

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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FIGHT FOR PEACE—THE CAUSE OF ALL PEOPLES

The events of the past twenty months have completely confirmed the correctness of the analysis of the post-war international situation given in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties in September 1947.

The demarcation line between the two opposing camps of imperialists and democrats has become more clearly defined in this period. The struggle of the two trends in world politics corresponding to these two camps is being waged on an ever wider scale. In the course of the struggle the imperialist camp is declining, steadily, while the democratic camp is growing stronger.

The consolidation of the democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union, and the consistent peace-loving policy of the forces represented by this powerful camp are enraging the Anglo-American imperialists, the latest pretenders to world domination. Powerless to prevent the growth and strengthening of the Soviet Union—country of victorious Socialism, bulwark of peace and security of peoples—and unable to prevent the advance of the people's democracies and the movement for freedom of the peoples in the capitalist countries, the Anglo-American imperialists hope to maintain and impose their domination by armed force.

This constitutes the real danger of a new war—the desire of the imperialists to hurl mankind into incredible horrors and sufferings. Today the policy of aggressive Anglo-American circles is undermining the foundations of peace and threatening the security of peoples.

Attacks on Uno, the armaments race, the attempt to build up German and Japanese war potential, the establishment of

military blocs such as the Western Union and the North Atlantic Pact, the armed suppression of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Greece, Indonesia, Spain and Vietnam, interference in the internal affairs of China, the crusade against Communists—all this is the one link in the chain revealing the imperialists' attempts to kindle the flames of a new world war.

But the peoples do not want war. They want peace. They have not forgotten the horrors of World War Two unloosed by the Hitlerite invaders. They do not want to be hurled in to a new slaughter for the purpose of boosting the profits a handful of veracious Anglo-American imperialist magnates.

The World Peace Congress held in Paris and Prague on April 20-25 was the peoples' strongest protest against war. Speaking in the name of 600,000,000 supporters of peace, the congress expressed resolute determination to fight for peace **with all means.**

Congress also expressed its confidence that peace can be defended if the broad masses of the people, regardless of political view, religious beliefs or party affiliation really tackle this job.

Peace cannot be defended by the people of one country alone. The defence of peace concerns the peoples of the world. This is clearly recognised today by millions of ordinary people who thirst for peace and have a horror of war. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world are honest and sincere supporters of peace.

In delegates' speeches and in Congress resolutions, it was stressed that it is the task of all true peace supporters to develop the peace movement on an even wider scale than before.

The struggle for peace is not a short-term campaign. It is a question of daily, systematic and determined work which must be carried on by the progressive forces in all countries. This struggle calls for the increasing exposure of all the instigators

of a new war and their accomplices, the Right Socialists, who are disrupting the unity of the working people and betraying their interests. The press, cinema, radio and other means of propaganda used by the bourgeoisie to slander the Soviet Union and the democratic camp, represent a powerful force in the hands of the instigators of a new war. In the interests of peace a daily struggle must be waged against this aggressive, provocative propaganda which is aimed at weakening the ranks of the supporters of peace.

On behalf of the peoples of 72 countries, Congress pointed out that the people are no longer passive, but now intend to, expose daily the false propaganda conducted by the reactionary press and radio, to combat aggressive blocs and military-political unions which are attacking the foundations of the United Nations, to oppose the armaments race, the atom bomb and other means of mass extermination and to fight against the swollen war budgets.

The peace-loving peoples, are insistently demanding that foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territories of other countries. The peace movement is gaining momentum among the civil population and will spread to the personnel of armies, navies and air, forces of the capitalist countries.

The policy of plundering the working people widely practised by the Anglo-American imperialists in their own countries and in the colonies and semi-colonies, is aimed at providing a material base for a new aggressive war. It is impossible to fight for peace successfully in the countries where capitalists are in power without at the same time fighting for the economic demands of the broad mass of the people, without combating capitalism's offensive on the working people's living standards and political rights. That is why, as the Congress Manifesto stressed, the struggle for peace is linked with the people's struggle for human rights, for democratic liberties and for national independence. The British

people, for instance cannot fail to remember what their representative, John Platts-Mills declared from the Congress platform. He said that the policy of the present ruler of Britain, is placing the country under the yoke of American overlords and is bringing shame and dishonour on Britain.

The powerful voice of humanism heard in the Congress speeches is being re-echoed by all true friends of peace. In Italy the Youth Alliance has decided to hold a "peace week". This measure is being supported by broad sections of the Italian youth. The British Cultural Committee for Peace held big meetings in London, the International Students' Union called on the students of the world actively to join the struggle for peace.

The Peace Congress outlined concrete measures which will enable the peoples to wage the struggle for peace with success. A permanent committee with a permanent bureau was formed, composed of representatives of various organisations from the different countries.

A journal will be published in Paris in several languages to carry on propaganda against the warmongers and for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The Congress recommended that all democratic and progressive organisations desirous of taking an active part in the struggle for peace should carry out a wide campaign to explain the significance of the Congress. The Congress Resolution also urged that national and district peace conference and meetings should be held, peace funds collected, and so on.

Extensive work has already been started in a number of countries to carry out the Congress decisions.

Mass meetings have been held in Italy, Rumania, France, and many other countries, at which Congress delegates gave reports. National peace committees have already been formed in several countries and peace committees established in towns

and villages, factories, universities and public organisations. All this is giving the peace movement a greater mass character and widening its influence. The peace movement which affects the vital interests of the people of the world, will extend still further.

In addition to the organisations and public figures who have already joined the active struggle for peace, this movement will continue to spread to new sections of society—teachers, writers, artists, peasants, women, youth representatives of the clergy, and who have not yet joined this great army of fighters for peace but whose path merges with the path of sincere fighters for peace.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are in the vanguard of the struggle for peace. They welcome close cooperation with members of other political parties who share the desire of the peoples for peace.

The Communist Parties clearly realise that the struggle for peace today is the principal task of the democratic camp of the world progressive forces. That is why the Communists of all countries constitute the advanced and organised detachment in the great army of fighters for peace.

The democratic camp which is fighting for peace, for the freedom and national independence of peoples, is stronger and more powerful than the camp of imperialism and reaction. There is a vast gulf between the desire of the imperialists to unleash a new war and the possibility of organising such a war. If the forces standing for peace are well-organised and consolidated, the cause of peace and the security of peoples will emerge victorious.

OPEN LETTER OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

The Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany has again addressed an open letter to members of the German Social Democratic Party.

The letter denounces Schumacher and his followers as the people responsible for the split in the German working class movement and for making preparations “to lead the working class and the German people once again into the hell of fascism and national catastrophe.

The letter suggests that in their party organisations all members of the Social Democratic Party should discuss ways of reaching democratic unity in Germany and winning victory over reaction.

The letter declares: “Nothing will prevent the Communists from continuing to attempt to reach agreement with their Social Democratic brothers”.

THIRD GERMAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

The Third People's Congress was held in Berlin on May 29-30 and was attended by delegates from all the occupation zones.

The main reports were delivered by Nuschke (Christian Democratic Union) and Kastner (Liberal Democratic Party). Max Reimann was unable to address the Congress since he had been re-arrested on orders of the British military administration. The speakers demanded that Germany's sovereignty and unity be restored and peace treaty signed.

Congress approved the Constitution for a Democratic German Republic on the basis of the report delivered by Otto Grotewohl; Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The Congress elected a delegation to the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers. New representatives were also elected to the People's Council.

DIMITROV PRIZES INTRODUCED IN BULGARIA

The Presidium of the People's Assembly of Bulgaria has decided to award Dimitrov prizes for outstanding achievements in science, art, literature and for outstanding inventions and rationalisation suggestions.

These prizes will be awarded annually by a special commission of the Council of Ministers. There are three prizes, the first of 400,000 leva, second of 200,000 leva and third 100,000 leva. Those awarded prizes will receive the title "Dimitrov Prize-winner" and a special badge and certificate.

ITALIAN AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' STRIKE

Agricultural workers in the Po Valley came out on strike on May 18. The strikers wanted a new collective agreement guaranteeing an eight-hour working day, higher family allowances and unemployment relief.

A few days later, this strike of agricultural workers in Northern Italy was joined by day-labourers in Central and Southern Italy. Over a million working people in the countryside took up this fight for better living conditions.

In spite of police persecution and the strike breaking activity of the Christian Democratic trade union leaders, the strike is continuing in all provinces. Incidents provoked by the police are reported from Bologna and Milan provinces.

SHARPENING ECONOMIC CRISIS IN FRANCE

The sharpening economic crisis in France is having a particularly great effect on consumer goods. Clothes, footwear, furniture and food are becoming scarcer every day.

This is largely due to the fact that because of Marshallisation, many industrial enterprises have been forced either to cut production to the minimum or to close down completely.

In the clothing industry 350 out of 1,200 wholesale trade enterprises have closed down.

Boot and shoe workers are now putting in only 50,000 hours a week instead of 125,000 hours in 1948. In the food industry the turnover is only 25-30 per cent of what is used to be. Due to production cuts the manufacturers are throwing workers out on the street.

THE DANUBE—BLACK SEA CANAL

The Political Bureau of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Rumania have decided to build a canal from the Danube to the Black Sea.

This great construction-work will bring new life to the drought-stricken regions, turning them into flourishing areas with new railways, roads, towns and villages, modern houses, schools, cultural institutions and hospitals.

Factories to utilise local resources will be built on the reclaimed land. It will become possible to develop agriculture on the basis of irrigation and modern technique. The Danube-Black Sea Canal will also provide a cheaper and shorter water way to the Black Sea, which is particularly important for the further development of economic links with the Soviet Union and the People's democracies.

BUDGET OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC

The third session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic held in Moscow discussed the 1949 budget of the R.S.F.S.R. and the report on the fulfilment of the 1947-48 budget.

The Minister of Finance, A. M. Safronov, gave a number of examples showing the successful development of the Republic economy in the post-war Stalin Five-Year Plan. In 1948, production exceeded the 1940 level by 19 per cent in the countryside the working people extended the sown area, raised the crop yield and developed cattle breeding. The advance in industry and agriculture is accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the well-being of the Soviet people. Close on 28 million square metres of housing space have been repaired or built in towns and factory settlements of the R.S.F.S.R. during the first three years of the Five-Year Plan: 407,000 houses have been repaired or built for collective farmers of districts which had been occupied by the German fascists.

The successful development of socialist economy and the improvement in the well-being of the people guarantee the steady growth of the R.S.F.S.R.'s state budget.

The Republic's budget income increased by 2,384 million rubles between 1947 and 1948. The 1948 budget showed a 443 million ruble increase of income over expenditure. Budget allocations for industry, agriculture, timber and housing construction totalled 9,765 million rubles, that is, 53 million rubles more than in 1947, while 33,478 million rubles were spent on public education, public health, social welfare and social insurance.

The 1949 budget envisages even bigger appropriations for the development of the national economy and social-cultural

measures. It is planned to invest 9,635 million rubles in the national economy, including 4,014 million rubles in municipal services and housing construction and 2,928 million rubles in agriculture and in the timber industry. Seventy-one per cent of the budget expenditure, that is, 36,625 million rubles, is being allocated for social and cultural measures.

The session unanimously approved the 1949 budget of the R.S.F.S.R., successful fulfilment of which will be another step forward for the Soviet people on the road to Communism.

LEFT-WING VICTORY AT ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

The recent Twenty-Eighth Congress of the Italian Socialist Party was marked by a tense struggle which resulted in a decisive victory for the Left-wing.

The Congress warmly greeted Comrade Togliatti who brought greetings from the Italian Communist Party.

The Left wing won an absolute majority of 220,600 votes against 168,000 cast for the resolution of the centre grouping and 41,000 for that of the Right (lead by Romita). Although it can become obvious during the conferences of the provincial federations that the National Congress would take this line, nevertheless the Congress discussion was very significant both from the point of view of the immediate and future orientation of the Italian Socialist Party and from the point of view of the comments that this stand of the Italian Socialists will take in the country and throughout the world.

The Committee for International Socialist Conferences (COMISCO) demanded that the Congress break with unity of action with the Communists. The delegates, including Nenni, Luzzatio, Basso, condemned the splitting activities of the Right Socialists.

Other delegates spoke about the need to strengthen trade union unity, and sharply criticised the opportunist and treacherous line of some trade union leaders, stressing that comrades working in the unions should observe Party discipline. Congress took this criticism into consideration, and one of the first measures taken by the leadership was to remove two deputy secretaries of the General Confederation of Labour, who were members of the Romita group.

Nenni's speech was greeted with enthusiasm. Stressing his confidence in the vitality of the Italian Socialist Party Nenni

said: “The question is not the problem of the relations between the Socialist and the Communist Parties of Italy but rather of the choice of political line; whether to support international imperialism (in fact the policy of COMISCO) or to support the policy of the Italian Communist Party, that is, the policy of struggle against the Atlantic Pact and imperialism. The most serious mistake of the centrists is their supposition that in the present situation there can be three political lines. Actually, there are only two possible lines.”

During the election of the Central Committee the left-wing won 41 seats, the centre 31, the Right only 8.

The new Party leadership includes Nenni, Basso, Luzzatto, Buschi, Cacciatore, Lizzardi, Pertini. Comrade Nenni was elected General Secretary.

NINTH CONGRESS OF CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held in Prague from May 25-29 was attended by 2,068 delegates representing 2,311,000 members and candidate members and by over 1,500 guests.

Among the guests were representatives of the fraternal parties, including a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union composed of Comrades Malenkov, Suslov and Yudin, a delegation from the Italian Communist Party led by Comrade Togliatti, from the Communist Party of France, led by Comrade André Marty, and from the Communist Parties of China; Poland, Britain, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and other countries.

