation after the Second World War with that after the First World War to see the enormous deepening of the general crisis of capitalism which has taken place in the intervening period.

After the First World War the leaders of imperialism still did not realise the mortal blow which their system had received. They regarded the First World War as an arbitrary

unexpected accidental interruption of the normal path of development—“suddenly violent events” as Churchill said in his Boston speech. They regarded the October Revolution as an outbreak which would be mastered by military means. Even when they tried and failed to “straggle Bolshevism at its birth”, they drew consolation from their success in eventually gaining the upper hand elsewhere in face of the world revolutionary wave, largely owing to the assistance of Social Democracy within the Labour Movement, and the lack of Bolshevik Parties outside Russia. Having failed to annihilate the young Soviet Republic, they tried to seal it off from the rest of the world. They built up the “Cordon Sanitaire” of reactionary puppet slates in Eastern Europe; they established their imperialist League of Nations excluding the Soviet Union. The slogans they put forward were “back to normal”, “stabilisation” etc.

Having drawn on American financial intervention to carry through temporary stabilisation in Western and Central Europe, they tried to spread the illusion of a new era of “democracy” and “peace”, with Social Democracy as its evangelist, Ford as its patron, and the “American miracle” as its model. Only when the conditions of temporary stabilisation, with the unequal unstable and limited upswing of capitalist development, gave rise to the most colossal world economic crisis in capitalist history, centred in the very home of the “American miracle” and this in turn gave rise to new social and political upheavals, the advance of Fascist barbarism and terror as the chosen weapon of the “civilised” imperialist monopolist, renewed intensity of international rivalry, military aggression, and a furious arms race, culminating in the Second World War—only in this way did the blows of experience, demonstrating the visible deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, shatter the dreams of the 1920 ‘s and bring harsh awakening from many illusions.

Very different is the situation to-day after the Second World War. The system of world imperialism has been breached also in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union no longer stands alone among States but is accompanied by the firm Alliance of a series of States of a new type, which have also thrown off the yoke of imperialism and replaced the rule of the exploiters by the rule of the working people. And these new States, these People's Democracies, represent the victorious liberation of the very nations on whose enslavement was built the former "Cordon Sanitaire" of reactionary puppet States of Western imperialism. The notorious "Cordon Sanitaire" has moved westward, and is now transferred to Western Germany, to France, to Britain—states subordinated to American imperialism.

The Soviet Union, tried in the blazing furnace of fascist war, has emerged not crushed and weakened as the Western imperialists calculated, but, despite the immeasurable losses and destruction, with enormously increased weight in the economic and political balance of the world, and with a tempo of recovery and new construction which is not only wiping out the losses of the war but still further changing the balance in favour of Socialism.

No less striking are the changes in the vast area of the colonial and dependent territories of imperialism in Asia and Africa. The victory of the Chinese Democratic Revolution against the American-subsidised and American-armed Chiang Kai-shek regime represents the greatest defeat of imperialism since the collapse of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. It represents the greatest victory of popular liberation, in the most numerous nation of the world, and reaching to one fifth of humanity. The

democratic victory in China opens the way to the liberation of all Asia. New states have been created by the struggle of the colonial peoples, Viet Nam and the Indonesian Republic, conducting their fight to maintain their independence against the armed assault of imperialism; while in other countries, as Burma and Malaya, the struggle for freedom has reached the level of full scale liberation wars. In other territories, as India and Ceylon, imperialism has only been able to maintain its hold by elaborate political manoeuvres of a sham withdrawal to set up reactionary puppet governments of satellite states; and even in these countries the violence of repression reveals the profound crisis which is shaking the ground beneath these regimes of national degradation. Throughout the Continent of Africa, on which imperialism seeks to build its last hopes for a final stronghold of domination and exploitation after the loss of Asia, the extent of popular awakening and revolt foreshadows already the doom of these plans and the rapid maturing of the national liberation movements in the African Colonial territories.

Within the working class the balance of forces is no less profoundly changing. With the weakening of the basis of imperialism and its super-profits, the basis of Social Democracy in its old strongholds in the Continental European countries has crumbled. Powerful and politically experienced mass Communist Parties, as in France and Italy, hold the indisputable leadership of the working class and stand forth as leaders of the nation. The final remaining centres of the bourgeois Labour Movement are concentrated in the countries of the Anglo-American bloc, in the United States and Britain, where the slower, political development means that the paralysing grip of Social Democracy on the Labour Movement has still to be broken. But when these still remaining centres of a Labour imperialist top leadership seek to exercise their

poisonous influence and to disrupt the international working class movement with their offensive against the mighty World Federation of Trade Unions, they are revealed in a hopeless minority, and the World Federation of Trade Unions goes forward with the support of the overwhelming majority of the organised workers of the world.

These new developments mean that the foundations of imperialism are being more and more undermined. Its basis is already narrowed by the collapse of German and Japanese imperialism; and by the withdrawal of one quarter of the world from the domination or influence of imperialism. But within bids narrowed imperialist world the relations are altered, and the instability is extreme. The inequality of the development of capitalism has reached a climax in which United States imperialism, bloated and swollen with the profits of war, concentrates in the hands of a tiny group of giant monopolists economic and strategic power exceeding that of all the rest of the capitalist world. On the other hand, the main colonial empires remain in the hands of the older European imperialist powers. The older European imperialist powers are heavily weakened and economically disorganised, not only by the losses of the war, and by the relative technical backwardness of their economy, but also by the crumbling of their former colonial domination in Asia and Africa whose spoils provided the basis of pre-war imperialist "prosperity". Previously the rubber, tin, copper and oil from the colonial countries provided the means for the Western European countries to buy the dollar goods from the American continent. With the beginning of the break-up of this basis, these Western European countries find themselves faced with a crisis of chronic deficit in their balance of payments, and especially with a chronic dollar deficit.

This new situation of extreme inequality of development of capitalism, of the predominance of American imperialism driving to world expansion, and of the weakening of the older Western European imperialist powers, alongside contraction of the world area of imperialism and extension of colonial revolt. defeats all attempts to find a new equilibrium of imperialist relations after the Second World War.

American imperialism seeks to break down all trade barriers to its expansion in other countries, while at the same time maintaining its own high tariffs, and thereby intensifies world economic disequilibrium. The European capitalist countries, faced with conditions of heavy economic disorganisation, seek to re-establish their position with desperate extraordinary measures, impose crushing burdens on the standard of living of their populations and conduct colonial wars which increase their economic impoverishment. But the very measures they adopt to restore their economic and political position end by reducing them to increasing economic, political and military dependence on American imperialism.

This expansionist drive of American imperialism has developed through the successive stages of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, Military lend-lease, and President Truman's Fourth Point for taking over the exploitation of the colonial empires of the European powers. American agents and gauleiters are established in the capitals of Marshall Europe to direct and control all economic development. American bans on trade between Eastern and Western Europe prevent the economic recovery of Europe. American military occupation is established in Britain and a chain of countries. The satellite governments of Western Europe are unable to stir a finger without the permission of the American authorities.

But neither the American nor the Western European

imperialists are able to solve the new problems arising from this situation. The fiasco of the Marshall Plan as a supposed plan for European “recovery” is already manifest. The contrast between the deepening economic disorganisation and lowered standards of living of Western “Marshall” Europe and the brilliant successes of reconstruction and rising standards of Eastern Europe, is inescapable. In Western Europe, the Secretary General of the Marshall Plan Organisation, Marjolin, has declared that with the completion of Marshall “recovery” by 1952 Western Europe will be faced with the prospect of economic collapse.

As the shadow of economic crisis gathers over the capitalist world; the drive to war comes more and more into the open. Rearmament is publicly proclaimed by the professional economic apologists of the monopolists to be the means of staving off economic depression. Arms expenditure is carried to heights unparalleled in peace time, which leave Hitler’s rearmament programme in the shade: American arms expenditure reaches twenty times pre-war and the arms expenditure of impoverished Britain reaches three times the level of 1939 on the very eve of the Second World War. The campaign of unbridled war provocation and war propaganda to create artificially an atmosphere of war hysteria serves also a political purpose to attack the working class and democratic movement and promote measures of political reaction.

Thus the situation after the Second World War reveals striking contrast with that after the first World War. In place of the slogans of “normalcy”, “stabilisation” and “the era of pacific democratic development” the leaders of imperialism openly spread disorganisation and war hysteria. Peace is denounced as a menace; the campaign for peace is proclaimed a “Communist plot”. In place of support for the United Nations as the international instrument for the maintenance of peace,

the Atlantic Pact is devised as a sectional war alliance to replace the United Nations. This drive to war is an index of the further deepening of the bankruptcy of imperialism and the inability of its representatives to find a solution to their problems.