Congress warmly greeted Comrade Togliatti who declared that the working class and the working people of Italy would not allow their country to be hurled into an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Amidst a storm of applause, Comrade Malenkov read the following message of greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU(B):

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and wishes it every success in its work.

“The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has merited recognition as the leading force in building the people's democratic State.

“After the defeat of fascism and the elimination of the age-old threat to the Slavic peoples by German enslavers, the Czech and Slovak peoples, under the leadership of the

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, brought about a historical turning point in the life of their country and are successfully building their people's democratic State, are developing their economy and culture in a new way, laying the political and economic foundations for Socialism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wishes the peoples of Czechoslovakia and their vanguard, the Communist Party, new successes in the struggle to consolidate the people's democratic system and the country's independence, to further develop the national economy and national culture, to cement friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance among the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, for peace and security against the machinations of the imperialists.

“The Central Committee of the CPSU(B) is confident that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory and true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, strengthening and consolidating its ranks, will carry out with honour the great tasks of building a socialist society.

“May free and independent people's democratic Czechoslovakia grow stronger and flourish!

“Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—the vanguard of the working class!

“Long live the inviolable alliance and friendship of the people's of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union!

“Long live the unity of the working people of all countries who are battling for peace and democracy!

Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union”

Comrade Chen Tsung-sui for the Communist Party of China read a telegram of greetings from Mao Tse-tung wishing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia new successes in

building Socialism. Noting the successes of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the speaker said that Mao Tse-tung is educating Party members and the Chinese people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and continually stressed the fact that the revolution cannot be victorious in China without the help of the Communist Parties and the international proletariat, without the existence of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe.

"The Chinese Communists," continued Chen Tsung-sui "declare themselves resolutely against bourgeois nationalism and strongly condemn the Tito clique which has become the mouthpiece and the tool of the Anglo-American, imperialists who are using them in their attempts to split the unity of the proletariat. However, never before have the Communist Parties and the proletariat of the world been as united as they are today. All these intrigues are doomed to failure."

Delegates closely followed the speech of Comrade Zambrowski, Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party, who called for the consolidation of proletarian internationalism, for strengthening the alliance and friendship of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the mighty Soviet Union.

The Congress agenda covered the following points:

1. Report on the activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the tasks of the Party—Report by Comrade Gottwald. (Abridged report, p. 2).

2. The Party's constructive and organisational work—Report by Comrade Slansky, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

3. The Five-Year Plan and its fulfilment—Report by Comrade Zapotocky.

4. Industrialisation of Slovakia—Report by Comrade Siroky.

5. Marxist-Leninist Education—Report by Comrade

Kopecky.

6. Change of Rules—Report by Comrade Svermova.

7. Elections of leading Party bodies.

In his report, Comrade Slansky pointed out that the results of the Party's policy and activity since the Eighth Congress showed the big achievements of the working class and the working people of Czechoslovakia. Summarising the successes of the Two-Year Plan, he showed how Party organisation were mastering new methods of work in the economic field.

The Party's essential task today, he went on, was to develop socialist emulation and shock-brigade work still further for on this depended increased productivity of labour. It was the duty of every Communist in industry to be a shock-worker, fighting to improve the quality of production, to economise raw materials and to introduce sound business methods.

The Party general policy in the countryside, said Comrade Slansky, was to establish still closer cooperation with the small and medium peasant, to raise the level of their economies through cooperative mutual assistance and to wrest them from the influence of the kulaks. The Communists in the countryside should support cooperation with honest representatives of other parties and non-party organisations, carry out the policy of the National Front consistently and on a wide scale and support all forms of peasant cooperative organisations so that the unified agricultural cooperatives would be able to develop.

In conclusion Comrade Slansky discussed the question of improving the Party's organisational work and raising the vigilance of the membership. The mass character of the Party, he said, faced it with the important task of raising the ideological and political level of its membership, of constantly verifying its ranks and purging them of alien and hostile elements, of developing inner Party democracy and Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

Comrade Kopecky's report concerned the task of educating the membership in Marxism-Leninism and stressed the importance of combating bourgeois nationalism in Czechoslovakia. The treachery of the trotskyite Tito clique, he declared was a warning, indicating where a nationalist position led.

“Our Party sets itself the object of re-educating the people in the spirit of Socialism, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism”, he said.

Addressing the closing session, Comrade Malenkov thanked the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the warm reception given to the delegations from the fraternal parties.

“Dear Comrades,” said Comrade Malenkov, “We were given a warm and friendly reception during our visit here for the Congress. I think I shall be expressing the wishes of all delegations from the fraternal Parties attending the Congress if I convey to you our sincere gratitude. The day before yesterday in Prague's historical Old Town Square we all witnessed an unforgettably moving demonstration of the international solidarity of peace-loving peoples, a demonstration which filled with joy the hearts of all honest people. Friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples than which there is nothing more precious—that is what I want to convey to you, the most worthy representatives of the Czechoslovak people. May this friendship grow stronger, flourish and be eternal.

Long live the free, independent, democratic Czechoslovak Republic!

“Glory to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia” Comrade Malenkov wished the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Party, Klement Gottwald, every success in their work.

The Congress approved the report of the Central Committee and its political line and obliged the Party organisations to be guided in their work by the Congress

reports. The Congress amended the Party Rules. It elected a new Central Committee of 129 members and an Auditing Commission of 19 members. The delegates enthusiastically and unanimously re-elected Comrade Klement Gottwald Chairman of the Party and Comrade Rudolf Slansky General Secretary.

Closing the Congress, Comrade Fierlinger called on the delegates and the whole of the Party to intensify their work of building Socialism.

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia demonstrated the Party's unity and consolidation, its profound understanding of the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the boundless love and devotion of the working people of Czechoslovakia for the CPSU(B), the Soviet Union and the great Stalin. The reports and speeches were time and again interrupted by enthusiastic ovations in honour of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union and Comrade Gottwald.

BUILDING SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Speech of Comrade GOTTWALD, delivered at Ninth Congress, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*

In his opening remarks, Comrade Gottwald dwelt in detail on the Party's policy during the past three years.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said Gottwald, took place in March 1946. This was the first Party Congress after the victorious war against Hitlerism and after the liberation of the Republic, from Nazi occupation. It was the first Congress at which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia spoke as the leading Government Party.

The Eight Congress unanimously approved the policy of the Party in its fight against Munich and against the Nazi occupation. It approved the policy of the Party during the period of building up the liberated Republic. It especially stressed the firm determination of the Party to go forward along the path to Socialism.

The Fight to Strengthen the People's Power

Comrade Gottwald spoke of the plans of reaction after the liberation, and of its attempts to take advantage of the difficulties arising from economic rehabilitation in its struggle

* *Abridged.*

against the Party and the People's Democratic system.

It was necessary, he said, to consolidate our new People's Democratic order economically and politically and to unmask and isolate reaction. It was necessary to wrest all honest people from the influence of reaction and to unite them in the camp of the builders of the Republic.

From this point of view we can divide the entire course of events into two main stages: the first stage from the Eighth Congress of the Party and the election to the National Assembly in 1946 until February, 1948. The second stage, from February, 1948, up to the present.

During the first stage we concentrated our efforts on the preparation and carrying put of the Two-Year economic Plan. In 1947, the severe drought and consequent bad harvest complicated the problems arising from the Two-Year Plan and gave us additional worries concerning the matter of supplying the population. The reconstruction programme of the Government contained, among others, the demand for a new People's Democratic Constitution, the revision of the first land reform, the organisation and consolidation of the nationalised finance and heavy industry, as well as a number of far-reaching social and political measures. It was necessary to consolidate relations between the Czechs and Slovaks, to liquidate the remnants of the old bureaucratic police system, to strengthen and perfect the National Committees and with their help to mobilise the broad masses of the people for active participation in the management of State affairs. In foreign policy it was essential, by means of strengthening our alliance with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, to provide for the internal as well as the national security of the Republic, so that our people could build up their liberated country in peace and without fear of a new Munich.

This constructive programme had to be carried out step by step and this meant a constant struggle not only with objective

difficulties, but also with those ill-meaning elements which still formed part of the National Front. It was necessary to rout the Right traitors in the Social Democratic Party.

Reaction's subversive policy banked on utilising the difficulties caused by the drought and crop failure and the ensuing difficulties in the food situation.

In this respect, there were, then, two sources from which to draw. In the first place home resources, that is, the handing over everything the countryside could spare to feed the urban population. Second, help from outside in the form of imported food-stuffs, especially grain and fodder. In these circumstances the far-sightedness of our Two-Year Plan policy became fully apparent. We stocked various industrial goods so as to be able to pay with them in year of hardship for the import of food-stuffs. We did not ask for charity. And how did the Western countries take refuge behind a barrier of wartime export restrictions and refused us both grain and fodder, although we were prepared to pay in advance in gold and dollars. Allied with home reaction, the West sought to starve us.

In contradistinction to this policy, the Soviet Union although herself affected by drought, sold us on favourable terms—both as regards price, payment and delivery—quantities of grain and fodder which enabled us to overcome the difficult food crisis of 1947-48. And despite this the reactionaries never missed a single opportunity to poison our relation with the Soviet Union.

Hunger, literally the hunger of our people, was the trump-card in the plans of reaction. History teaches us that reaction always resorts to hunger and chaos as the main weapons with which to achieve its evil aims. How can we explain this?

This can be explained by the fact that reaction, whether removed from power or in the process of losing power, seeks to prove to the wide masses of the people that the progressive elements are incapable of managing the or of administering

public affairs in general. This would mean that there is only one solution left: to submit again to reaction. There have been many instances of this in history. It is understandable, therefore, that, reaction banked on achieving success. But these gentlemen miscalculated.

February Events and Advance Along the Road to Socialism

Comrade Gottwald went on to describe how in February 1948 home and foreign reaction sought to secure a fundamental change in the relationship of forces in the Czechoslovak Republic. Reaction tried to restore its undivided sway, and also to restore capitalism. But the reactionaries were routed by the working class and by all the working people who fought under the leadership of the Communist Party.

After February, Gottwald continued, the reactionaries were not long in showing their true face. Their leaders who belted and joined their foreign paymasters are now engaged in vile counter-revolutionary actions and subversive activity against the Republic. They make no pretence of concealing their aims. Their object is not only to restore capitalism, but at the same time to instigate war against the Republic, to forego national liberty and independence—in other words, they want a new Munich and a new occupation. To put it briefly, the bourgeoisie, striving to regain power, is capable of the basest treason, and is ready to betray everything near and dear to the people.

The February events exercised on our public life the effect of a refreshing thunderstorm. Only after February could the Government Programme be carried out fully, especially the big job of putting into effect national insurance, revising the first land reform, and adopting a new, really democratic

Constitution. February also made possible the carrying out in good time of the second stage of nationalisation which has substantially extended the economic and political basis of the People's Democratic regime. February brought the peasants a new land reform which gave hundreds of thousands of acres to the small and middle peasants and practically eliminated the class of big landowners. Only after February could all our far-reaching demands be fulfilled quickly and consistently. Those were the demands which the memorable February Congress of Works Councils and Peasant Committees had adopted. The people in town and country clearly saw for themselves, on the basis of this concrete example, how the Communist Party honours its promises and pledges and how a real, regenerated National Front should work. That is why the candidates of the regenerated National Front, guided by the Communist Party, achieved such a decisive victory in the 1948 elections to the National Assembly, which were held according to schedule. The February victory of the people was confirmed and solemnly consolidated by the May elections. After the resignation of the late President, a fundamental change also took place in this constitutional office, a change which signified a further consolidation of the February victory and a further guarantee that everything would proceed in the spirit of the February slogan: "Forward—not a single step back! Forward to Socialism!"

The fifteen months since February 1948, represent a period of difficult but fruitful and joyful work.

We broadened and strengthened the economic and political basis of our People's Democratic order. The public, socialist sector of our national economy was likewise extended and strengthened. Whereas at the time of the Eighth Congress of the Party, only 62 per cent of industrial production—besides banks and insurance companies—was nationalised, certain branches of economy being unaffected by nationalisation,

today we have, besides nationalised banking and finance, nationalised foreign and domestic wholesale trade. The public sector accounts for a considerable part retail trade, while 92 per cent of industry has been nationalised.

After February it became possible to organise the nationalised sector of our economic life far more efficiently and economically, and it is working much better now than it was two years ago. Our people—workers, technicians and engineers—are learning much better how to administer more efficiently enterprises put under their care. The public socialist sector of our economic life plays an ever increasing role and forms a solid basis for our People's Democratic order.

The past period has been marked by a progressing economic consolidation and gradual increase of production and a consumption. The Two-Year Plan in industry (the food industry excepted) was fulfilled by 101.3 per cent, transport by over 100 per cent, the food industry by 86.9 per cent, the building industry 62.7 per cent and agriculture by 80.6 per cent. The low percentage in agricultural production and in the output of the food industry is due to the consequences of the drought and crop failure of 1947, the effects of which are being felt to this day. Sabotage by reactionary elements has played quite a significant role in these sectors. The fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan is developing successfully. It has been fulfilled in industry (except the food industry) during the first four months, by 102.3 per cent. Foreign trade was balanced last year, although we had to import exceptionally large quantities of food-stuffs. This year the foreign trade balance is somewhat more favourable. The Budget has been balanced and the results of the first month show that the balance is not just delicious. We have succeeded in improving the supply of rationed textiles and footwear and in introducing a partially free market for various consumer goods, including food. We shall try, as far as possible, to extend the free market and to lower prices.

The far-reaching measure taken during the past period and which were crowned by the great achievement of National Insurance, secure normal conditions of life for our people. There are neither unemployed nor beggars among us.

After February we can also observe growing political consolidation. The unification of the working class on the basis of Marxism-Leninism that was achieved by the fusion of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Are of historical significance. Only by this unity did the working class secure its leading role in the State. The regenerated National Front has proved entirely successful. The fact that not only political parties but also powerfully mass organisations are today unified, gives it a broader basis and more solid support than it has ever before enjoyed.

A great amount of work has been achieved in the field of the democratisation and improvement of public administration. We have introduced the system of Regional National Committees, we are extending the network of District National Committees, and we are gradually transferring more and more citizens to take part in public administration through the intermediary of the National Committees, so that public administration becomes closely linked with the people. Much has been done also to place the armed forces in reliable hands, in the hands of persons loyal to the people and to the People's Democratic order, so that they can never again be misused against the people and against the nation.

We are experiencing a great cultural development. Today the masters of culture, science and art realise more and more that their place is on the side of the people, that their place is on the side of the people, that their work will only be good if it is the work of the people and for the people. And the people know how to be grateful to the masters of culture, science and art. For example, never before has so much been read in our country. Editions of belles lettres and scientific literature have

never been so big as they are now. Our intelligentsia is receiving a new re-inforcement from the ranks of young workers and peasants. Never before have there been so many schools and courses, in which gifted young people from the ranks of the working class study and receive an education.

Finally, the foreign political position of Czechoslovakia was consolidated as a result of the February events. February put an end to the double-dealing, insincere policy of reaction toward our great ally, the Soviet Union. Between our Republic and the Soviet Union there is now an honest and sincere relationship which is the basic condition of our security. Our security is further strengthened by treaties of alliance with the People's Democracies, and in strengthening our People's Democratic system we can look ahead with confidence to the future. Munich will not be repeated in our country.

Our Vital Tasks

When we ask ourselves how the Party and its leadership have carried out the general instruction of the Eighth Congress, we can say, in my opinion, that they have executed it successfully. We have extended and strengthened in our State the power of the working people led by the working class. We have secured the gains of the people both at home and abroad, we have strengthened our people's democratic order, and have set out on the road toward the next goal, the road to Socialism.

Referring to matters connected with Czechoslovakia's advance toward Socialism. Comrade Gottwald outlined the main task of the Party and the State. There are ten points:

1. In all sections of our national economy we must work to fulfil the Five-Year Economic Plan, not only with regard to quantity but also to quality. The campaign of the "Gifts for the Republic", undertaken in honour of today's Congress of the

Party showed among other things the numerous latent reserves still hidden in our economy. The thing is now to find these reserves and to mobilise them, to make our nationalised industry produce more, better and cheaper goods than the capitalists ever did, to make our nationalised building industry build more quickly in greater quantity and at less cost than private enterprise ever did, to make our nationalised transport work in a better and more reliable way than private transport. The thing is to make our nationalised finance work in a more expedient way than it worked in the times of private banking, to make our nationalised trade transact its business in a better and more honest way than private trade. We must repeat these truths to our working population again and again and organise all their creative power in order to fulfil these tasks. We cannot afford to take things easy, not even for a little while. We shall continue patiently and tenaciously to explain to all working people that to retain power and to prevent the return of capitalist rule means, above all, that we must work better than the capitalists. Only an ignorant and irresponsible person can talk about the path to Socialism and forget this truth.

We, Communists, however, are neither irresponsible nor ignorant, and therefore we tell the people the truth in this matter, too.

2. Simultaneously with extending and cheapening production it will be possible to improve supplies of food stuffs and industrial consumer goods for the population. In this lies one of the fundamental differences between our People's Democratic system and capitalism. Under capitalism, increased production leads to crisis and unemployment, whereas under our system higher production leads to improved living standards for the working people. The present state of affairs, when particularly food stuffs, textiles and footwear are still rationed and when we are able to place these goods only on a limited scale on the free market at relatively high prices, is

neither ideal nor permanent, but is an emergency measure. Our future policy will be able to de-ration more and more goods according to opportunity, and to lower prices on the free market. How quickly we shall be able to do so, and when we shall be able to abolish the rationing system completely and to bring prices to one level depends on the growth of the industrial production, exact fulfilment of delivery contracts by our peasants, and the development of our foreign trade. The Government has decided on certain improvements in the supply situation which come into effect on June 1st and which will show in practice that we take this policy seriously. At the same time, it is our duty to tell the people that it would be inexcusable carelessness to take hasty and ill-considered measures which in the end might harm the broad masses of the population, particularly in the sphere of organising supplies.

3. We must further extend and strengthen the public, socialist sector of our national economy and restrict and dislodge the capitalist elements. The nationalised and co-operative enterprises should play an ever more significant role in our public life, particularly in the realm of distribution. This policy as a whole is not aimed against the artisans and small traders.

It is, of course, necessary that the small producers themselves should adopt a positive attitude toward higher forms of economic activity, that they should co-operate with nationalised, communal and co-operative enterprises and themselves unite in real co-operatives.

4. We must win for Socialism the small and middle peasants, and isolate the rural rich. Our State farms, communal and other public undertakings and other live-stock farms must serve as examples in the villages and models showing the small and middle peasants all the practical advantages of large scale socialist enterprise in agriculture. It will be necessary considerably to extend the network of State farm-machine and

tractor stations and to equip them with the proper machines. The acreage of soil cultivated by the tractor stations must be substantially increased in order to lighten the burden of the working peasants. Our agricultural marketing and consumer co-operatives must concentrate on serving the small and middle peasants. Finally, it is necessary to bring the law on the establishment of unified rural co-operatives into operation gradually and ensure that the membership of the co-operatives derive practical advantages for them.

The fundamental method of our entire policy in the village is that of convincing the broad masses of small and middle peasants and of getting them to take an active part in work. The alliance of the workers with the bulk of the working peasants is essential for the transition to Socialism in the countryside. This must be borne constantly in mind particularly by those working in the villages. The rural sector of work and Party policy will be more and more significant in the coming years, for the question stands thus: Socialism cannot be achieved without the transition of the countryside to Socialism, and there can be no transition to Socialism without the alliance of the working class with the basic mass of the small and middle peasants.

5. It is necessary to further strengthen and improve our people's democratic State apparatus, so that it can cope with all the tasks with which we shall be faced on the way to Socialism. The local, district and regional National Committees still have many shortcomings and it is essential that they improve their work. The work of the National Committees at all levels must be constantly controlled from above as well as from below. People who have not proved efficient must be replaced and good workers must be promoted and rewarded. Government departments and other central authorities must not work in a formal, bureaucratic manner. They must exercise their directing, co-ordinating and controlling functions in a flexible and operative way. We must be on our guard that no anti-

popular, anti-State or reactionary elements penetrate the State apparatus, particularly its armed forces—the National Security Corps and the Army—and, where they still remain, they must be exposed and removed.

To reaction it must be clear that in this respect we shall not tolerate any half measures. Our people's militia has won an honoured place as the faithful sentinel of the People's Democracy. We shall continue to build and strengthen our people's militia.

6. Experience teaches us that to build Socialism the working class must create and educate its own intelligentsia from its own ranks. We shall therefore continue to broaden the network of schools and courses where capable and talented sons and daughters of workers and peasants will be trained as rapidly as possible in order to take over responsible positions in economic life, in public administration, in the National Security Corps, in the Army, and in public life as a whole. So far our experience in this respect confirms that we have a great deal of hidden talent among the young men and women of our working class and peasantry who, after a certain amount of preparation, are able to fill leading positions in our people's democratic system.

In addition to this short-term schooling of new cadres we have to start much more seriously from the social point of view to regulate the influx to secondary schools and universities. We are proud of the fact that no capitalist State can equal the expenditure on education in our People's Democratic State. Can we, however, be content with a state of affairs in which too many anti-State and anti-popular elements are being educated at the expense of the State and the people? Our schools, especially secondary schools and universities must educate people loyal and devoted to the people and the State. Reaction has no place in our schools. In addition to improving and extending specialised training we must educate our new

intelligentsia in courses and schools in the spirit of the most advanced world outlook, in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

It is no accident that the capitalists bolt, bar and lock the doors of learning against dialectical and historical materialism, against Marxism-Leninism. They know that this is the world outlook of a new class, a class to whom the future belongs—the working class. We would be committing a serious mistake if we failed to make this progressive world outlook the outlook of our whole people's democratic society.

7. The regenerated national front remains the political expression of the alliance formed by the working people of town and country on the way to Socialism. In this respect the character of the regenerated national front differs from that of the pre-February national front. The pre-February national front under the pressure of reactionary elements prevented such big mass organisations as the Revolutionary Trade Unions, the co-operatives, the Youth Movement, the physical culture organisations, etc. from participating in public administration. The pre-February national front had but weak contact with the masses and there was a danger that it would turn into a coalition of the old type, carrying out a policy of back-stage intrigues, and a policy of anti-popular parliamentary combinations. Finally the events of February showed that a part of the old national front had become the mouthpiece of reaction and a tool for capitalist restoration.

It is clear that the regenerated national front has quite the opposite mission. Its task is to prevent any attempt at the restoration of capitalism and to facilitate the march of our people's democratic system toward Socialism. The regenerated national front has in the main fulfilled its mission. It will continue to fulfil it if we all make sure of at least the following points: first, if we take good care that reaction is not able to penetrate any section of our regenerated national front and

misuse thus legal cloak for carrying out their illegal, disruptive and anti-popular activities.

Second, if we ensure that the important sections of the regenerated national front—the Revolutionary Trade-Union movement, the Peasant movement, the Co-operative movement, the Union of Czechoslovak of the fighters for freedom and numerous other bodies—constitute a united, living, active and growing organisation which represents the real majority of the working people. The members and organisations of the Communist Party, as the leading party of the regenerated national front, are bound to give all honest members of other sections of the national front the possibility and opportunity of carrying out the policy of the Front. In this way we shall further consolidate the regenerated national front and secure the further isolation of reaction.

8. We must never forget that the way to Socialism is and remains, even after the February victory, the way of class struggle. It is true that, during February, reaction was beaten and defeated, but it was not completely liquidated. Reaction only changed the forms and methods of its struggle. Previously it camouflaged its anti-State opposition by participation in the Government, sabotaged the recovery of the Republic and carried on subversive activities more or less legally. Now, reaction has gone underground, into illegality. Some of its leaders have fled abroad, some of its supporters are working at home. Now its commonest methods of work are espionage, sabotage and subversive propaganda, terrorist acts and various conspiracies. All honest people, every section of the regenerated National Front is faced with the task of isolating reaction and rendering it harmless.

It would be a mistake to imagine that this is only a matter of administrative measures. Nothing of the kind. It is necessary to expose reaction politically as well. And the political development of reaction since February is such that every

honest Czechoslovak should turn away from it in disgust. What is the present line of reaction? The present line of reaction is one of war against the Republic and defeat of the Republic in this war. Reaction has remained faithful to its traditions of treason. Further, the present line of reaction is a line of restoring capitalism. This means that they want to return the banks, mines and factories into the hands of capitalists and the land into the hands of the landlords, that they want to restore the Government of the big bourgeoisie which had brought the Republic to the verge of catastrophe. And, finally, reaction is striving to abolish the national freedom and State sovereignty of Czechoslovakia. According to their conception, an independent and free Czechoslovakia is historically obsolete and they want therefore to include the "Czechoslovak Area" into some kind of new Austro-Hungarian Empire.

You will perhaps say that these are only monstrous and pathological fantasies of reactionary "has-beens" who have no hope of regaining their former power. Yes, reaction's plans are monstrous and pathological, and there is not the slightest hope of their realisation. But this does not mean that our people should not know of these plans. They should know them so that they know who and what stands behind these whispering conspirators, who would like to lead our people away from active work in the reconstruction of the Republic and bring disaster upon them. And let the reactionary conspirators know:—We shall not allow our Republic to be destroyed. We shall defend and safeguard the peaceful work of the people in building up the Republic. We were able to deal with reaction when it was represented in the Government. We shall also find them in their hide-outs and we shall frustrate their evil designs. And they can rest assured that, as in February, so today and tomorrow we shall combat reaction together with the majority of the working people of town and countryside.

9. Hand in hand with our peaceful internal recovery will go

our foreign policy aimed at maintaining peace and the safeguarding of the State independence of the Republic. In this respect too the direction of our policy is clear and unambiguous. We know our friends and we know on whom we can rely on in good times and in bad. These are, above all, our great liberator and ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and our great friend Generalissimo Stalin. **(Applause. Delegates rise in ovation in honour of Stalin and Soviet Union.)** We know for what we are indebted to the Soviet Union, know who stood behind us at the time of Munich, in the fateful March of 1939, in the dark days of enemy occupation and war. We know who shed most blood so that we could again be free, we also know where freedom came from in the memorable year, 1945. We know to whom we are grateful for unselfish help in building our Republics and in overcoming the post-war difficulties.

And because we know this, nobody and nothing will ever force Czechoslovakia to break with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union guarantees us not only national freedom and sovereignty, it also stands at the head of those who fight for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace, a peace which treasured by the citizens of Czechoslovakia. The preservation of peace is also one of the conditions for our path to Socialism, and every success on the world peace front headed by the Soviet Union also serves the success of our cause. In addition to the Soviet Union we shall strengthen our friendship and political relations with the People's Democracies, which like ourselves were liberated by the Soviet Army, and like ourselves building Socialism. And with regard to others: we have one wish—that they should stop interfering in our internal affairs and meet us halfway in our endeavour to promote honest trade and economic relations on the basis of equality and without discrimination. Such is our foreign policy, such is our contribution to the maintenance and strengthening of world

peace.