The measures to-day adopted by the frantic war-mad imperialists only further deepen the general crisis of imperialism. The colossal burdens of re-armament further disorganise economy. The colonial wars of the European imperialist powers, launched to regain and extend their colonial spoils as the indispensable basis for restoring their parasitic imperialist economy only result in intensifying the economic crisis and in increasing the deficit in the economic balance. The inter-imperialist conflict of interests is not liquidated by American domination, but is intensified by it.

But the same measures which thus accentuate the contradictions of imperialism simultaneously advance the awakening and mobilisation of the peoples to resist the policies of imperialist reaction and war. While the governments and parties which fulfil the role of satellite to American imperialism, and especially, Social Democracy, are discredited by their betrayal of national interests and national independence, no less than by their failure to meet the urgent economic needs of the people, the crude and flagrant intervention of American imperialism awakens and extends the spirit of national resistance, which is crystallised around the campaign of the Communist Parties.

May Day 1949 thus revealed a high point in the developing social and political struggles which are the expression of the sharpening crisis of capitalism. The imperialists drive along the path towards economic crisis and to war, and simultaneously fear both, as bringing in view the prospect of the further weakening and the eventual downfall of their system. The

camp of the peoples advances in the fight for democracy and peace, and for the future victory of the working class and Socialism. In this conflict of the two camps over the world to-day is expressed the present stage of the sharpening crisis of capitalism.

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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT GROWS AND STRENGTHENS

WOMEN OF ITALY AGAINST ATLANTIC PACT. Maria Maddalena Rossi, Chairman, Italian Women's Union

Political events in Italy show that de Gasperi's Government—expressing the interests of those very imperialist circles which plunged Italy into a number of predatory wars between 1922 and 1945—is at every step encountering increasingly firm resistance from the mass of the people.

In order to carry out the policy dictated by the Vatican and the American monopolists, a policy which increases unemployment and misery among the people, the de Gasperi Government is trying to smash the activities of the democratic organisations by using police terror and laws which run contrary to the Constitution, by using provocateurs and traitors to the working class. At the same time it looks for support among the politically backward masses waging an anti-Communist witch-hunt for which it has mobilised particularly the clergy and Catholic organisations.

Whereas American "aid" and clerical terror made the Italian bourgeois parties successful in the 1948 general election, the present campaign of ideological preparation for a new war is encountering considerable resistance.

The people of Italy are unanimously hostile to war. However, it should not be forgotten that this altitude is often accompanied by extremely dangerous sentiments. Some people are inclined to accept the idea that war is inevitable and give up the struggle against it. Others, including some working people, harbour the illusion that Italy will not take part in a new war

because the Italian people are reluctant to fight.

The most important task of the popular democratic organisations is to combat the passive attitude arising from these dangerous viewpoints and to fight the idea of calmly waiting for war as an unavoidable evil.

They must expose in every way the real danger of war and its instigators, they must explain that war can only be prevented by the people's united effort and that a struggle against the threat of war must be launched immediately.

The Italian Women's Union made this task the chief subject of its Second National Congress held in Milan in October 1947.

The Congress addressed an appeal to all Italian women, exposing the essence of the "Marshall Plan" and the danger to their families inherent in the policy pursued by the instigators of a new war. The women responded to this appeal, and on March 14, 1948, 50,000 delegates from all over Italy came to Rome for a Peace Rally. Over three million women signed 170 peace notebooks in support of the Soviet proposals made in the United Nations concerning disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons. These were sent to the President of the Republic.

Since then, the women of Italy have been taking an increasingly active part in all kinds of protest action against the de Gasperi Government's anti-democratic, anti-popular policy of cringing before the foreign imperialists, in spite of the fact that the Italian agents of imperialism answered the Peace Rally by mobilising the whole apparatus of the Catholic Church. Hundreds of women have been maltreated and arrested by the police. Many are still in prison.

Demonstrations on International Women's Day showed clearly that through their suffering and struggle Italian women are waking from their age-old backwardness. This year

March 8 was celebrated not only in the more progressive regions and large centres, but also in many villages. Thousands of women took part in demonstrations in Reggio Emilia, Ravenna, Milan and other cities. They carried posters depicting the horrors of war and the strength of the champions of peace throughout the world.

In many cities townswomen celebrated March 8 together with the country women, presenting them with peace banners. In

Milan women canvassed the families of those killed in the war. They collected a huge album containing pictures of the war dead to be sent to the President, expressing the war victims families' desire for peace. In Rome well-known actors and writers visited hospitals and presented the patients with flowers and gifts. In Genoa and other cities many houses and shops were decorated with posters reading: "Everyone in this house is against the Atlantic Pact". These were signed by all the residents.

Due to the organisational work in preparation for March 8, the wave of indignation and protest which swept Italy at the news that the de Gasperi Government had joined the Atlantic Pact was particularly impressive and spread with lightning speed. While opposition was being expressed in Parliament, monster protest demonstrations were held throughout the country. Everywhere the Women's Union played a leading role and women took part in the protest movement side by side with the rest of the people. Thousands of women in Florence, Ravenna, and Naples sent delegations and protest resolutions to the local authorities and to the Government.

On the day Foreign Minister Sforza signed the Pact, women's delegations throughout Italy placed flowers and wreaths on the monuments and graves of the war dead. The wreaths bore the inscription:

“On your behalf, too, we say No to the Atlantic Pact”.

Responding to the call of the Fourth National Conference of the Women’s Union held in Naples, all local organisations of the Women’s Union have started the peace crusade. Padua women, for example, have organised groups of cyclists to tour the villages on Sundays carrying peace banners. In the villages the women rally round these banners and, remembering the sacrifices of war, pledge themselves to fight to prevent a new slaughter. In Parma women workers of the Borsari plant have sent thousands of letters to other factories and to peasant women in their province. In Turin groups of “peace postmen” were organised to distribute the democratic press. Textile workers from Prate also go every Sunday into the province to canvass the press and talk to the women. Upon learning that a military airfield was planned near their homes, women of a small locality in Venetia sent a delegation to their Mayor declaring they would do everything to prevent military installations being built in their community.

The preparations for the World Peace Congress were of great help in mobilising Italian women. Thousands of peace committees were formed in districts, villages and factories. Meetings were held to elect delegates for Paris. In Gorla (Milan) the mothers of 214 children killed when their school was bombed during the war, sent a banner to Paris in memory of their sons and daughters. Millions of people collected money, lira by lira, to send delegates to Paris. Men and women, political figures, scientific and cultural workers enthusiastically accepted the honour of representing workers, peasants, the women of town and countryside and of expressing their will for peace at the Paris Congress.

Thousands of “peace heralds” have been mobilised to collect signatures in door-to-door canvassing in all the towns and villages in support of the initiative shown by political

figures of various opinions who decided to present a petition to Parliament denouncing the Atlantic Pact.

The Third National Congress of the Italian Women's Union to be held this year will review the work and results of the peace crusade. A realisation of the gravity of the situation and of the great responsibility resting with each woman, mother or woman worker, particularly the knowledge that the success of uniting the forces for peace depends on us, on our work and abilities, inspires us with new energy and enthusiasm in the fight to secure victory of the great cause.

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**DEMOCRATIC UNION OF HUNGARIAN
WOMEN. Magda Ioboru, Member, Central
Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party,
General Secretary, Democratic Union of
Hungarian Women**

Last year marked a turning point in the development of Hungary. It saw the defeat of political reaction and the weakening of its positions, the fusion of the two workers' parties into the united Workers' Party of Hungary, the nationalisation of large-scale industry and the strengthening of the people's democratic regime in the country. The working class dislodged the bourgeoisie from the organs of power and, together with its allies, started to lay the foundations of Socialism. The past year also helped to develop the women's movement, contributed to the political and organisational consolidation of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women and to its growing importance in the system of the People's Democracy.

After the Soviet Army had defeated the fascist invaders, the women of Hungary began to tackle the difficult job of abolishing the survivals of the feudal-capitalist regime and the influence of clerical reaction. In the beginning they found it difficult to distinguish between their true friends and their enemies and to solve the great political problems facing the country. In the 1945 and 1947 elections the majority of the votes for the reactionary, anti-Communist and clerical parties were cast by women.

During the years when the outcome of the struggle between the forces of the People's Democracy and bourgeois reaction in

the country was still in the balance, the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women developed very slowly. Those who were against the unity of women did everything to split the Union. The Right leaders in the Social Democratic Party prohibited their women members from joining the Union and formed their own women's organisation. The independent Smallholders' Party soon followed the example of the Social Democratic Party. Clerical reaction, still strong at the time, came out against the Union. In an attempt to isolate the women's democratic organisation from the masses, our enemies spread the slanderous rumour that the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women was the women's organisation of the Communist Party.