10. Finally, we must develop and strengthen the unity, might and activity of our Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We should never tire of repeating what the Party means. Without the Party there would be no People's Democratic Republic, no February victory, no guarantee that we would have kept to the path of Socialism. Today the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia embodies the unity of our working class. All the greater therefore is the responsibility which rests with the Party, with each one of us. The class enemy is not slumbering, and we must always take into account that he will try again and again to penetrate into our Party, to influence its policy and lead it astray. The Party does not live in a vacuum and is always exposed to the influence of its surroundings.

How to frustrate the undermining activities of the class enemy? This can be done and must be done by constantly raising the ideological level of our members. In this respect much has been done during the verification, but, considering the mass character of our Party, we must face the fact that the ideological level of the membership is not always and everywhere what it should be. Alien influence on party policy can also be countered by drawing our members into active struggle for the policy of the Party and for carrying it out in practice. He is no mature Party member who does not defend its policy and who does not combat subversive propaganda. We must also preserve the integrity of the Party by consistently observing the Bolshevik principles of democratic centralism, inner party democracy and party criticism and self-criticism.

Suppression of criticism, denial of self-criticism, replacing democratic discussion by administrative commands—such measures injure the Party and make easier the penetration by hostile elements. And finally, every member of the Party should be imbued with Bolshevik modesty. Modesty which

comes from the knowledge that we can never do enough for the Party and that whatever we have done would not have been possible without the collective assistance of other Party members. For the Party, and for every individual the saying holds: do not become dizzy with success and victory, do not loose your head in failure and defeat.

Concluding, Comrade Gottwald said: The general line of the Party must be the line of building Socialism in our country (stormy applause). This is a lofty aim and it will not be easy to realise it. We know that on our way we shall be constantly called upon to remove even greater obstacles than in the past. But we shall overcome these obstacles and shall reach our goal. Comrade Gottwald concluded with the words: “Long Live Generalissimo Stalin!” **(Prolonged applause. Delegates rise in ovation for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its leader Gottwald and in honour of the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin).**

**YUGOSLAV TROTSKYITES—
IMPERIALISM'S STORM DETACHMENT.
Matias Rakosi, General Secretary, Central
Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party**

Less than a year has passed since the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties stated that "considerably overestimating the internal, national forces of Yugoslavia and their possibilities, the Yugoslav leaders think that they can maintain Yugoslavia's independence and build Socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, without the support of the People's Democracies, without the support of the Soviet Union. They think that the new Yugoslavia can do without the help of these revolutionary forces."

Events have shown that it is no longer a question of overestimating forces or making mistakes as far as the Yugoslav traitors are concerned. In the past eleven months the Tito gang has become one of the most active storm detachments of the enemy camp opposing socialist construction and the world peace front. The hatred of the Yugoslav leaders for the builders of Socialism is buttressed by the shady conscience of these traitors, their utter baseness and lack of principle so characteristic of trotskyites.

Last summer, after the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, the Yugoslav trotskyites still spoke about a "misunderstanding" and "misinformation" and assured the Yugoslav working class that despite the break with the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, they would be able to build Socialism with their own forces.

Since then the Titoites have dropped these "theories" as unsuitable for consumption. Today, more and more openly, they are relying on the Western imperialists. They would have

the working class of their country believe that they are “compelled” to turn to the capitalists for help because the People’s Democracies have “abandoned them to the mercy of fate”. But the Yugoslav workers are justified in asking this questions how is it that the very same imperialists who are doing everything to prevent Socialist construction in the People’s Democracies and the Soviet Union can so generously offer to help the builders of Tito “Socialism”? Tito and his clique try to get out of the difficulty by saying that the People’s Democracies also have “trade relations with the imperialists”. But they omit to mention that in this trading the imperialists make sure that the goods they export include nothing that might add to the defence power of the People’s Democracies. And the countries of the People’s Democracies, for their part, take this into account.

Yugoslavia, however, is selling the imperialists, above all, strategic raw materials, non-ferrous metals and so on, in exchange for materials and machines strictly prohibited to the People’s Democracies which are really building Socialism. On May 11, “The Daily Telegraph” listed the war materials Tito is allowed to purchase. They include: 1,500 tons of steel alloy sheets, and 700 aircraft engines.

There has been a fundamental change in the attitude of the capitalist West since the changes that have taken place in Yugoslavia as a result of Tito’s treachery. After the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution last summer the imperialist press for weeks on end was filled with articles warning that “Tito’s change of colour” should be treated with caution, that it was some kind of new Communist stunt to smuggle the Yugoslav “black sheep” into the capitalist fold. Such “warnings” ceased long ago. Instead, the press is continually “suggesting” how the imperialists can make the most of the Tito clique’s treachery without Tito being discredited too soon in Yugoslavia. In its issue of March 26

“The Economist”, organ of British capital, wrote: “Any British or American attempts to see Tito through these economic difficulties must be based on careful calculation of his power of resistance to the political forces marshalled against him.” And the article adds with a sigh: “To make that calculation accurately is far from easy.”

In this connection the behaviour of the Yugoslav traitors in the United Nations is typical. With a knowing wink, the imperialists point out that on some questions the Titoites vote with the People’s Democracies. The imperialists realise that this is a big gain for them, for Tito can mislead a section of his people by saying: “See, we are part of the socialist countries after all.”

True, this mutual plotting is sometimes brought to light by blunders and clumsy manoeuvring. This happened over the secret talks between Tito and the Greek fascist government. Yugoslavia is bordered by four People’s Democracies and, naturally, the Titoites are not eager that the Greek fighters for freedom should be victorious, setting up a fifth People’s Democracy on their borders.

That is why they opened secret negotiations with the Greek fascists. However, Tsaldaris, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Athens hastened to inform the press that he hoped he would soon be able to welcome Marshal Tito as an ally of the King of Greece. This disclosure was somewhat embarrassing for Tito, and the “Daily Mail” of April 14 indignantly demanded that Tito should be treated with “mere tact.”

These small slips do not alter the fact that Tito’s foreign policy and the imperialist anti-socialist “cold war” are linked together, complementing one another. For instance, when the American imperialists think it necessary to whip up war hysteria. Tito plays his part in the chorus: blackouts, troop movements and so on in Yugoslavia.

The imperialists gladly welcome collaboration with Tito,

and the slanders manufactured in Belgrade against the People's Democracies are magnified and reproduced by the American and British press and radio.

But among themselves they do not conceal their contempt for Tito. On April 25 the American magazine "Newsweek" ironically wrote that the chaste Tito was disrobing himself in front of his capitalist saviours. "The Economist", wishing to teach its readers a lesson, discussed in detail the stories spread by the Tito clique that the Soviet Union took too high a price for goods sold to Yugoslavia. It is difficult to the Yugoslav worker to compare the price of a typewriter or a piece of machinery in terms of potatoes or maize with prices on the world market. But "The Economist" made the comparison and in its issue of April 16 wrote that these prices were not as high as Yugoslav propaganda made them out to be. The statement that a typewriter cost £3,000 kilograms of maize, continued "The Economist," meant that it costs less than £40 whereas in Britain a typewriter is priced at nearly £65. The author of the article ridicules the "naive indignation of the Titoites and bluntly declared that it was doubtful whether Britain or the United States would care to suffer losses for the sake of helping Yugoslavia's backward industry. "The Economist" made it clear that the imperialists were taking advantage of Tito's position to blackmail him and pointed out that Britain was receiving from Yugoslavia a much higher sum as compensation for outstanding debts than had been expected.

There are two reasons why Tito is not being given more open and extensive assistance. The first is that the imperialists are no longer eager to pay such a high price for the treachery of the Yugoslav leaders now that the Yugoslav workers are beginning to see through this treachery. The second reason is that they are unwilling to take the risk. The imperialists have seen for themselves from the example of China that a considerable part of the arms they sent to the Kuomintang army

passed into the hands of the People's Liberation Army. The Western imperialists are realists. They realise that sooner or later the Yugoslav people will rid themselves of the Tito clique.

Thus, Tito has to buy imperialist "support" dearly. For the credits they receive, the Yugoslav traitors have to cede many privileges to the American and British capitalists, such as mortgaging Yugoslavia's gold reserve in America and Britain. For military equipment the Titoites in return must export strategic materials.

Increasing Poverty and National Persecution

Naturally, this course of events has had a considerable influence on the internal situation. All capitalist elements, from city speculators to rural kulaks, are now able to breathe freely. The Yugoslav trotskyites are relying more and more on the capitalist elements in carrying out their policy which is directed against the industrial proletariat loyal to Communism and the Soviet Union. The result of Tito's anti-working class and anti-popular policy is increased profiteering, the disappearance of consumer goods and food from the system of public supplies on to the black market.

When members of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party visited Yugoslavia in spring 1948 to get an idea of the situation in the country they were amazed to see that the standard of living of the working people was exceedingly low and to learn that reactionary circles were surreptitiously spreading the story that this was because big load supplies were being exported to the Soviet Union and the people's Democracies. Since then these fantastic charges are a regular feature of the official Tito propaganda.

After the break with the People's Democracies the supplies

of the Yugoslav working people sharply deteriorated. The kulaks and speculators are now growing stronger, food supplies and consumer goods are getting scarcer. This shortage is further aggravated by the fact that a large part of the supplies is allocated to police, army officers, and high officials.

In letters from Yugoslavia, working people complain that while there is no milk for the children every general can get 5 litres of milk a day, (unmarried generals are entitled to 3 litres). For months at a stretch workers see no meat, But these privileged people can buy any amount of meat, fats and butter in special stores. Indignation on this score has reached such a pitch that officers' wives and working women have come to blows in front of these stores. To avoid this the stores are now open to customers from the back entrance.

While the working people have been reduced to a state of poverty, the privileged sections are living off the fat of the land and are the best source of supplies for the profiteers. Evidence of this can be gathered from an article that appeared in the Swiss paper "Er und Sie" on February 29, describing a banquet given by Tito. A journalist who was invited to this supper given in the former Royal palace, writes: "In a great hall 300 generals waited, covered from head to foot with gold and silver braid and decorations. With them were women in gorgeous evening gowns. The waiters were in snow-white, gold-trimmed dress coats. You felt you were in a Hollywood fairyland. The tables groaned under the weight of huge gold and silver dishes laden with food. Eighty different kinds of hors d'oeuvres were served. There was an abundance of Tokay, Bordeaux, Frascati and, of course, champagne."

Comrades who escaped from Yugoslavia relate that since kulaks have been given preference as Communist Party recruits, it is now quite usual to see a Communist agricultural labourer working for a Communist kulak, or a former partisan working as a day labourer for a kulak who had served under

Nedic or Pavelic. This does not prevent Tito and his clique from proclaiming: “We have laid the foundation and now we can tackle the job of building Socialism.”

To the protests of workers, the Yugoslav trotskyites are replying with terror and arrests. Hungry and discontented workers are not taking good care of their machines and are turning out faulty goods. The trotskyites, of course, claim that the People’s Democracies sent bad machines and materials. But the discontent of the working people is becoming more pronounced.

Tito and his clique want to direct the discontent of the working people against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, thus diverting their attention from the real reasons for their misery. Moreover, since their break with the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav traitors have launched an unbridled nationalist slander campaign.

All the attributes of the old Greater Serb chauvinism have been hauled out of the archives and vicious nationalist propaganda is being conducted against the neighbouring states of Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania. The Prime Minister and Secretary of the Communist Party of Serbia, Stambolic, in his report to the Serbian Skupstchina, blatantly claimed. that the Hungarian Republic wanted to annex the Bachka, the Rumanians the Banat, the Bulgarians Macedonia and the Albanians Metokia. Tito is setting the tone for this nationalist propaganda: At a Party conference of a guards division on May 15, he delivered a brazen speech filled with expressions such as: “Yugoslavia stretched out a hand of peace to the Hungarians despite all their crimes. And today the Hungarians are foully attacking Yugoslavia.” The nationalist Tito is using his favourite method—attributing the crimes of Horthy to the People’s Democracy.

The Titoites are not only inciting chauvinism against their neighbour. There was agreement among the Tito clique that the

Serbs, Croats and Slovenes come first in Yugoslavia.

Since Tito's treachery, the oppression of national minorities has been greatly intensified. In Montenegro, Bosnia and Vojevodina local officials are being removed as "unreliable" and replaced by Greater Serb chauvinists. However, the Serb-Croat-Slovene union is beginning to crack, since chauvinism has flared up in Croatia and Slovenia themselves. Refugees from Yugoslavia describe, how Greater Serb chauvinism is again persecuting the rest of the people as in the days of the monarchy.

The result is that people of the old regime who had been keeping in the background are now coming to the fore. For instance, posts have been given to Trifunovic, former Prime Minister of the monarchist government, to the ex-prosecutor Markovic, to the former police captain Tosho, and to leaders of the dissolved "Sokol" and other nationalist organisations.

Provocateurs and Spies

The relations between Yugoslavia and her neighbours are becoming increasingly strained. Provocations and incidents on the part of Yugoslavia are frequent occurrences. It has now been established that Tito started his espionage and subversive activities against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union not in the summer of last year or the autumn of 1947, but much earlier.