The machinations of the Right social democrats in the factories caused particularly big difficulties. To prevent the militant democratic unity of women from being split, the Communist Party proposed to the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions that separate women's groups of the Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party should not be formed in the factories, but that a united women's movement should be organised ins lead in the trade unions. This proposal was supported by the mass of women workers and Left social democrats. The Rights were compelled to retreat. Trade union women's committees elected at the factories began to put into practice the equality of women, as guaranteed by law.

The trade union women's movement played a great role in the struggle for working class unity, but this movement was isolated to a certain extent from the general democratic women's movement. The Democratic Union was in contact with the Women's Secretariat of the National Trade Union Council but there was no organic unity which would have resulted in

working women joining the Union. Because of this, the Union membership is largely composed of women from the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, and not of women from industry.

In April 1948, the Union held its Second Congress. The outstanding economic and political successes of the People's Democracy and especially the fact that the two workers' parties were already beginning to unite at the time, made it possible to create a united women's organisation. At the congress the women's organisations of the Social Democratic Party and Smallholders' Party announced that they were dissolving their organisations and would join the Union. The Union became a united women's democratic organisation, whose influence even spread to the women's organisations of the church.

The Second Congress discussed the Three Year Plan, the struggle against reaction, the democratic education of the youth, participation of women in the state apparatus and the struggle for peace. It contributed to the political development, organisational strengthening and growth in membership of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women.

Last year the Union took part in the campaign to nationalise the Church schools. This campaign, which was conducted in sharp struggle against clerical reaction, helped to develop the political consciousness of the broad mass of women. The Union took part in the struggle of the working people of the countryside against kulak sabotage during the threshing and then during the deliveries of grain to the State. The Union sent women to supervise the threshing, popularised competition in grain deliveries and exposed the slanderous rumours spread by the kulaks. Its membership took part in organising the cooperative movement. Women hold thirty per cent of the leading posts in the rural cooperatives.

The Union was active in the struggle to expose and abolish clerical reaction which had united around Cardinal Mindszenty.

Its forces grew, its influence spread and it became an important factor in building Socialism.

International Women's Day was celebrated on a much wider scale than in previous years. Women's brigades were formed in the factories to increase the productivity of labour. Others collected medicines to send to the Greek people battling for their freedom. On March 8 itself, large meetings were held in 60 towns and celebrations took place in every town, village, factory and institute.

The keynote was: solidarity with the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union. Various institutions were renamed after prominent women; many women were decorated with Government orders.

As a result of the successes achieved last year, the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women is able to give substantial help to the working class now in power, on all decisive questions of Socialist construction. New labour emulation was recently started in industry and among the working peasantry. The Union is carrying out extensive work to draw women into this emulation. Premiums have been awarded to 7,170 workers, 1,428 of whom are women, for their achievements in labour emulation last year. The Order of Labour was conferred on 11 women. On March 21 the title of "Distinguished Worker" was conferred on 3,000 workers of whom 28 per cent were women.

An important task is to draw the women of the countryside, particularly members of the cooperative societies, into labour emulation. Women are already displaying an increased interest in the activity of the People's Committees which have been set up to guide labour emulation.

The promotion of the finest representatives of the working class and working peasantry to leading posts in the state apparatus, in both economic and cultural spheres, is an

important task in developing the People's Democracy, and our women have a definite role in solving it. We already have several women mayors, 30 women factory directors, 4 women as chiefs of district administrations in Budapest, and 25 women judges of rural courts. Women also hold executive posts in various Ministries.

The Democratic Union of Hungarian Women, which helped to build up the Hungarian People's Independence Front, is taking an increasingly active part in carrying out the Front's programme under the leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

However, there are still a number of serious shortcomings in the work of the Union. To start with, working women must be drawn into the leadership of the Union's regional and city organisations on a wider scale. This is all the more important since the Union membership has increased so much. After the 1948 Congress, the Union membership increased two and a half times. Now, excluding trade unionists, it is more than 300,000. The Union has branches in 80 per cent of the villages. But large numbers of working women are still to a greater or lesser degree influenced by the church.

The democratic advance of the women still lags behind the general development of the People's Democracy. More attention must be paid by the Hungarian Worker's Party to promoting women to responsible posts,

The Democratic Union of Hungarian Women will continue its work of mobilising the mass of women to build Socialism and to strengthen the front of peace.

CULTURAL PROGRESS IN POLAND

Opening a new library at the General Cwerczewski plant in Warsaw, Comrade Bierut, Chairman of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party of Poland said that the Party's task was to make the broadest mass of the people politically conscious so that they would become active builders of a new life.

This could be done by developing educational work, organising libraries and study circles, setting aside special rooms for educational circles and by circulating books and newspapers as widely as possible.

A few months ago some 20,000 village reading rooms and nearly 1,500 district libraries were opened. As a result of the Education, Book and Press Week, initiated by the United Workers' Party and the trade unions, nearly 2,600 factory libraries will be organised throughout the country. This public initiative will be a big contribution to the already great efforts of the people's state to develop education, culture and book circulation.

Comrade Bierut said that in the course of the past four years, nearly 10,000 new general and technical schools had been opened. There were 30 per cent more students in these schools than in pre-war schools. The number of students in the higher educational institutes was twice that of pre-war days; the overwhelming majority of first and second year students came from worker and peasant families. Many more books and newspapers were published now than before the war. Young workers and peasants were exceptionally keen to study.

**FOR A UNITED DEMOCRATIC GERMANY.
Max Reimann, Chairman, Communist
Party of Germany**

The resolution of the recent Communist Party Conference in Solingen stated:

“The introduction of the Ruhr Statute, control organs and the Occupation Statute show that Western Germany is being turned into an arsenal of American and British imperialism for use against the states of Eastern Europe and that the German people are counted on as cannon-fodder. This policy is clearly borne out by the unbridled campaign against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, by the fact that the question of war prisoners is used for a ceaseless slander campaign and by the chauvinist propaganda against the frontier established along the Oder and Neisse rivers. The intentions of American imperialism to include Western Germany in the Western Union and the Atlantic Pact prove that the West German state has been singled out for a jumping off ground in the new war.”

The words of this resolution were fully borne out by the publication of the Germany’s Western zones in the Atlantic Pact to promote the imperialist aims of the Western powers. The governments of the Western Powers violated the Potsdam Agreement, split Germany, formed a West German state and, ignoring the will of its people, included it in the military bloc in order to carry out their imperialist aims against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, against every democratic movement of the peoples, against the German people.

This is discussed openly. For instance, “Le Monde” which is close to the French Foreign Ministry wrote on April 5: “Whether we like it or not the re-arming of Western Germany is implicit in the Atlantic Pact as surely as the embryo is

present in the egg.” “Die Neue Zeitung”, official organ of the American military administration in Munich, wrote that Western Germany must produce raw materials, semi-finished and other articles for the war industry of the Western countries of the Atlantic Pact.

The Powers who once proclaimed in international agreements and in solemn promises to their peoples and to the democratic forces of Germany their desire to demilitarise Germany, and who insisted that the Ruhr Statute and control organs were merely measures to prevent the possibility to propagate the remilitarisation of Germany within the framework of the Atlantic Pact.

The imperialists and their accomplices are not content with switching Western Germany's industry over to war production; they are now out to recruit Germans into their armies. They are no longer satisfied with the military units at present stationed in Western Germany under one pretext or another. These units are only intended to train soldiers for the future German mercenary army. But now that the Atlantic Pact has been signed remilitarisation of Western Germany is openly discussed.

The Bonn constitution reveals that the Western German reactionaries are trying to build up a German army within the framework of the West European Union and the Atlantic Pact. When approving the article of the Constitution condemning war, the Communist parliamentary group demanded that an additional article should be added to guarantee that no German citizen could be forced to serve in the army of another state. In answer to this, the Chairman of the Social Democratic group, Professor Schmidt, declared that an army could be formed within the framework of the European Union and that the Federal West German state could join this European Federation. He went on to say that in this event the Germans

would have to make their contribution to such an army.

By rejecting the proposal of the Communist Party of Germany, the leaders of the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party (Liberals) thus expressed themselves in favour of the policy of war preparations and of drawing Western Germany into the anti-Soviet bloc. The German imperialists are dreaming of a new aggressive war against the Soviet Union in alliance with the foreign imperialists; the same people who financed Hitler and his gang are today forcing their political hirelings to sing the old Goebbels's song claiming that "Western culture" is menaced. Dr. Adenauer, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union and arch reactionary representative of industrial magnates and the Vatican who even as early as 1918 frightened Germany with the Bolshevik bogy, is once again proclaiming that "Western culture" must be saved from Bolshevism and Western Germany included in a western federation.

The demand of the Social-Democratic Party leaders such as Kubel, Minister of Land in Lower Saxony, Henschler, Burgomaster of Dortmund and Chairman of the Social Democratic group in the North Rhine-Westphalian landtag and other reactionaries that compulsory labour should be introduced on the Hitler model, must be considered as the first practical measure towards forming a German army within the framework of the West European union, a plan elaborated by the chairman of the Social Democratic group in the Bonn parliamentary council. The object of compulsory labour is to renew the military training and chauvinist education of German youth. But the young people are rejecting this. Numerous meetings and also the "Jugendring" youth organisations have passed resolutions protesting against the introduction of compulsory labour.

The Communist Party started a campaign against all these

militarist plans for compulsory labour calling on the youth to refuse to serve in any militarised organisations or in the West Germany army.

From the very outset the clique of monopoly reaction in the Western zones and the bourgeois and Right Social Democratic leaders who are carrying out this clique's policy were opposed to the Potsdam Agreement. More than anything else they feared the establishment of a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany which would be able to overthrow their domination once and for all. Thanks to the West German reactionaries who had betrayed the interests of the German people, the foreign imperialists were able to pursue their policy of splitting the country and turning the Western zones into a military and industrial base for attack against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The West German reactionaries who have united with the Anglo-American imperialists are responsible for the failure to carry out the Potsdam decisions which guarantee the German people the right to self-determination, national independence and a peace treaty. Their servile policy has resulted in an occupation statute regime for the people of the Western zones, in the Ruhr statute, in a regime of colonial oppression by American monopoly capital.

This year the working people of Western Germany celebrated May Day under the banner of struggle against national oppression and against the war preparations. May Day helped to consolidate the front of the working class, of the working people of town and countryside in the struggle for national independence and peace. In keeping with the decisions of the Solingen conference, the Party is explaining to the people of the Western zones the wide gulf existing between the policy of the imperialist occupation power and the peace policy of the Soviet Union which, together with the People's Democracies at the Warsaw conference, urged that a united,

democratic Germany should be created, a democratic treaty signed and the occupation troops withdrawn. Our Party is explaining to the people of the Western zones that the existence of the German people as a nation depends on the realisation of these demands.

The people undoubtedly realise that a separate West German state would exist, both economically and politically, merely as a dependent colonial state. There is growing alarm in Western Germany at the fall in living standards, the low wages, high prices and mounting unemployment. Bizonia today has 1,200,000 unemployed. The number on short time is increasing.

The workers are fighting for wage increases — the successful strike of Bavarian metal workers, the strike of transport workers in the Hessen Laender (American zone), the miners' demand for a wage increase of 3 marks a day. Taking into account the insistent demands put forward at numerous workers' meetings, the leaders of the Metal Workers' Union in North Rhine-Westphalia dissolved the collective agreement affecting 600,000 metal workers, At many large factories workers have already won higher wages.

Not only the working people are discontented. Dissatisfaction is also growing among employers, especially in the industries producing consumer goods where there are big marketing difficulties. There is hardly a newspaper in Western Germany which in its economic articles does not call for free trade with all countries and especially with the Soviet Union, Eastern and South-eastern Europe.

Groups have been formed among the bourgeoisie which reject the division of Germany and are against including Western Germany in the anti-Soviet Western bloc.

In the Western zones the struggle for peace is closely linked with the struggle for national unity and independence,

against foreign and German monopoly capital

This is illustrated by the answer given by 4,500 workers of the BOS plant at Stuttgart to the American Military Administration's questionnaire on the Pact. "The Atlantic Pact means war...We are not interested in war. We want peace," they declared.

Having received this reply, the American occupation administration withdrew its questionnaire. Mass meetings in Nuremberg and Munich passed resolutions protesting against the Atlantic Pact and Western Germany's inclusion in it, calling for German unity and peace. The meetings greeted the World Peace Congress and decided to form peace committees in all towns and large-scale enterprises in Western Germany.

In its struggle for the unity of Germany the Communist Party feels united with the democratic forces of the Soviet zone. It knows it has the support and sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We fully appreciate the responsibility that rests with our Party in the struggle to maintain peace.

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THE SARAGATS — WALL STREET AGENTS IN ITALY. Giuliano Pajetta, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy

The sharpening class struggle in Italy is making the position of Saragats's Right Socialists more and more untenable. These faithful servants of the Italian reactionaries and of Wall Street are engaging in all kinds of political acrobatics in their efforts to keep up the legend of the so-called third path. However, recent political events in Italy show that even all their somersaulting is of little help to the Saragats.

Even after they had been brought into the de Gasperi Government, these provocateurs and splitters of the working class continued to hide behind the screen of "democratic Socialism". Their splitting tactics and provocation were a godsend to the de Gasperi Party during the 1948 general election. Later, at the Genoa Congress of the Socialist Party held in June last year, the Saragats sought to intimidate the Left Socialists by playing on the contradictions and inner Party difficulties so that later they would be able, through their agent Romita, to deliver a mortal blow to working class unity and the Socialist Party with which they hoped to "unite" after it had been purged of those who supported united action with the Communist Party.

This manoeuvre did not succeed. Even before the Congress, Romita suffered defeat. Thanks to the firm stand taken by the Left Socialists—the real spokesmen of the majority of the membership—unity in action with the Communists was maintained and strengthened.

The collaboration of the Saragats in carrying out the anti-

working class policy of the Government, the agency of the anti-Soviet warmongers, made it even more difficult for them to appear in the guise of "Socialists". A wishy-washy, anti-collaboration "Left" trend made its appearance among them. At the same time those Saragat men who had managed to get government and administrative posts entered into closer collaboration with the Christian Democrats and gathered around Saragat himself who at a meeting in Bologna last March cynically declared that his Party "would enjoy far less influence if it did not participate in the Government."

In addition to a "Left" and a "Right", Saragats now have a "centre" grouping. Thus this Party which boasted that it would "unite the Socialist camp" presented a picture of disunity at its recent Congress in Milan. Now, on the eve of an emergency congress, summoned only three months after the Milan Congress, it is in an even worse state of disorganisation. The chief of the Social-traitors are, engaging in noisy polemics. These are widely reported in the reactionary press which tries to present its lackeys as people with lofty ideas who, it is alleged, are seriously concerned for the fate of Italian Socialism.

Commenting on the Milan Congress of the Saragat Party, Luigi Longo described it as much ado about nothing.

The Rights, led by Saragat, only received 47 per cent of the Congress votes and only 7 of the 15 seals on the Executive. They also lost the Party Secretary ship. But the Saragat faction has little to fear from the "opposition" and phrase mongering on the "Left" or from the criticism of the "centre." His faction remains the actual boss of the Party. Its position is strengthened by the tradition which persists since the Second International days that Party members elected to Parliament are not obliged to obey the Party leadership and that Ministers are not required to consider the opinion of the parliamentary group.

The Lefts and the centrists in the Saragat Party differ from the Rights only in words, in their “socialist” phraseology. Evidence of this was their behaviour at the election of the Party’s Secretariat and later when the Party defined its attitude to the North Atlantic Pact.

The Saragat group which openly supported the Atlantic Pact found itself in a minority. But the “Lefts”, awed by their own boldness, could not make up their minds to assume responsibility for the Secretariat. They left this matter in the hands of the centrists agreed to summon a special congress and gave a free hand to the Saragat ministers, deputies and senators. In Parliament 14 Saragat members voted for the Pact, while the 11 who abstained hastened with explanations in order that their Anglo-American friends should not confuse them with the Socialists and Communists who voted against the Pact.

The behaviour of the Saragat followers, whether of the “Left” or “Right” is determined by their hostile attitude to the Communist Part and to the idea of united action of the workers’ parties. Their chief concern is not struggle for the interests of the working people but defence of the interests of the American imperialists and Italian reaction.

The treachery of the Saragats, their collaboration with the reactionary Christian Democratic Party, their attempts to split the mass organisations, their rejection of their own slogans and their support for the aggressive Atlantic Pact—all these factors are awakening the indignation of the mass of the people and are tending more and more to isolate the Saragats from supporters who at one time took their demagogy seriously.

Each passing day gives the working people of Italy new opportunities of comparing the activity of the Communists and Socialists with that of the Saragat men when the vital questions of work, bread, democratic liberties and peace are involved.