Last August the security organs of the Hungarian Republic arrested Boarov, press attache of the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest. On the orders of his superior, Boarov had murdered Milos Moic, a supporter of the Information Bureau Resolution. Boarov admitted that he had been a police agent. In April 1947 he was called before the personnel department of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party where the

secretary of the Vojevodina Party Committee, Vidic, told him that his past was known and that he would be pardoned only if he agreed to do the same working the Tito secret service. The spy Boarov readily consented.

That same month he was sent to the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest to organise an espionage network in Hungary. I repeat that was in April, 1947 Boarov gave evidence that he was ordered “to do everything to undermine the popularity of the Soviet Union’s policy in Hungary, that is, to carry out the covert anti-Soviet policy prevailing in Yugoslavia”. In his testimony Boarov gave details of how he recruited spies, how he tried to disorganise the work of the Hungarian-Soviet Society for Cultural Relations and how he killed Moic.

The Hungarian People’s Republic observed a policy of complete loyalty towards the Tito Government. It was only in the spring of 1948 that we began to realise that all was not well. After Tito’s treachery we looked into the activities of his henchmen in Hungary. We investigated, among others, the case of Anton Rob. At one time this provocateur had been the secretary of the Zagreb Party organisation. Later he fell into the hands of Horthy’s police in Budapest and it was suspected that he had betrayed a number of comrades to the fascists. After the liberation of Hungary his case was submitted to the Yugoslav representatives for investigation. Some time later, these representatives reported that Rob had been rehabilitated: they proposed that he should be put in charge of the Anti-Fascist Union of Yugoslavs in Hungary.

When the Resolution of the Information Bureau was published, Rob fled to Yugoslavia and it was only then that we learned that he had been sent to Hungary by the Yugoslav authorities for the same purpose as Boarov. We learned that when the Anti-Fascist Union of Yugoslavs in Hungary was being formed, Rob recruited into it Yugoslav kulaks and even settlers of German origin who were scheduled for deportation.

Naturally, they fully suited the purposes of the espionage organisation set up by Rob under the screen of the Anti-Fascist Union.

Or take the case of Antal Ban, former Social Democratic minister of industry who afterwards fled to Switzerland. In 1946 information was received from Novy Sad, where Ban had lived after the occupation in 1942, that he had been a police agent. The Yugoslav representatives were asked to verify this. They replied that these suspicions were unfounded. In these circumstances there could be no objection to Ban (who speaks Serbian fluently) taking an active part in the activities of the Yugoslav Anti-Fascist Union. He also helped to draw up a number of Yugoslav-Hungarian agreements according to which Hungary undertook a number of onerous obligations to help the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan. It has now been fully established that Ban served in the Croat police. But the Tito clique used him in the same way as Boarov who, incidentally, in his testimony described Ban's activities.

Officials of the Hungarian People's Republic began to notice that fulfilment of the agreements was turning out to be very much to Hungary's disadvantage since the Yugoslav economic representatives were transferring profitable orders to British or other capitalist firms. Matters went so far that one of our delegations appealed to Tito personally to intervene. Tito hypocritically assured our representatives that it was only a question of somebody being over zealous or a mistake of the lower organs. It is now clear that this was an instruction from above.

Today it is clear that Tito embarked on his treacherous activities long ago. It is equally clear that the assertion that Tito is not the evil genius of the traitors but someone else taking him in tow, is as fantastic as the assertion that Yugoslavia is building Socialism. Tito's treachery has deep roots. But only now is the poisonous tree that has sprung from these roots

bearing fruit.

The Titoites organised a close network of espionage transmission centres on our southern frontiers. Since the publication of the June Resolution of the Information Bureau, the muddy stream of imperialist spies, speculators and former police officers, which had been flowing westward, suddenly changed its course in the direction of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav authorities hand over this riff-raff to British espionage organs (when they have already carried out their assignments) or, after the necessary training, send them back into Hungary.

These spies invariably testify that the job for the Yugoslav intelligence service was to gather information about Soviet representatives in Hungary, about the Hungarian army and Hungarian economy. While spies are being sent into the country horde incidents are also taking place. These provocations are timed to break parallel with international events or events on the home front in Hungary. And we usually know, when to expect them. Just before the recent elections our southern border was literally under siege. There were weeks when hundred or more spies crossed the border. Yugoslav guards opened fire on our border guards who were arresting the spies. Such was the case on May 11, on the eve of the elections. Five of our border guards have been killed during the past three weeks.

But the killers are not satisfied with shedding the blood of innocent people. They are trying to use these murders to build up charges against Hungary. Bound by no limits in its vileness. Belgrade radio recently declared: "The Hungarian followers of the Information Bureau have started a systematic slander campaign which has passed to hostile actions and is aimed at provoking (?) the murder of Hungarian soldiers on the frontier."

The Yugoslav working people, especially the influential

section of the working class which is steadfastly loyal, to the cause of Socialism and proletarian internationalism, eagerly listen to the Moscow, Budapest and other democratic radio stations. The Titoites are trying to counteract this by brutally persecuting all those who listen in to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Yugoslavia today is a typical police state where the trotskyite clique is holding power by applying Gestapo methods and using former Gestapo agents. The Hungarian Workers' Party, together with all fraternal parties, will spare no effort to help the Yugoslav working people to see the truth. We shall expose the Tito clique at every step as traitors and imperialist agents and especially the foul methods which the "Titoites, under the pretext of building Socialism, are now resorting to in their support of the imperialists. It is necessary to explain to the workers and the youth whom the Tito clique are misleading by playing on their patriotism and desire for Socialism, that they are being exploited and forced to produce more copper, lead and timber not in order to build Socialism, but rather to benefit the bitter enemies of Socialism, the imperialists.

We salute those heroes selflessly waging a struggle against their brutal oppressors. We know that these fighters are inspired by the same determination which helped them to accomplish their heroic feats in the struggle against fascism and won them the gratitude of progressive mankind.

This determination exists there today. It is a sure guarantee that the terror regime of the contemptible traitors to Socialism in Yugoslavia, headed by Tito, will not last long. This regime will perish and the working people of Yugoslavia will be able to return to the real family of peoples building Socialism.

STRIKING DEMONSTRATION OF BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S UNITY

The election of People's Councils and People's Assessors was held in Bulgaria on May 15. It was a significant day for the Bulgarian people. For the first time they elected deputies to the local organs of power.

The election of communal councils held before the establishment of the people's democratic system was still fresh in the minds of the working people of Bulgaria. Then the majority of the population was not able to express its opinion about the candidates. These were selected not by the people themselves but by the bourgeois capitalist clique.

The election of People's Councils carried out on the basis of the new democratic constitution gave the working people every possibility of verifying the candidates beforehand and the right of criticising or rejecting them. And the people nominated their best representatives for the councils. The candidates of the Fatherland Front which rallies all the most advanced sections of the Bulgarian people were militant workers in industry and agriculture, the best representatives of the intelligentsia, the cream of the working people.

The Bulgarian electorate know full well the difference between the old communal councils and the new People's Councils. The new councils have been brought into being by the people's democratic system. They are organs of power elected by the working people which completely defend the interests of the people and report the whole of their activity to the people.

At the Fatherland Front parties and organisations came to the election with a single programme and a joint list of candidates. The Fatherland Front widely explained to the

working people their democratic rights. In effect it said to the people: those who vote for the Fatherland Front candidates vote for a happy future for our country, for a full and joyous life for ourselves and for our children, for world peace, and for friendship with our great liberator, the Soviet Union.

And the people responded to these appeals with their votes. Election day became a day of unity for the working people around the Fatherland Front, led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, a day of new victories for democracy.

The election was marked by great enthusiasm and was well organised: 4,628,367 electors, or 96.73 per cent, went to the polls. Of these 4,258,352, or 92.01 per cent, voted for the Fatherland Front candidates.

In hundreds of localities, voting for the Fatherland Front was unanimous. In Kubrat all the 2,403 voting-papers were handed in for the joint list of candidates. All the 288 electors in the village of Zmeyevo, Karnabat district, cast their votes for the Fatherland Front. There were many other such examples.

The splendid success won by the Fatherland Front at these elections is further proof that the working people of the People's Democracies, guided by the Communist and Workers' Parties, are conscious of their tasks in the struggle to consolidate the democratic socialist camp, and that they unanimously support the policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties who are leading them to a happy future and to Socialism.

BIG ELECTION SUCCESS OF COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES IN SARDINIA.

Velio Spano, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy

Sardinia, a poor region in Southern Italy which is extremely backward, both economically and socially, recently became the scene of Italy's first since April 18, 1948.

During the past year other, minor elections, have taken place in Italy, for example, the Civitacastellana municipal election which was a great victory for the Communists, and the election to the Aosta Valley regional councils which was a major success for the Left parties. But in these cases the elections took place on every narrow basis and in specific conditions.

In Sardinia 700,000 electors went to the polls, and since the election was held just a year after the general election and after the Italian Government had joined the Atlantic Pact, it was of great political significance.

Afraid that they might be defeated, the Christian Democrats manoeuvred to postpone the Sardinian regional election for as long as possible. But since Sardinia has a special regional status, the manoeuvres to postpone the election could only serve to compromise the Christian Democratic Party which has an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

On April 18, 1948, the Christian Democratic Party won a majority in Sardinia (309,000 votes out of 601,000) and most of the seats in Parliament (9 seats out of 14). At the same time, the Christian Democratic Party seized all leading posts in Sardinia's economic life and administrative apparatus. On the eve of the election it hoped to hold these gains without much

difficulty. Other political groupings of the Italian bourgeoisie, however, were more cautious. Realising the impossibility of playing the entire game with the cards of the Christian Democrats who, in the course of the year, had seriously compromised themselves with their catastrophic home and foreign policy, these groupings did their utmost to prevent votes which might be lost by the Christian Democratic Party from going to the Left parties. With this aim in view the monarchists and fascists (Italian Social Movement) based their election campaign on sharp criticism of the Government, using a great deal of social demagoguery and expressing disagreement with the Atlantic Pact and the de Gasperi Government's war policy.

The election results proved that the Italian bourgeoisie had very good reason to be afraid, and justified the hopes of the Left parties. The Christian Democratic Party, polling 193,000 votes against last year's 309,000, lost 116,000 votes in the course of the year. All the other Right parties won only 43,000 additional votes between them. Total losses of the Right parties (including the Christian Democrats) amount to 73,000. The centre parties (Sardinian Party of Action and Right Socialists) lost 19,000 votes.

The Left parties (Communist and Socialist Parties and Sardinian Party of Socialist Action), gained 59,000 new votes, of which 40,000 came from Right party losses and 19,000 from the centre parties. The Communist Party was particularly successful, securing 110,000 votes compared with the 71,000 total polled by the two Socialist Parties together. This election success of the Left parties is extremely significant. It is now clear to everyone that had the Socialist Party accepted the Communist proposal to present a joint list of candidates, the victory would have been even greater and Sardinia would possibly have gained a regional government guided by representatives of the working people. At any rate, today a

strong Communist Party organisation is functioning in Sardinia supported by an influential socialist movement.

Of particular interest are the election results in the Province of Cagliari, the most economically and socially developed region in the island where the Left parties won over 120,000, or 42 per cent, of the votes against 30 per cent polled on April 18, 1948.

Among the Right parties which gained votes at the expense of "Christian Democracy" was the Monarchist Party which had campaigned on a demagogic programme criticising the Government's home and foreign policy. Next comes the Italian Social Movement which also posed as an opposition party. On the other hand those Right parties which supported the Government policy—lost votes. The Liberal Party and the pro-fascist "Uomo Qualunque" Party practically disappeared from the political arena. Among the centre parties, the Sardinian Party of Action which had not compromised itself with the Government policy to such an extent, held its own, while the Sardinian Right Socialists, accomplices of the de Gasperi Government virtually disappeared.

The Sardinian election proved to be a victory for the Communists, a considerable success for the other Left parties and a heavy defeat for the ruling party. But the change in the practical orientation of the Sardinian electorate has even greater significance: this time the Government and the Vatican **failed to intimidate the working people.**

The authorities attempted to curtail the electoral freedom of the opposition parties. Police detachments surrounded meetings organised by the Left parties with the obvious intention of intimidating people taking part in them. The government also banned opposition newspapers and films, and made fly-posting illegal. It tried to stop Left speakers criticising Government policy. The people at a Cagliari election meeting were taken to the police station, one by one,

where they were advised not to attend such meetings. Minister of Police Scelba interfered personally. Brazenly, he declared that armed police would be used against the “Communist bandits”. But none of this intimidation succeeded. Instead, the people showed themselves to be extremely militant all through the campaign.

The ruling party was forced on to the defensive. Its efforts to use the bogey about the “Russian whip”, “religious persecution in Poland and Hungary” and the usual stock-in-trade of anti-Communist propaganda were a complete failure. Christian Democratic speakers were forced to talk about the Atlantic Pact, about promises made and never carried out, the general line of the Government’s home and foreign policy. On these questions they could only put up a poor defence, making the vaguest replies to questions like: Why is the Government starving the people and leading the country into war. It was the Communists and the two Socialist Parties who drove their opponents into discussing such subjects during the election campaign. There is no doubt that the spiritual coercion of the clergy and economic blackmail played a big role. But they had no effect on a considerable part of the electorate, with the result that anti-Communism suffered a heavy defeat. The Christian Democratic party which launched its election campaign on the basis of anti-Communism lost the greatest number of votes.

It is too early, certainly, to speak about the significance of these results on a regional and national scale. But it is already clear that people no longer believe in the unshakable power of the Christian Democratic Party as was the case after last year’s general election. Large sections of the Sardinian people are now confident that a way out of the situation, which outwardly looked quite hopeless, can be found in largescale social struggles leading to big election successes for the democratic forces.