It is significant that at the end of March, when the Atlantic Pact was being discussed, two leading members of the Turin municipal council simultaneously left the Saragat Party. The election of the mutual insurance fund board in the Fiat works showed a drastic fall in the number of votes cast for Saragat's followers. They received a mere 2,500 votes compared with 8,000 for the Socialists and 29,000 for the Communists.

Collaboration with de Gasperi is increasingly turning the Saragat men into the miserable stooges of the Christian Democratic Party, which with its parliamentary majority is paying less and less heed to the views of its junior partners in the Government. When the Saragats tried to blackmail the Christian Democrat leaders by threatening to go over to the opposition, they received a crushing rebuff. "La Liberia", the Christian Democratic newspaper, did not mince words with the Saragat men. It told them: "It is our business to say on what conditions cooperation is based. It remains only for these conditions to be accepted or rejected".

The Right Socialists have already shown their ability to accept any conditions. In bowing to the American imperialists, the Vatican and their agents in Italy, they compete with the renegades of the Republican Party of Pacciardi and Sforza.

Today the logic of events is driving the Saragat men steadily along the path of treachery. The Saragat Ministers did not dare to oppose de Gasperi when the fascist criminal prince Borghese was so scandalously released. The Saragat men are working to split the trade union movement. In the General Confederation of Labour they are helping the strike-breakers, negotiating with the organisers of the yellow Catholic trade unions and with the former leaders of the corporate fascist "trade unions." They are sending their representative Canini to the United States with the delegation of Marshall trade unionists in the hope that they will get some crumbs from the

50 million dollars allocated by the United States trusts for trade union splitters all over the world.

For a long time now Saragat has avoided the use of such words as “class” and “Socialism”, using in their place the “social” concept, borrowed from the Christian Democrats. At the Milan Congress one of the Saragats, Andreoni, tried to prove that Scelba as Home Minister had shown himself more of a democrat than the Socialist Romita did in 1947, while Ivan Matteo Lombardo reproached the leaders of the Confederation of Industrialists saying that they were not sufficiently energetic and militant.

None of this prevents these worshippers of police truncheons and tear-gas, these colleagues of the fascist rulers in Greece and Spain, from insolently declaring in the pre-congress resolution of the “Rights” of May 5 this year that they were “against any form of political struggle which either openly or under a democratic guise led to the use of coercion”.

While continuing their demagogic talk about a “third path”, the Saragat men are trying to keep in the Party the people whom they have deceived and to make good their losses by recruiting members from the right-wing parties. They hope that the quickening march of de Gasperi and Scelba to the Right, the arbitrariness of the “Catholic Action” group and other reactionary forces, will bring them new recruits from among the disillusioned and vacillating elements in these parties.

Saragat and his friends cannot fail to see that in the course of one year they have not only lost their already weak influence on the Socialist Party, but have also evoked the indignation of those who still cherished illusions about them and who not so long ago rallied under the banner of their notorious “socialist unity”.

Extremely significant in this respect is a letter from an active member of the Saragat Party published in “l’Umanita”

on April 27. After quoting a number of statements made during the past few months by Party leaders along the lines of ostensible opposition to military pacts, the author claims he was surprised to see that on March 12 Saragat and Co. voted for the Atlantic Pact.

“We have the right to know”, said the writer, “why the Party Board knew nothing about this until the very last moment and why Saragat, who seems to have known since January 3 that Italy had virtually joined the Pact, did not so much as hint at this during the Congress”.

The process of isolation of Saragat’s men from the workers and from all genuine democrats is not spontaneous. It is influenced by the energetic activity and the consistent policy of united action carried out by the Communists and the Left Socialists, by the systematic exposure of the traitors and the blackmailing activities of Comisco, (the Committee for International Socialist Conferences), by the organised struggle against police terror and the lies of the reactionary press and the radio. In Italy the struggle for bread and work, peace and national independence will steadily grow in intensity. At the same time the fight against the agents of imperialism and reaction, the Italian Right Socialists, will also grow stronger.

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THE RIGHT SOCIALISTS—SPLITTERS OF WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT. Otto Kuusinen

In the light of the rich new experience of the class battles fought in Europe during the post-war years it is possible to see more clearly than ever before the decisive importance of militant working-class unity for the outcome of the struggle of the working people against the reactionary bourgeoisie.

From the day the Soviet Army liberated the People's Democracies from fascist oppression, the outstanding successes of the Communist Parties in building working-class unity laid the firm foundations for organising a broad democratic front of the working people. The party cliques of the reactionary bourgeoisie and its social-democratic hire-lings found themselves completely isolated from the mass of the people and doomed to speedy destruction. As the unity of the proletariat grew stronger, so the foundation of the people's democratic power of the class of the working people—workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals—look root more firmly. Once the workers' parties in these countries were completely united on the platform of Marxism-Leninism it could be said that no efforts of the hostile classes could shake the foundation of the people's democratic state and its advance toward Socialism.

In the capitalist countries of Europe, too, great successes have been achieved in the struggle for working-class unity, especially in the trade union movement within the various countries and in organising and developing the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions. But there is nothing the ruling bourgeoisie fears more than the militant unity of the working class. Thus, the principal task assigned to its agents in

the working-class movement is to constantly disrupt and split the ranks of the working class. That is why every step toward consolidating the working masses—Communists, Socialists and others—is accompanied by a stubborn struggle to combat the disruptive influence and splitting activities of the Right Socialist including the reformist trade union leaders. This struggle of the Communist vanguard against the Right Socialists is essentially linked with the struggle for working-class unity.

In France in the autumn of 1944 the desire for unity was, so strong among the workers that even the Socialist Party, at its congress, decided to start negotiations with the Communist for a united party. This threw the reactionary bourgeoisie into a panic and they appealed to the Right Socialist leaders to do everything possible to keep the French working-class movement divided. British Labour Party emissaries came to the aid of the Right Socialists with the result that the saviours of capitalism succeeded in sabotaging and annulling the decision of the Socialist Party congress.

Since then the Right Socialists of Western Europe headed by the Labour leaders in Britain, hoping to make the split in the working-class movement permanent, have been waging ceaseless slander against the Communists and all Socialists who, true to the cause of the working class, support cooperation with the Communists. For their splitting activities on the European continent the Right Socialists formed a joint anti-Communist body known as the “Committee for International Socialist Conferences” (Comisco)—a kind of “ersatz” edition of the bankrupt Second International. But dissatisfaction is mounting in the ranks of the Socialist Parties led by the Right politicians. A large number of workers have already left these parties. The Socialist Party of France lost nearly 100,000 members in 1947 and the membership of its

youth organisation went down to 15,000, it was reported at the Party's congress last year. The newly-formed Socialist Party for Unity is cooperating closely with the Communist Party.

In Italy, Labour Party agents repeatedly tried to destroy united action of the Socialist and Communist Parties, but without success.

Add to this the fact that even in Britain, citadel of the Right Socialists, opposition is slowly but surely growing against the reactionary Labour Party and trade union leaders, and one cannot fail to see the positive factor, namely, that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the splitters of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries to engineer their intrigues, while the opportunities of the working class to unite for struggle on a common front are increasing.

With what circumstances is this extremely important fact connected? It is connected, of course, with the fundamental changes in the international situation that have resulted from World War Two; with the weakening of capitalism and the further aggravation of its general crisis; with the increase in the might and prestige of the Soviet Union; with the new achievements of the Soviet peoples and the working peoples of the New Democracies. All these circumstances are continuing to have a great influence on the workers in the capitalist countries. At the same time, these workers are beginning to feel, more and more, the full brunt of the foul reactionary policy which the bourgeoisie are putting into effect through their Socialist Ministers.

At the present stage of the sharpening of capitalist contradictions the ruling bourgeoisie no longer has the opportunity, and still less the desire, to pursue the old "Labourism". It is so afraid that the foundations of its power may collapse that it no longer permits a policy of manoeuvring between the interests of the big, middle and petty

bourgeoisie—the policy which the social-democratic parties pursued between the first and second world wars in an attempt to buttress the foundation of the capitalist order in the countries of bourgeois democracy. Today each capitalist government must, before all else, carry out the selfish, reactionary demands of bourgeois monopoly circles. Moreover, the bourgeoisie of all the European countries who are tied to the economic and military-political clans of American imperialism have instructed their governments in making their policy to heed the voice of blackest reaction—the voice of the American monopolists and militarists.

The corrupt Right Socialists are not in the least worried by this assignment. Their Ministers in the governments of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and other countries serve the American imperialists as zealously as they do their own reactionary bourgeoisie. But this is making it increasingly difficult for them to retain their influence among the working masses. Their masters are no longer satisfied with small-scale anti-working class measures. They are now demanding an openly reactionary policy which is so utterly hostile to the vital interests of the working class and all working people that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the parties of the Right Socialists to manoeuvre with so-called reforms or fictitious democratic measures.

They have all but touched ceiling in their treachery.

II

Let us consider certain important questions of present-day policy: to what extent have the Right Socialists of Western Europe already exhausted their earlier possibilities of manoeuvring and, consequently, how much more difficult has it become for them to deceive the working masses.

The first question concerns the day-to-day material needs of the workers—inadequate wages, falling purchasing power, high rents, heavy taxes and the growing threat of unemployment.

For the past two years the Labour Government and the governments of all the Marshall countries in Europe, have been carrying out a deliberate, shady plan on these questions, a plan on which they reached a secret understanding with the American “Marshall Plan” businessmen. It is a plan which sharply lowers the standard of living of the workers and other sections of the people. This is something about which the Ministers are careful not to speak openly, but every worker’s family today is feeling acutely the consequences of this ruthless policy.

Had the capitalists tried to carry out such a plan of robbery by using their old methods of exploitation—direct wage cuts—they would immediately have aroused the stormy indignation and opposition of the working class. But the ruling circles of the capitalist world have grown more clever: they do not cut the minimum wage (sometimes they even grant small wage increases); instead they greedily rob the worker by sending up prices of food and other goods or by regularly devaluing the currency and raising direct and indirect taxes.

Realisation of this plan of exploitation is bringing the big capitalists of Britain, France and other Marshall countries a crop of super-profits for which they are indebted, in the first place, to their Labour and “Socialist” Ministers and their parties. However, there is another aspect to the matter which clearly carries a risk for the Right Socialists. The former standard of living of the skilled worker in these countries, especially in Britain, constituted the economic basis on which the reformist leadership in the course of many decades was able to preserve its comparatively solid position and influence

in the working-class movement. But by carrying out the greedy plan of monopoly capital and thus helping to bring about a sharp decline in the standard of living of the proletariat in their countries, the reformist leaders are merely lopping off the bough on which they themselves are perching.

The British workers look to their trade unions to defend their day-to-day interests. Instead, the Labour leaders are calling upon the trade unions to expel from their ranks those who always loyally defend the interests of the workers. In other words, to remove the Communists. Surely you cannot force the British worker to believe that this will improve his worsening economic position? Certainly not. For the last two years the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress have tried, but without success, to get Communists removed from at least the executive organs of various unions.

To oblige the American imperialists the TUC General Council also demanded the dissolution of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Here, too, they were unsuccessful. Only the British and American trade unions withdrew from the Federation. You can hardly force the working masses of Britain to believe that this unprecedented attempt to force a split was taken in their interests.

In France the Right Socialists, obedient to American orders, insolently tried to split and destroy the General Confederation of Labour. But they met with failure and lost all their positions in the Confederation—the biggest, oldest-established trade union organisation of the French working class. They only succeeded in breaking away a small minority of workers whom they are now trying to use as strike-breakers.

The second question concerns the democratic rights and liberties of the working people of France, Italy and a number of other countries.

Formerly many workers of Western Europe believed the claim of the Right Socialists that there was a fundamental difference between bourgeois democracy and fascist dictatorship. This was wrong, for the class basis of the state order in all bourgeois countries has always been capitalist domination. Nevertheless, in the pre-war period the Social Democrats were able to point to certain differences in the political regime of bourgeois-democratic and fascist countries. In our country, they would say, the authorities do not persecute the working people who are fighting for their interests; police do not beat up strikers, do not disperse and open fire on demonstrators; as you see, our constitution defends democratic rights and liberties.

Today the constitutions of many bourgeois-democratic countries no longer defend even the elementary rights of the workers and their organisations. True, the former democratic principles have not disappeared from the constitutions; they are still written there. But, in spite of this, the authorities persecute workers who insist on their rights, often beating them up, dispersing' and firing on demonstrators.

Bourgeois democracy has now bared its fangs. And this has given rise to a new situation. Formerly the bourgeoisie in these countries did not demand that their Social Democratic Ministers should perform such bloody services as, for instance those of Jules Moch when he organised an armed attack on striking miners.

True, even after this, Jules Moch, Leon Blum and Guy Mollet continue to depict themselves as representatives of "democratism", and what is more, of "real", "Western" democratism. But today the louder this false advertisement is announced, the more it reminds the French worker of the ignominious, anti-democratic actions of these hirelings of reaction.

The third question relates to peace.

The sophism and subterfuges of the Right Socialists on this important question of the working-class movement have brought them to a sorry state of affairs. When they refer to military blocs concluded among the states of Western Europe and with the United States, the Right Socialists as a rule simply deny the military character of these blocs as the thief's accomplice, caught red-handed, denies the criminal nature of his complicity. They want the world to believe that these conspiratorial blocs are formed only for the innocent purpose of peacefully "uniting" Europe, for preparing to establish a harmless and quiet "European federation" or "United States of Europe". Now what is wrong with uniting Europe in this way? But it is clear to everybody why such a rabid imperialist as Churchill sponsored Western Union and a "United States of Europe", and why imperialist America insisted on "uniting" Europe in this way.

In a certain sense it is true that America has tried, and is still trying to "unite" the capitalist countries of Europe. The question is—for what purpose? As the accomplices of the American imperialists, the Right Socialists are trying to conceal not only the military aims of America's plans but also another of their aims which exclusively affects the national interests of the peoples of Western Europe. The point is that every time an imperialist power "unites" weaker countries, it does this through **subordination** in order to enslave them.

As time passes, the peoples of Western Europe will feel the weight of the American yoke falling more heavily on their shoulders. It would seem that only the Right Socialist leaders are not aware of this. But why ate Blum, Spaak and their associates trying so hard to impress upon their countries that it is necessary to "relinquish a part of their sovereignty"? So they do know, after all, that there is an importunate buyer to whom

they can sell France and Belgium.

Here betrayal of national independence is closely linked with betrayal of the cause of peace.

As we know, Blum has more than once donned the mantle of a supporter of peace. On the eve of World War Two, raising the banner of saving peace, he ardently supported the Munich deal with Hitler. Welcoming Munich which opened the way to Hitler's war, Blum wrote at the time that one could now sleep quietly since peace was guaranteed for a long time. Many Labour Party leaders expressed themselves in the same spirit at the time. If the Socialist workers had not trusted them, but had instead believed the Communists who spoke the truth, a great deal could have been done to really save peace.

Who now believes that Blum and Moch or Bevin and Attlee want to avert war? Only those who ignore their black deeds and accept their words can believe them. But the number of such simpletons is steadily decreasing, for it is difficult not to notice how these gentlemen are servilely helping to carry out the American plans to restore German militarism, how they are trying to turn Britain, France and other countries of Western Europe into a base for American aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Moreover, they are preparing for the millions of young people of their country the unenviable lot recently mentioned by Cannon, one of the spokesmen of American imperialism, in the U.S. House of Representatives. This expert on anti-Soviet plans stated with cynical frankness that there would be absolutely no need for the U.S. to send an infantry force to Europe in a future war, as had been the case in the last war. The job of the United States, he said, was to equip the soldiers of other countries and let them march to death in the place of American youth.

There is no doubt about it that certain pseudo-Socialist

Ministers in Britain and France have promised to supply American imperialism with cannon-fodder in its future war for world domination. But it is most unlikely that the youth of these countries will accept the role of the gentle lamb sacrificed on the altar of the American moloch.

All instigators and provocateurs of war are forced in one degree or another to take cover behind the mask of hypocrisy and pacifism. The Right Socialists are doing the same thing. We want war against the Soviet Union? they exclaim, shocked. Oh, no! We only want to act "as the conciliator between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A." This is the claim of Guy Mollet who in the same breath calls for struggle against the Soviet Union. The Labour Party leaders for their part who, together with the Americans both inside and outside the United Nations, systematically reject important Soviet proposals aimed at ensuring world cooperation, swear in their new election programme that the Labour Government will always seek for opportunities to assure the Soviet Government of the great advantages of peaceful cooperation between the Communist and non-Communist world!

Such blatant hypocrisy can only undermine the Labour leaders' influence among the British working class. Dissatisfaction with the anti-Soviet aggressive policy of the Labour Ministers is clearly growing in the ranks of British working-class organisations. This means that also in Britain the prerequisites for uniting the workers into a really broad united front are being created, especially around the struggle to prevent war.

It could not be otherwise. It is a fact that the British working class is not in the least interested in an adventurous imperialist war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. On the contrary, such a war would be a crime against the vital interests of the British working class.