The Sardinian elections will be a great stimulus for the

Italian people in their struggle for peace and democracy, in their struggle in defence of the working people.

FOR A NATIONAL FRONT IN GERMANY. Otto Grotewohl, Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of Germany

After a long interval, the Council of Foreign Ministers opened its meeting in Paris on May 23 to discuss the question of Germany.

This meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers represents a major success for the Soviet Union's peace policy. After the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in December 1947 had been broken up by Marshall, then U.S. Secretary of State, the Western Powers adopted a number of measures running counter to the Potsdam decisions. The Potsdam Declaration called for the economic unity of Germany and the establishment of a central government: it was agreed to demilitarise Germany, to prevent her from again becoming an aggressive force and only then accept her into the common family of peoples. The policy pursued by the Western occupation powers after the formation of Bizonia clearly showed that they intended to settle the German question in the interests of the Anglo-American imperialists and not in the interests of the German people. Their object was to split Germany, to prepare for war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

After the break down of the London Conference, the imperialists launched a slander campaign against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The venal bourgeois press whipped up a war psychosis and a vicious slander campaign in order to screen the aggressive nature of the Western Powers' policy.

And now again, after agreement had been reached to convene a new meeting of Foreign Ministers, the

representatives of monopoly capital unsuccessfully tried to minimise its importance. The press which had praised the Atlantic Pact as a demonstration of the strength and power of the Western States, noted with disappointment that the signatories had slipped up on a new opportunity of attacking the Soviet Union. The German press, following the orchestral baton of the Anglo-American imperialists, continued its warmongering campaign. It ridiculed or distorted the speeches of American and British political figures welcoming the agreement and tried to discredit the Soviet Union's peace policy.

The Soviet Union's agreement to lift inter-zonal transport restrictions will not only contribute to the success of the talks of the Foreign Ministers. It is also an indication of the sound economic position of the Soviet zone. But distorting the fact, the Western reactionary press provocatively declares that the readiness displayed by the U.S.S.R. to reach agreement is a sign of the weak economic position in the Soviet zone.

Here it should be stressed that the transport restrictions introduced by the Soviet Union were a counter-measure to the separate monetary reform and other steps taken by the Western occupation powers to split Germany. The Berlin crisis, provoked by the Anglo-Americans, was used by them to step up the cold war against the Soviet Union. The warmongers tried to divert the attention of word public opinion from the fact that the German question had become an issue solely because of their policy of dismembering Germany, introducing a separate monetary reform and preparing to establish a separate West German State.

The slander campaign about "economic catastrophe" in the Soviet zone was a dismal failure, as can be seen from the following facts. The 1948 plan of the Soviet zone was fulfilled 122 per cent and gross output increased by 26.8 per cent compared with 1947. The rate of production steadily increased

in 1948. In the second quarter of 1948, industrial output reached 106.4 per cent compared with the first quarter, in the third and fourth quarters the figure were 112.5 and 139.4 per cent respectively. The key to these remarkable successes achieved in the face of the difficulties caused by the interruption of inter-zonal trade, lies primarily in the fact that the working class and technical personnel are increasing labour productivity both in industry and transport. In the first quarter of 1949 the output of lignite briquettes increased by 17 per cent, sulphuric acid by 33 per cent, nitrogen fertilizers by 45 per cent, and so on. These figures show that peace-time industry is developing speedily in the Soviet Zone. The widespread Hennecke movement and expanding foreign trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies also contributed to the increased output of the nationalised industries.

The withdrawal of transport restrictions will facilitate inter-zonal trade and Germany's trade with other European countries. Economic unity is imperative if the country's productive forces are to be fully utilised. For its further development, German industry also need a market and the abolition of restrictions on German exports. In this respect the strengthening of trade relations with Eastern and South-eastern Europe is particularly important for Germany.

Germany's economic policy can never be successful unless it promotes and strengthens cooperation with the economic policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Economic circles in Western Germany are beginning to realise this more and more. Representatives of various sections of people in Western Germany and many industrialists and traders are opposed to the dismemberment of Germany and favour a policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union. Today the overwhelming majority of the people who until now were indifferent to, or against the struggle of the People's Congress

for a united Germany and a just peace, are now rejecting the unilateral measures of the Western powers who are obstructing the unification of Germany and are planning to use the split in the German nation as the basis for enslaving the West German State.

After the unilateral and unlawful decisions of the Six-Power London Conference it became clear even to those Germans who had been looking through rose-tinted spectacles that Anglo-American ruling circles were not concerned with the interests of the German people, their sole concern being to promote the interests of the industrial and financial monopolists.

It is no accident that the press of the bourgeois parties in Western Germany is now allowing itself to criticise the measures of the Western Powers. This demagogic “criticism” shows the growing alarm and discontent of the broad masses. By voicing “opposition” to the occupation powers even the Schumacher press is trying to make political capital and conceal its complicity with Anglo-American imperialism in preparing for war against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies. These traitors realise that they will lose the last bit of prestige in the eyes of the masses if they do not make some verbal “criticism” of the occupation statute. However, it should be stressed that the Schumacher leadership gained notoriety for the very reason that they demanded the introduction of the occupation statute.

Schumacher’s activities show that the sole object of his policy is to meet the interests of Anglo-American monopoly capital. By splitting the unity of the German working-class movement in Western Germany and Berlin he barred the road to the forces fighting for the triumph of democracy. The Schumachers, these imperialist agents in the working-class movement, are responsible for the present situation in Western Germany. Schumacher spared no effort to publicise the

Marshall Plan as a “humanitarian act of the United States”. And his present demagogic statements cannot hide this fact, Schumacher’s policy helps to widen the breach in the German working-class movement; supporting the Marshall Plan, the aggressive Atlantic Pact and the anti-national plans to build a united West German State, it is doing much harm to the cause of building a united German State and to the German people themselves. Such harm was caused by the strike of the Western sector railway workers in Berlin—a strike provoked by the Schumacher men on the instructions of the Anglo-Americans.

But the German people will carry this struggle forward. They will not agree to the dismemberment of the economy which would obstruct the development of the country’s productive forces. That is why the resumed talks between the Foreign Ministers is of such enormous importance to the German people. **It is more important than ever before to unite the people, regardless of their party or social status, to struggle for a united Germany.** The criterion of patriotism today is the participation of every German in the struggle for a united Germany and a just peace. The German People’s Congress must become a large-scale mass movement. The forces united in the People’s Congress stretch out their hands to all those who do not want to see Western Germany turned into a colonial appendage of the Western occupation powers.

The results of the election of delegates to the Third People’s Congress held in the Soviet zone and Soviet sectors of Berlin of May 15-16 demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of the people (66.1 per cent) voted for a united Germany and against its division and enslavement by the Western Powers—and this in the teeth of the vicious anti-popular propaganda of Schumacher and the Anglo-Americans.

The German people are thus once again demonstrating to the world their will for peace. Those who regard Western Germany as a base for kindling the flames of war will be foiled

in their policy by the German people's desire for peace. It is the task of all Germans, both men and women, to defend their native land against enslavement by the Anglo-American imperialists. The fulfilment of this task is closely linked with the struggle for the unity of our Fatherland and a democratic order. Such is the aim of the **national front of Germany**.

AMERICAN MONOPOLISTS ARE BOSSING NORTH AFRICA. Leon Feix, Member, Central Committee. Communist Party of France.

A year ago General Donovan, former chief of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, wrote in an Italian newspaper that the Mediterranean was the strategic heart of Europe, Africa and the Near East.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, not satisfied with direct interference in the affairs of Greece, the Near East and Italy, or with giving open support to the Franco dictatorship in Spain, the American imperialists are also trying to gain a strategic and economic foothold in Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, countries oppressed by French imperialism. Actually, since 1947, the Americans have been acting as masters in these countries. They hold their position with the complicity of the French rulers.

U.S. economic penetration is particularly obvious in Morocco where American trusts are taking full advantage of the “open door” policy guaranteed by the Treaty of Algeria of 1906. Anyone who spends a few days in Casablanca with its population of 800,000 can see this. The dollar invasion is everywhere in evidence, starting with the exceptionally large number of American cars, the shop windows announcing “American goods only” and ending with “Coco Cola” advertisements.

Referring to the question of the French African colonies, the American newspaper “Star” recently wrote about the great amount of work to be done in order to secure the export of raw materials and agricultural products from hitherto unexploited areas offering wide opportunities for development. The newspaper even indicated the methods of doing this, declaring: These methods call for capital investment which France cannot

supply. Thus, it is to be hoped that a request will be forthcoming for American capital investments.

The French Government did not wait for the American monopolists to make their proposals. It expressed its point of view even before Truman's statement was published with its notorious "fourth point" concerning the exploitation of the world's "backward regions". On January 10, 1949, the French Resident General in Morocco, General Juin, officially declared: "The Government will welcome private capital investments in Morocco from nations with whom we have long traditions of friendship and common views on business questions.

But even this open appeal was not enough for the American monopolists who are in a hurry to take full control of Morocco's economy. Rodes, chairman of the American Trading Association in Morocco, recently complained that his compatriots were finding "obstacles" in the way of their activities. The French Foreign Office hastened to issue an "emphatic denial."

There is no doubt whatsoever that the U.S. imperialists will redouble their efforts to penetrate North Africa. American businessmen are "exploring" Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. After the visit of General Campbell, a big industrialist and landlord, North Africa was also visited by Mr. Garner, Vice-President of the International Reconstruction Bank, who said he was touring the country to ascertain what projects deserved financial support and possibly to discuss other plans with local authorities.

Garner's job is to put into effect the "four-year plan" for North Africa's industrialisation now being boosted by French propaganda. Credits envisaged in this plan total 81 billion francs for the 1948-19 budget. This includes 43 billion francs for Algeria, 27 billion for Morocco and 11 billion for Tunisia. A large part of these credits, to be supplemented by large-scale private capital investment, will be used to finance military

projects, such as the construction of strategic roads, ports and railways, aerodromes (40 in Algeria and 14 in Tunisia) and on equipment for the exploitation of natural resources. Thus, according to the “four-year plan”, production of phosphates will increase from 5.5 million tons to 7.6 million tons between 1948 and 1952: iron from 2.8 million tons to 4.3 million tons; lead from 53,000 tons to 174,000 tons, manganese from 200,000 tons to 500,000 tons.

The real aim of the plan is to use “aid to backward regions” as a cover behind which the American monopolies can extend and legalise their seizure of strategic raw materials.

The “four-year plan” gives the American monopolies every opportunity of intensifying the policy which they have been pursuing in this part of Africa for the past few years. After Allied troops landed in November 1942 the monopolists were granted substantial mining concessions. In April 1947 three American financial groups gained control of the “Moroccan Atlas Mining Association” which has a virtual monopoly of lead ore deposits in this region. Since then, big American capital investments have been made in the mining industry. In December 1948 two firms, the Shell and Gulf Oil companies, holding 65 per cent of the capital investments, were given a concession for the newly discovered oil deposits in Tunisia. The primary object of America’s plan in North Africa is to use Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia as a base for preparing aggression against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies.

As a matter of fact, the Americans have not abandoned the military bases they occupied during the war, that is, from 1942 to 1945. A typical example is the big air and naval base in Port Lyautey (Morocco). At the beginning of 1948 it was announced that this base was being handed over to the French authorities. The transfer was effected by the American flag on various buildings being replaced by the French flag, and

American officers being given the title of “specialists”. In other words, nothing was changed. There are several thousand Americans in Port Lyautey today and a large number of flying fortresses and heavy naval bombers. A long-range (over 3,000 kilometres) Radar station was recently established there.

Military construction in North Africa is going ahead rapidly. In December 1947 the organ of the Communist Party of Algeria, “Liberté” reported that all secret documents relating to air and naval bases had been handed over to the American Consul in Algiers by the Governor General on orders from the French Minister of National Defence. No denial followed this report.

In July 1948 the French Government announced that a “theatre of military operations” was being prepared in North Africa under the leadership of General Juin. Permanent military headquarters are now being established.

Last November high-ranking American officers inspected Radar installations in Algeria. A few weeks later the French military command sent out a circular asking air unit commanders how many American soldiers and officers they could accommodate.

In Tunisia, the naval base at Bizerta and the arsenal at Ferryville are often “visited” by American naval officers, while train loads of bombs arrive at Sidi-Yahia near Bizerta.

During the past six months representatives of the French Government in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco working in close contact with Bechar, High Commissioner of Western Africa, Naegelen, Governor-General of Algeria, and Mons, Resident General in Tunisia who, incidentally are Right Socialists, have been actively speeding up construction of strategic highways and landing grounds on the approaches to the Sahara. The civil aerodromes in Colomb-Bechar, Biskra, Ouargla, Gadamés and Fort Flatters have been placed under military control.

Finally, Algeria is officially included in the North Atlantic

Pact under the pretext that this country represents “three French departments”.

The French imperialists are not strong enough to retain their domination with their own forces. That is why they are openly seeking the protection of the Americans and becoming the gendarmes of the American monopolists, hoping to preserve a few “crumbs” for themselves.

Patriots and democrats in these three countries of North Africa are being brutally persecuted. Hundred of democrats have been imprisoned in Morocco and Algeria; ten members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Morocco are on trial; there is no freedom for trade union organisation in Morocco; the official censorship there does not permit any written expression of truth. Elections to the General Councils in Algeria on March 20 were a farce. Preparation, are underway to increase the military units in order to “safeguard peace” by incorporating in them units of the Foreign Legion recruited in the French zone of Germany.