The contemporary situation in the capitalist world is such that in its struggle against reaction, the working class is concentrating more and more on certain essential questions. The struggle is being waged primarily for bread, freedom and democracy, in defence of national independence against the foreign enslavers and to avert the threat of imperialist war. In other words, the masses see the vital problems of the working class more clearly than ever before. The Communist Party slogans are simple and are understood by the broad masses of the working people.

This is one of the important circumstances which makes easier the task of uniting the working-class forces in a united front of struggle for their vital cause. However, one cannot fail to see that many difficulties lie ahead before this decisive task can be accomplished. The class enemies of the working class and their agents will stoop to the foulest means in their attempts to break the unity of the proletariat. But the task can now be tackled on the basis of the rich practical experience of the Communist movement and scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Parties of the bourgeois countries have at their disposal all the pre-conditions for really helping the majority of the working class to see, in a Leninist way, from their own experience the need for a united struggle. If this is tirelessly and patiently explained to members of the Socialist Parties and trade unions, the honest workers will finally turn their backs on their treacherous leaders.

Such work by the Communists will, undoubtedly, make it possible successfully to build up the militant unity of the international working class. And this unity is a weapon incomparably stronger than any atom bomb.

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PRESS REVIEW

ANTI - SOVIET MOUTHPIECE OF THE TITO CLIQUE. (“Borba” Central Organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, January-May 1949)

Alter the Tito group had broken with the Communist Parties and taken the path of nationalism, “Borba”, organ of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, underwent a similar metamorphosis. The Tito renegades turned it into the mouthpiece of their nationalist, Trotskyite, and—in foreign policy—anti-Soviet pro-imperialist propaganda. For some time already the newspaper has been coming out openly against the Communist Parties which had signed or approved the Information Bureau Resolution. It has remained silent about the imperialist camp headed by the U.S. and has launched a campaign of lies and slander against the socialist camp, headed by the U.S.S.R.

As the devil fears holy water, so the “Borba” editorial board is afraid to even mention the slander of the U.S. imperialists against the U.S.S.R., to refer to Wall Street, or to name the instigator, of a new war. Starting with January last, in 105 issues covering a period of four months, the newspaper did not print one single editorial or signed article against Anglo-American imperialism, nor did it once denounce the reactionary policy of U.S. and British ruling circles.

During the first three months of the year when the world camp of peace mobilised all its forces against the North Atlantic Pact, “Borba” kept silent, uttering no word either against the sponsors of this Pact or about the Pact itself. The

statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry (January 29) on this Pact, which was the subject of comment in the world press, appeared very much shortened in "Borba". The editors did not consider it necessary to comment even briefly on Comrade Stalin's replies to Kingsbury Smith though these replies continue to be discussed throughout the world. Only after the socialist camp had justly come out against "Borba" for its long silence on the Atlantic Pact did it print **one solitary article**. This was on March 30, nearly two weeks after the announcement of the Pact. However, even in this article the Pact served as a pretext for insolent attacks against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. As far as the Tito-ites and their paper are concerned there is no such thing as a predatory "Marshall Plan", as colonial enslavement of the countries of Western Europe by the Wall Street imperialists, or as capitalist exploitation in general. The political swindlers on "Borba" maintain a stolid silence on all these questions.

It is useless to look through the columns of "Borba" for material in support of the peace movement now under way in all countries. Outwardly, in relation to the Anglo-American instigators of war, the Tito clique and its organ "Borba", adopting an attitude of "friendly neutrality" and masking with this "neutrality" their orientation on the imperialist camp headed by the United States, are playing the role of mongrels of this camp in its slander campaign against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Unquestionably the working people of Yugoslavia, like the peoples of other countries, are concerned with the fate of peace. But the Tito-ites have muffled the voice of the Yugoslav peoples in the powerful world chorus of the fighters for peace.

One might think that congresses, conferences or meetings of the working people were not held in Yugoslavia. Not at all. The columns of "Borba" are filled with reports about all manner of congresses and meetings.

At not one of these numerous congresses and meetings, which took their cue from the Trotskyites, was anybody allowed to protest against the aggressive foreign policy of the U.S. and British ruling circles.

Even when they are compelled to make a passing reference to the imperialists, in general (as in the May Day call of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party) not a single one of the reports, not a single one of the numerous resolutions published in "Borba" points out that it is precisely the Anglo-American imperialists who are the warmongers. Nor is there any mention of the fact that the Anglo-American imperialists are preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Thus, the few forced general phrases about imperialism and about the danger of war serve as a cover to deceive the people into believing that Tito and his clique are also "anti-imperialist".

Having placed themselves in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists, the Trotskyite, anti-Soviet Tito clique muzzled the mass organisations of the Yugoslav working people at the very time when the peoples of the world were passionately protesting against the Atlantic Pact and were actively preparing for the World Peace Congress in Paris. It was only in April, after the Congress of Intellectuals in Rumania and after the Bulgarian press had drawn attention to this fact that a "preparatory committee" was hastily formed in Belgrade and, in the quiet of administrative offices, three or four telegrams were drafted and sent off to the Paris Congress.

But even these telegram, did not condemn the Anglo-

American warmongers. Indeed, they complained about the Rumanian and Bulgarian criticism of the suspicious silence or the Tito clique ("Borba," April 13). Finally, on April 16 the one and only meeting dedicated to the struggle for peace was held in Belgrade. Here again all the speakers kept quiet about the anti-Soviet aggression being prepared by U.S. ruling circles. But they were vociferous against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, likening them to the imperialist camp. They even went so far as to declare that "the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party and Tito are the guarantee and bulwark of peace throughout the world..." Anyone would think the world revolves around them!

"Borba" calls itself "the organ of the Communist Party." The Tito-ites writing in its columns sometimes like to chatter about their solidarity with the international Communist movement. But they are completely betrayed by the facts which reveal the rabid and actually fascist hatred of the Tito-ites for the Communist movement, and the dirty role they are playing as imperialism's fifth column behind the lines of the democratic, socialist front.

The world Communist movement is today such a powerful force that not a single reactionary, imperialist newspaper can pass it over in silence. But Tito's Trotskyite "Borba" thinks differently. It sounds incredible, but it is a fact that "Borba" carries no news whatsoever about the activities of the foreign Communist Parties. As far as "Borba" is concerned there is no longer any Bolshevik Party with its constructive work and experience, or any Communist Parties in the People's Democracies. These parties, headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) are referred to by "Borba" only in vicious, slanderous articles, "reports" or "protest resolutions", which are churned out like sausages by the Tito-ites who have seized the leadership of the various public

organisations.

For that matter, as far as Tito's followers in "Borba" are concerned, there are no Communist Parties in France and Italy heroically battling each day against the Anglo-American imperialists and internal reaction. The paper did not publish one article or one report in the course of four months showing what these two Communist Parties, the largest in capitalist Europe, are doing or how they are fighting. On the contrary, it never misses an opportunity to hurl abuse at the leaders of these Parties and against the newspapers "L' Humanite" and "L' Unita."

These traitors to the cause of the working class are consistent in their own way: they also keep their people in ignorance about the activities of the Communist Parties which are not members of the Information Bureau. They cannot forgive the Communist Parties for their unreserved support of the Information Bureau Resolution and their statements condemning the renegade Tito clique.

Congresses and plenums of the Central Committees of various Parties have taken place during the past four months. The Communist leaders of France (Thorez, February 23) and Italy (Togliatti, February 27), followed by leaders of all other Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, made statements on behalf of their peoples, statements today known to the whole world, that in the event of aggression against the U.S.S.R. the Communist would support the Soviet Union. "Borba" is keeping this a deep secret from its readers.

By keeping the Yugoslav working people in ignorance about the life and activity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies and giving them a distorted picture, the Tito clique is careful to make sure that any such information should not leak through any other channels. The press has already reported that Yugoslavs have been persecuted

for listening to Moscow, Budapest, Prague, etc. At the beginning of April the Belgrade authorities closed the Soviet photographic exhibition. Even photographs of Soviet factories and collective farms in the Chuisk region strike mortal fear into the hearts of the Soviet "friends" in the Tito clique.

On March 20 "Borba" carried a Tanjug dispatch reporting that the Yugoslav authorities had closed the Polish exhibition in Belgrade. Together with this announcement it ran an article full of malice and insinuation against the Polish Government.

As is known, excellent buildings in Belgrade are occupied by the American, British and French reading rooms and exhibitions. But "Borba" has not once exposed the essence or methods of American and French propaganda in Belgrade.

Why did the Polish exhibition arouse the ire of the Belgrade rulers, and in what way did it "violate" the interests of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia? The answer to this question can be found in the January 12 issue of "Borba". It appears that the Poles exhibited in Belgrade "posters giving the prices of food and other articles of general consumption together with workers' earnings in Poland. This exhibition," continues "Borba", "aroused the interest of passers-by who were inclined to ponder and analyse."