But these machinations aimed at crushing the resistance of the 23 million Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians who are battling against the double yoke of the French and American colonisers, are doomed to failure. The broad national liberation movement in these countries is steadily extending. Many parties and organisations, including certain nationalist parties, opposed the official inclusion of Algeria and the actual inclusion of Morocco and Tunisia in the Atlantic Pact.

The peoples of North Africa, like all the oppressed peoples, clearly realise that their struggle is closely linked with the struggle of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and that the struggle for peace against the imperialist colonisers is, in the words of Comrade Larbi Buhali, secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, “the shortest path to national liberation, the path of the least sacrifice.”

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. Teohari Georgescu, Secretary, Central Committee, Rumanian Worker's Party

What is the class content of the people's democratic States?

As was the case in the other New Democracies when establishing the system of People's Democracy, the Rumanian Workers' Party was guided by Lenin's thesis that, regardless of the diversity of forms during the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, the essence of these forms would inevitably be one and the same—**dictatorship of the proletariat**.

The peculiarities of the historical development of the different countries and their national traits account for a certain diversity in the forms of their advance to Socialism. But any attempt to exaggerate the importance of the specific features of each individual country represents, in itself an opportunist and nationalist tendency, which in essence leads to a rejection of Marxism-Leninism and its basic content—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The People's Democracy is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, as distinct from the Soviet Revolution, the working class of the People's Democracies in alliance with the working peasantry were able to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat without a civil war. The countries of the People's Democracy were able to do this because of the historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War Two, because these countries were liberated by the armed forces of the Socialist State valiantly carrying out their international duty to the working people.

The sweeping growth in the might of the Soviet State

changed the relation of forces between capitalism and Socialism in the international arena in favour of Socialism. The great victory of the Soviet Union in World War Two together with its political and economic assistance to the liberated countries enabled these countries to develop along the path of People's Democracy. All attempts by the imperialists to restore capitalism in the People's Democracies are being shattered by the people's determination to defend their freedom and independence which are based on fraternal alliance and firm friendship with the invincible Soviet State. Thanks to the support of the U.S.S.R., the imperialists were unable to engage in naked military intervention against the People's Democracies as they did against the young Soviet State in 1918-20.

And so today there are two different forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat: the Soviet form and the form of the People's Democracy. The Soviet form is the higher form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The political foundations of the people's democratic system were laid under different conditions from those of the Soviet system. The Great October Socialist Revolution completely smashed the old state machine and transferred state power to the Soviets, thus creating the Soviet State as the higher type of Socialist State.

As in the other People's Democracies, an historical feature of the development of the revolution in Rumania was that the old state apparatus was not immediately smashed.

Due to the specific conditions of its inception and development, the people's democratic State represents a new state power within whose framework elements of the old bourgeois state machine continue to exist for a certain period of time.

Take Rumania, for example. After the liberation, the proletariat launched a bitter struggle for positions in the state

apparatus, for the bourgeoisie and the landlords realised that the loss of these positions would mean their own defeat and destruction.

However, the complete reorganisation of the state machine became possible only after a long struggle. As they consolidated their positions the workers drove the fascists and other reactionaries out of the state apparatus. The class content of the state apparatus was steadily reorganised by drawing in workers on a mass scale. This process was considerably accelerated after the abolition of the monarchy and the complete seizure of political power by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry. The old army, the old judicial organs, organs of repression—the police and gendarmerie—were all removed and new people's organs set up in their place.

But only with the establishment of People's Councils—local organs of state power built on broad democratic lines—will the new state apparatus be created, corresponding from top to bottom, in every way with the aims and tasks of the new State and adjusted to the tasks of building Socialism.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies are the political foundation of the U.S.S.R. The new organs of power, the People's Councils, are becoming the political foundation of the people's democratic State. The establishment of the People's Councils signify that in form the People's Democracy is approaching the higher form of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Soviet form. Organs of local state power of this type already exist in Bulgaria and are in the process of being established in the other People's Democracies.

People's Councils in Rumania

The People's Councils represent the most democratic form of administration ever known in the history of the Rumanian people. They constitute the political foundation of the People's Democracy—a democracy which serves the overwhelming majority of the population against the exploiting minority.

The People's Councils must be closely linked with the masses in order to influence the millions of working people and mobilise them for the struggle to build Socialism. These requirements are being put into practice by the Provisional Committees (district, city village, etc.) which are temporarily carrying out the functions of People's Councils until such Councils are elected. The Provisional Committees exercise state power and are responsible for the economic, social and cultural activities in their locality.

The People's Councils as the sole organs of state power in the localities are guided in their activities by the principle of democratic centralism, ensuring the strict fulfilment of the directives and plans of the central organs of power. They must at the same time encourage initiative from below, take into account all local peculiarities and needs, develop the economy and encourage the constructive efforts of the people.

The nature of the old organs of power in Rumania illustrates the great revolutionary significance of the transition from the old organs of power to the People's Councils.

As in all bourgeois states, power in Rumania was divided between legislative and executive organs. Actual state power was controlled by the executive organs. The legislative organ, parliament, hardly influenced the life of the country. Local state power was concentrated in the hands of officials appointed by the Government or by Ministers. Prefects and mayors were officials who ruled the people and were not responsible to them for their actions. They were controlled only

by the central power. The whole apparatus was an extreme example of bureaucracy. Peasants had to travel to Bucharest to settle elementary problems concerning schools, water supply and so on. Letters from the villages got lost in the Ministries and if they were answered at all it was only after some six months or more.

The agricultural, financial, health and other district organs for their part were not dependent on the prefects or mayors. Everybody ordered the people about, while nobody was responsible to the people, nobody voiced their will.

This is typical of bourgeois parliamentarism, of bourgeois democracy in all the capitalist countries of Europe.

In contra-distinction to this anti-people's, anti-democratic system, the People's Councils—the political foundation of the People's Democracy—are the sovereign organs of local power (region, district, city, village) elected by the people, responsible to the people, controlled by the people and if necessary recalled by the people.

The People's Councils in the Democracies are a new form of state power which is headed by the working class.

The People's Councils are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They embody the organisation of all working people, regardless of nationality, race, education and so on.

The People's Councils secure the consistent solution of the national question in the spirit of Socialism. Another advantage of the People's Councils as organs of state power is that they are able to combine their activities with the activities of mass organisations: the trade unions, cooperatives, youth leagues, and so on.

They are the most democratic organs of power of the people in these countries. At the same time the People's Councils are the only organs to secure the alliance of the working class with all working people, maintaining and strengthening the leading role of the proletariat.

The People's Councils are not organs of the bourgeois-parliamentary type that engage in much talk. They are the real State power of the people, daily solving political, economic, cultural and other problems which keenly interest the working people.

The Rumanian Workers' Party attaches cardinal importance to developing and consolidating the People's Councils since the establishment of People's Councils means that they are becoming the real, sole and most important political foundation of the People's Democracy which is carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The People's Councils differ from the old administrative system in that they base their work on the broad mass of the people who are drawn into the work of local administration and the exercise of state power. One of the most important ways of organising the masses round the Provisional Committees is through the Commissions and Civil Committees which temporarily are carrying out the functions of the People's Councils. Workers, working peasants, house-wives, youth and progressive intellectuals are drawn into the work of the Provisional Committees.

Thus the People's Councils draw to themselves numerous activists who strengthen the Councils' ties with the masses, drawing them into the administration of state affairs.

Main Tasks of the People's Democratic State

Through the organs of the people's power and the new state machine, the people's democratic state can successfully carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and solve the tasks facing it.

What are these tasks?

Speaking of the main tasks of the Soviet State, Comrade

Stalin pointed out that in the **first phase** (the period from the October Revolution to the abolition of the exploiting classes) the main tasks of the Soviet State were to suppress the overthrown classes in the country, to defend the country against foreign aggression; economic-organisational and cultural-educational work to promote the beginnings of the new socialist economy and to re-educate the people in the spirit of Socialism.

The latter task was not sufficiently developed in the first phase.

Today the principal task of the Soviet State is to build Communism. The organs of defence and suppression no longer have to direct their activities against internal forces.

The people's democratic State is in the first phase of development, corresponding to the transition period from capitalism to Socialism. This period is marked by a sharpening of the class struggle in town and countryside. The people's democratic State is successfully carrying out the main tasks of this phase.

The development of the People's Democracy as the state of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism is proceeding under conditions of sharp class struggle. Even after the working class had seized power and the principal means of production, and when the banks had been nationalised, the exploiting classes still had considerable economic influence in agriculture, trade and small-scale urban production.

The people's democratic State is an instrument of the proletariat in the class struggle against the exploiters. It vigorously suppresses all attempts by the exploiter to hinder the advance to Socialism and frustrates the plot hatched by the agents of Anglo-American imperialism to restore capitalism. In the struggle against attempts to restore the power of the capitalists and landlords, the people's democratic State is widely supported by the masses. The trials of the espionage

gang of Ausnit, Popp, Bujoi in Rumania, of Mindszenty in Hungary, and similar plotters in Czechoslovakia and Poland, show that the enemies of People's Democracy, the traitors, spies and wreckers in the service of imperialism, have not the slightest chance of success once the people display vigilance.

The proletariat of the People's Democracies is using late power to destroy the exploiting classes and to build Socialism. It is gradually undermining and restricting the economic basis of the exploiters and is thus liquidating them as a class. Bankers, industrialists and other capitalists were expropriated. The landlords lost the land they had plundered and were liquidated as a class. In the countryside the people's democratic State is pursuing a policy of restricting the capitalist elements—the kulaks—and of gradually dislodging them.

In this way, the people's democratic system is using state power to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Administrative, organisational and cultural-educational work in building Socialism is one of the most important and difficult functions of the People's Democracy. Thanks to the help of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies were able to develop this task to a considerable extent even in the first phase, since they did not have to fight either a civil war or !I war against imperialist military intervention. Apart from the enormous organisational effort needed to build a socialist economy, another cardinal task is the re-education of the masses in the spirit of Socialism. The seizure of power by the proletariat—the most advanced class in society—does not mean that the workers have rid themselves of bourgeois influence. Still more difficult is the task of re-educating the working people among the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry who constitute the bulk of the population in the People's Democracies and of drawing them in to take an active part in 'the administration of the State.

The People's Councils can carry out this task with the greatest measure of success since they cover the entire population of the town, villages and factories.

One of the essential educational tasks is to develop a feeling of love and devotion for the Soviet Union.

“Devotion to the Soviet Union—the birthplace of Socialism—and a resolute struggle against any manifestation of anti-Sovietism,” states a resolution on the national question adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, “is the touch-stone, the criterion of proletarian internationalism, the principal guarantee of the flourishing and wellbeing of the People's Democracies; it means strengthening their freedom and national independence.”

The working class is the leading force in the people's democratic system which finds full expression in the People's Councils. Experience shows that the leading role of the proletariat in the state, political, economic and cultural life of the People's Democracies is an essential condition in the transition of these countries to Socialism. There is no other way.

In order to divert Yugoslavia into the imperialist camp, the clique of traitors and renegades headed by Tito, began by belittling the role of the Yugoslav proletariat and by disarming it ideologically and politically in the face of the enemy.

The monstrous aim of the Tito gang is to conceal from the peoples of Yugoslavia their treacherous switch-over to the ranks of the imperialists. That is why Tito and his associates continue to mouth socialist phrases and slogans, outwardly close to the proletariat, likening these to their own treacherous nationalist formulations. Actually these agents of Anglo-American imperialism are taking measures to restore capitalism. They count on being able to compromise the idea of Socialism in the eyes of the Yugoslav people and propel

Yugoslavia into the imperialist camp.

In this vile Trotskyite game, the Tito clique is also trying to compromise the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat which does not exist in Yugoslavia. The Tito clique are not carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat but a nationalist-terrorist dictatorship against the proletariat and its vital interests. The Tito clique is responsible for the fact that Yugoslavia has ceased to be a People's Democracy.

The main ally of the working class is the working peasantry. The policy of an alliance with the working peasantry is of particular importance is the People's Democracies which are laying the foundations of Socialism. The alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, with the working class in the leading role, is the main principle of People's Democracy. This alliance of the working class and the peasantry with the proletariat in the leading role can best be brought about through the People's Councils, for this form of organising political power is most expedient since it daily provides for the joint participation of all working people in the administration of the State, under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The People's Councils are an expression of this militant alliance of the proletariat and working peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

However, the composition of the People's Councils and their structure are not as yet, in themselves, a guarantee that their work will be of a socialist nature. This guarantee can be given only if they are guided by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, inspired by the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Only Bolshevik leadership gave a socialist content to the Soviet of Working People's Deputies in the U.S.S.R.. Bolshevik leadership of the Soviets throughout the history of the Socialist State explains the tremendous role they played in building Socialism and which they continue to play today in

building Communism. The vast experience of Soviet construction is an inspiration to the Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies in their struggle to build Socialism.

Our Party is carrying on consistent work to develop and strengthen the Provisional Committees of the People's Councils. However, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party has pointed out to Party organisations that it would be a serious mistake if, instead of helping the People's Councils to develop independently, the Party organisations were to replace them and deprive them of their initiative.

The essence of the Party's leadership of the new organs of power lies in the fact that the working people recognise the leading role of the Party, in the prestige and love it enjoys among the masses, in the fact that never before in the history of the People's Democracies have the exploited and oppressed masses owned such a Party to which they were devoted heart and soul.

To guide the masses successfully in the struggle for Socialism and to secure the moral and political unity of the working people, the Marxist-Leninist party must constantly strengthen the People's Councils—the political foundation of the People's Democracy.