With whom is "Borba" fighting on the international plane if it has long since laid down the weapon of anti-imperialist propaganda?

The contents of the 105 issues of "Borba" are a vicious tirade against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, against the Communist Parties of these countries and their leaders. It suffices to point out that in 105 issues of the paper, 174 leading articles, "reports", long telegrams addressed to

Tito and other material printed, contained abominable insinuations and malicious slander against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Between March 1 and May 1 alone, the paper printed 13 long articles against Albania, 15 articles against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia's eastern neighbour, 8 against Hungary, and so on. As a rule the front page is filled with long tales—Goebbels style—about Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and the other People's Democracies. The editorial board is spending all its energy on slandering these countries and the Soviet Union.

Like a parrot, Tito propaganda keeps repeating the ridiculous allegation that the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies are waging a campaign against the peoples of Yugoslavia. Incidentally, "Borba" withheld from its readers the replies of the Ministries of foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and the other countries taking part in the Council of Economic Mutual Aid, to the note of the Yugoslav Government. The reason for this trickery is clear: in its note the Soviet Foreign Ministry stated that the allegation about a campaign against Yugoslavia is utterly false and aimed at misleading the Yugoslav people. "Borba's" lie is undoubtedly an indication of the Tito clique's cowardice, their fear of the working people and of the majority of the Party membership. This falsehood is aimed at deceiving the Yugoslav people and is being used to justify the anti-Soviet line of the Tito clique. The prestige of the U.S.S.R. and of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and the Yugoslav people's love for the Soviet people represent an impenetrable barrier to the Tito clique's intrigues to turn Yugoslavia into a Marshall country. It is this prestige of the Soviet Union that the Djilas propaganda apparatus, headed by "Borba" are up in arms against. In a speech to the Second Congress of the Serbian Communist Party, Moshe Pijade, jester in the Tito menagerie, raised his voice against the international

prestige of the U.S.S.R., the Bolshevik Party and its leaders, and even threatened to “undermine” this prestige among the Yugoslav peoples (“Borba”, January 22). The prestige of the Soviet people and its glorious Party will not, naturally, be affected by the slander of all kinds of Trotskyites and agents of imperialism, who, well aware of this, are setting up a howl.

Such a howl was set up, for instance, by “Borba” on March 31. In an article entitled “Truths Beyond Doubt” a certain Peshic, polemising with the journal “For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy!” alleged a “number of hostile acts on the part of the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies against Yugoslavia, her peoples, their struggle, efforts, history and culture.” At a meeting of People’s Front work brigades in Belgrade on April 3, the pygmy Pijade hurled such abuse and threats against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies that “Borba” dared not publish his speech in full.

The Yalchins in the Tito clique use every pretext, from the resolution of the Third Congress of the People’s Front to the May Day call of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, for vicious slander against the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies. They try in every way to deceive and mislead the peoples of Yugoslavia by distorting facts and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The issues of “Borba” under review are an indictment of the nationalist Trotskyite anti-Soviet Tito clique. Their contents conclusively prove that the renegades who issue this newspaper have long since left the democratic camp, have given up the struggle against the camp of imperialism and reaction and have turned “Borba” into a miserable Trotskyite sheet. The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist contents of this rag in no way differ from any reactionary paper subsidised by American dollars.

After staging their Party congress in Belgrade last summer, the Tito-ites removed the slogan “Death to fascism,

freedom to the people” from the pages of “Borba”, seeing that this slogan obviously does not correspond to their new political course. But they have committed a new sacrilege by using the slogan “Workers of all lands, unite!” on their yellow sheet. All these facts, the contents and the political line of “Borba”, show that the Tito-ites have completely betrayed this glorious motto.

D. Shevlyagin

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BASE PROVOCATEURS

The Yugoslav nationalists try to cover up their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism with loud phrases about “the further development of Marxism.”

They are anxious to give a Marxist flavour to their crimes against the Yugoslav people and the international working class.

But one may be sure that, as time goes by, they will abandon even the outward semblance of Marxism since Marxism not being to the taste of the White House, even lip service to it would hinder the Tito-ites from making the grade.

The true value of their “Marxism” can be seen from “Borba’s” recent comment on the events in China. On May 1, “Borba” wrote that the Tito-ites “more than all others could send heartfelt greetings to the Chinese people.” because “the heroes of the Long March are closer to us than to anybody else; did we not travel the same path, repulse similar offensives and undertake similar marches?”

What is behind this nonsense?

Nothing more nor less than a crude attempt to sow discord between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Parties and working class throughout the world. This is a crafty manoeuvre of these Trotskyites designed to glorify the treacherous Tito clique which has broken with the Communist Parties of the world. Here we are, they say, brave fellows who “independently” have betaken ourselves to the anti-Soviet camp.

Today the Yugoslav agents of Anglo-American imperialism stick at nothing, slandering the Communists and proletarians all over the world and calling upon other parties to follow their miserable example.

But, stronger now than ever before, no provocations of the

Yugoslav Trotskyites will be able to weaken the Communist camp.

These provocations are further confirmation of the moral degeneration and political disintegration which have overtaken the Tito clique.

Jan Marek

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SUCCESSSES OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN CHINA

In China the People's Liberation Army is continuing offensive operations, eliminating the Kuomintang troops and liberating more towns and territories. According to the Sinhua Agency, another four towns, located along the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway, have been taken, The Kuomintang regime is incapable of holding back the powerful offensive of the People's Liberation Army which is supported by guerrillas and the entire population,

The Agency also reported that in the course of the fighting for the last of the isolated towns in North China, the People's Liberation Army destroyed over 120,000 Kuomintang troops. In North China the completely liberated territory has a population of over 58 million and includes eight regions and provinces, 303 district centres and four large cities, including Peiping and Taiyuan. North China is rich in mineral resources and has fertile soil. Land reform has been carried out in most of the regions.

Under the new democratic administrative organs, actively supported by the working people, life is returning to normal, and the damage caused by the retreating Kuomintang troops made good. The Military Control Committee of the People's Liberation Army in Nanking is taking over the property and affairs of the former Kuomintang institutions and enterprises. The Central Chinese Bank, the Transport Bank, the Peasant Bank, the Central Trust and the Central Cooperative Society, together with former Kuomintang railroad and shipping administrations, post and telegraph services, are being taken over.

This work is proceeding smoothly and successfully thanks

to active assistance on the part of the people, particularly the workers. Most of the officials of the Kuomintang Government offices in Nanking preserved the documents and property and handed these over to the People's liberation Army .

In Chinkiang the municipal authority started work immediately after the liberation. The power station, water-supply system and other communal enterprises worked without interruption. Rail communication between Chinkiang and Nanking has been restored. The ferry on the Yangtse is functioning. In Woosung, an industrial town 75 miles West from Shanghai, all four textile mills and most of the 300 industrial enterprises and shops resumed operations shortly after the town had been liberated, The workers who heroically saved the factories from the sabotage activities of Kuomintang agents, returned to work immediately after the expulsion of the Kuomintang troops.

In Hangchow with its population of 500,000 the major enterprises and shops were back to normal six days after the liberation, . The city's power system, water supply and telephone communications are functioning. Buses are running between Hangchow and the near-by towns.

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REORGANISATION OF RUMANIAN COOPERATIVES

The March Plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Part considered the reorganisation of cooperatives in the countryside to be one of the immediate tasks of the Party.

The Party will encourage peasants desirous of forming consumer, marketing, handicraft or agriculture producer cooperatives.

Central and regional commissions have been set up to guide the reorganisation of cooperatives. One of the tasks of the regional commissions is to guard against the penetration of kulaks and other hostile elements into real cooperatives. They will also guide elections to new leading organs of village regional cooperatives.

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NEW NEWSPAPER “FOR A SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA”

The first number of the newspaper “For a Socialist Yugoslavia” has appeared. It is published in Moscow in Serbian by Yugoslav Communist political emigrants now in the Soviet Union.

The first issue carries a report on a meeting of Yugoslav Communist political emigrants in the Soviet Union held in Moscow early in April at which it was unanimously decided to publish the newspaper.

The resolution passed by, this meeting, exposures of the Tito clique’s nationalist policy, letters and reports from Yugoslavia and articles on Soviet life are also published in the paper.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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Printed and Published in Rumania, Journal “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’, Democracy.” appears on the 1st and 15th of every month, Address of Editorial Office and of Publishing House: Bucharest. Valeriu Braniste, 56, Tel. 5.10.59