STRUGGLE OF FRENCH COMMUNISTS AGAINST ANTI-DEMOCRATIC REPRESSIONS. Pierre Hentgès

Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, is now being prosecuted for publishing an article in “l’Humanité” of April 29 on the glorious mutiny of French sailors in the Black Sea. He is charged with incitement to mutiny, with libel and with insulting the French Army and Navy.

“l’Humanité” is also being prosecuted for publishing, in the same issue, photographs showing atrocities committed by the expeditionary corps in Viet-Nam.

The case was brought against Jacques Duclos on orders from Queuille, President of the Government, and War Minister Ramadier. It is further evidence that the campaign of persecution against French democrats is intensifying. Many other prosecutions have also been opened, for instance, against the artist Foujeron, against the newspaper “France d’Abord”—the underground organ of the Francs-Tireurs and Partisans during the war—against Florimond Bonte, deputy from Paris and others.

Why have Queuille and the Right Socialist Ramadier whipped up such an anti-Communist drive? It is because, led by Maurice Thorez, the Communists are fighting for peace; because they are exposing the aggressive policy of the United States Government and its satellite, the French Government; because the Communists are indestructible obstacle standing in the way of success of this policy.

The ruling classes cannot forgive the Communists their courageous resistance to the American invasion of France which is now taking place in various forms—political, military, financial, economic, cultural etc.

^ Maurice Thorez and later Florimond Bonte and Jacques Duclos denounced this in the Chamber of Deputies.

What did Duclos write in his article in article in "l'Humanité"? He wrote that the camp of peace was headed by the land of Socialism, the country which had never been an aggressor, the glorious Soviet Union. Then he praised the "magnificent example of proletarian internationalism displayed 30 years ago by André Marty and his comrades-in-arms" who refused to take part in a "reactionary and anti-constitutional war." The events of 1919, wrote Duclos, were of enormous significance.

These words were made a pretext for prosecution precisely because the French Government has joined the plans of preparing a new "reactionary and anti-constitutional war" against France's friend and ally, the Soviet Union. These words were made a pretext for prosecution also because the French Government is now waging a "reactionary and anti-constitutional war" against the people of Viet-Nam.

The real aim of Queuille, Ramadier and Jules Moch can clearly be seen behind these prosecutions: the banning of the Communist Party and the destruction of working class organisations. They hope to achieve their aim by denouncing the Communist as traitors. But thanks to the explanatory work of the French Communists, the French people will frustrate this knavery.

The Communists are defending the national interests by remaining faithful to the Franco-Soviet treaty of alliance, the guarantee of France's independence and security.

The Communists are defending the national interests by demanding that the war against the people of Viet-Nam must stop.

To see in whose interests this colonial war is being waged, it is sufficient to recall that the Indo-China Bank, which has an interest in 60 companies, has recently joined the "French American Banking Corporation", a branch of the U.S. Morgan

trust. On the initiative of the Indo-China Bank, a “Franco-American Research Society” has been formed to open up countries of the French Union to American capital, in accordance with Truman’s Fourth Point.

The Communists are carrying on the glorious traditions of the French people by bringing forward again the slogan advanced in 1907 and 1925 against the wars in Morocco, declaring “Not a sou, not a man” for war in Viet-Nam. They are carrying on the traditions of the Socialist congresses before 1914, the traditions of Jaures, when they explain what is the duty of workers not only during the struggle against war preparations but also in the event of the French people being involved against their will, in an anti-Soviet war.

By persecuting the Communists, the Queuille Government is carrying out the job of a foreign agent of American imperialism. And if the intensified persecution of French Communists coincides with the “trial of the twelve” in the United States, the violence in relation to Gerhart Eisler, and the arrest of Max Reimann, this is by no means accidental. Taking the very words out of Hitler’s mouth, President Truman has called for a crusade against “Communist philosophy” and “the actions resulting from it.” Eric Johnson, technical adviser to the Marshall Plan administration, announced that the United States would allocate 50 million dollars to help “trade unions and other groups fighting against Communism.” As far back as October 14, 1918 the Wall Street “Journal of Commerce” claimed that the existence of large Communist Parties in France and Italy was “a weak spot” in the strategical positions of the West, and demanded that the American Government should recommend to these countries that they should take measures against the Communists. An expression of this policy can be found in the Atlantic Pact itself, for Article Four gives the U.S. Government the right to interfere in the internal affairs of any country on the pretext that its political independence is

endangered.

The fact that the French Government is acquitting and realising those who betrayed their country when the people of France were fighting for liberation is another proof that the Government's anti-Communist policy is a policy of treachery. The persecution of democrats is becoming a continuation of the policy of repressions against the French resistance fighters pursued by the Hitlerites and the men of Vichy who have once again found their way back into the Government organs.

In the preface to Karl Marx's book, "*Class Struggles in France*" Freidrich Engels shows how the so-called "parties of order" can find themselves in a situation when they despairingly cry: "legality is the death of us", and begin themselves to "break through this legality so fatal to them." This is what the rulers of France are now doing. But at the same time this reveals the true face of so-called "bourgeois democracy" which is nothing but a hypocritical form of the dictatorship of big capital. The demands of the American capitalists and their aggressive plans have merely speeded up the transition of this dictatorship from concealed forms to naked and brutal ones.

All the basic rights proclaimed by "bourgeois democracy" contained in the Constitution are being openly violated. This is the case, for example, with the freedom of the individual, freedom of the press and the rights of deputies.

People are detained for days without any valid reason, illegally, and contrary established court procedure.

As admitted by the director of the territorial security department, the Government wants to prevent the publication of "France d'Abord" because it raises questions which "cause the general staff considerable embarrassment", although, according to the law, this paper cannot be banned.

The prosecution of Bonte and Duclos means that members of parliament are denied the right to publish in the press not only their own opinion but also the views of their electorate.

In violation of the principles of parliamentary democracy, anti-democratic electoral laws were passed to reduce the number of representatives of the Communist Party, the first party in France, in municipalities, in the Council of the Republic and in the general councils after the Communist Ministers had been expelled from the government.

The French capitalists, their agents the Right Socialists and their masters the American monopolists intend to go even further along the path of repression, lawlessness and dictatorship. But they do not take into account the growth of France's democratic forces.

French capitalism is facing insurmountable difficulties. The 1948 budget had a deficit of 100 billion francs. Financial organ estimate that in 1949 the deficit will be between 150 billion and 200 billion francs. The reason for the deficit is the sharpening economic crisis, trade stagnation, the narrowing sources for taxes, including the post and railways. enormous military expenditure and intensive rearmament arising from the policy of the Atlantic Pact and the war in Viet-Nam.

The lawful demands of the working people, such as higher wages and help for agriculture cannot be satisfied. The military budget swallows the country's main resources.

The Government is taking steps which will cause even further deterioration in living standards. Increased fuel prices, partial abolition of social insurance benefit and mass dismissals of railwayman—this is the other side of the war policy pursued by the American Party.

The French working class has replied to this policy by strengthening its unity of action. Former resistance fighters, alarmed at repressions against democrats and) the indulgence shown to collaborators and traitors, are also consolidating their

ranks.

What Truman and his French agents want is to outlaw Communism. But, a threat to Communism is a threat to democracy. The French people understand this. They are strengthening their vigilance and their unity. And their struggle for the independence and honour of France, inseparable from the struggle for freedom and peace, will be victorious.

MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN.

Kyuichi Tokuda, General Secretary, Communist Party of Japan

Japan is the frontier of Asia in the Pacific. In the past the country's geographical position was an important factor in the development of Japanese imperialism. Today Anglo-American monopoly capital regards Japan as one of the stepping stones in its drive for world domination. That is why the Japanese monopolists and their agents believe that the only way to safeguard their future is to form a close alliance with international monopoly capital.

After the capitulation of Japan in August 1945 which was a decisive blow to the emperor system, Japanese monopoly capital was plunged into a state of confusion. But with the formation of the Liberal-“Progressive” coalition cabinet—the first Yoshida cabinet—in June 1946, Japanese monopoly capital recovered from its military defeat and proceeded to launch vicious attacks upon the workers, peasants, fishermen, small and medium industrialists and merchants. At the same it began to ally itself with international monopoly capital. The military clique and the bureaucrats who had held privileged position under the old emperor system took advantage of the situation to renew their activities.

Premier Yoshida is a worthy representative of Japanese imperialism. He was Consul General in Mukden and later Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs under General Tanaka who headed the cabinet from 1927 to 1929. In these capacities he helped to lay the foundation of the policy of aggression against China as a first step toward world aggression. The militarist bureaucrats and big industrialist who continue the traditions of Japanese imperialism have every reason to centre their hopes on Yoshida.

It is common knowledge that these elements are again active, overtly or covertly. They broadened their reactionary activities during the Katayama—Ashida coalitions of the National Cooperative and Social Democratic parties, using the right-wing Social Democrats as their tool and cultivating rabid trotskyite agents. The drive to fascism, prepared in this way, is developing at a quickened tempo particularly since the formation of the third Yoshida Cabinet last February.

The main feature of the Yoshida cabinet and of those supporting it is to find the best means of serving Anglo-American monopoly capital and of winning its material and moral aid to buttress the domination of Japanese monopoly capital.

The Government is strengthening finance capital by handing over to influential private banks the functions of financial institutions formerly controlled by the state bureaucracy, with the result that a direct alliance between these banks and foreign banks has been made possible. Moreover, control of industries by private finance capital has been facilitated by removing the restrictions on industry.

As a result of the Government's policy, Japan is suffering a loss in her foreign trade while foreign capital is making enormous profits. United States imports are priced three times higher than the official Japanese price for such goods, while export goods are sold at one-third, or even less, of the international standard price. The people have to bear the brunt of this loss while the monopolists are making huge profits. This policy is leading to the economic enslavement of the country.

By administrative measures concerning prices, taxation, labour legislation and so on, state authority is exercised solely to protect the interests of comprador monopoly capital.

The Yoshida Government is trying to restore landlordism and to revive a social basis for militarism by raising land rents and sabotaging the land reform.

The Yoshida Government is helping, both materially and spiritually to debase national education, science, technique, culture and the arts to a colonial level. At the same time, the Government is strengthening its system of repression for the purpose of crushing the widespread resistance of the masses to the comprador policy of the Japanese ruling circles, a policy leading to the loss of the country's independence, freedom and peace, to the impoverishment of the workers, peasants and fishermen to the ruin of the small and medium industrialists and landlords. The Government is doing everything to isolate that Communists, and is intensifying fascist pressure against the Party.

All this is leading to a steady sharpening of class antagonisms and internal contradictions. Opposing the handful of monopolists and their agents are broad sections of the people and even certain representatives of capitalist circles and small and medium landlords.

The struggle is no longer restricted to strikes, sabotage, demonstrations, land disputes and refusal to pay taxes. It has become a nation-wide political movement in defence of the national industry, education and culture, in defence of our national existence. This powerful offensive of the people, with the working class as the spearhead, has roused all sections of society. This anti-Government struggle is drawing into its orbit also Government officials and rank and file Democratic-Liberals, and exposing the lawlessness and corruption in towns and villages. The people are becoming more and more indignant and resentful, at the police and finance organs which are carrying out the Yoshida Government's anti-popular policy.

The active participation of the broad mass of the people in the democratic movement has long traditions. As far back as the 90's of the last century the Japanese trade union movement did much to arouse the revolutionary spirit of the masses. The organised peasant movement developed in the early part of the

century.

The Communist Party is at the head of this struggle, exposing the treacherous policy of the Democratic-Liberal Party which at present holds an absolute majority in Parliament. The lower organisations of the Democratic-Liberal Party are forced to side with the people for they are afraid that otherwise they will be swept aside by the sweeping indignation of the people. As a result the big monopolists and their agents are being driven further into isolation.

The experience accumulated by the Communist Party during the long period of brutal military and police persecution is helping it to guide the broad people's movement in this post-war period. It should be noted that the people's struggle in Japan was consistently guided in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle of the mass of the people for liberation from the colonial yoke and foreign dependence is gaining momentum in the Far East. The leadership of this struggle has passed from the bourgeois nationalists to the Parties which are guided by the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The struggle for democracy in Japan is one of the fronts of the world democratic movement.

VICTORY OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S INDEPENDENCE FRONT. Janos Kadar, Deputy General Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party

May 15—day of the Hungarian general election—was a joyful demonstrations of the working people's unity around the Hungarian Workers' Party and the People's Independence Front. Even the correspondents of British and American bourgeois newspapers who visited the polling booths could not deny this. "The Times" which can certainly not be suspected of sympathising with Hungarian democracy, wrote that the atmosphere of gaiety gave the Hungarian election an air of being a national holiday.

The election results are a complete victory for democracy. Of 6,053,972 electors, 5,730,519, or 94.6 per cent went to the polls—480,000 more than in 1947. Of these 5,478,515, or 95.6 per cent, voted for the People's Independence Front, and 165,283, or 2.9 per cent, against; 86,721 voting-papers, slightly more than one and a half per cent, were invalid.

These results were completely unexpected for reaction, and it must be admitted that they were even better than Hungarian democrats themselves dared to hope. In such places as the XIII District of Budapest, Csepel, Salgotarjan, Ozd, Totabanya and other working class regions, the People's Front received 98 to 99 per cent of the vote. This political upsurge also reached a high level in the countryside. Many villages had recorded a hundred per cent vote two hours after the opening of the polling booths. In hundreds of villages the people voted unanimously for the People's Front candidates.

How call this splendid electoral victory of the People's Independence Front be explained? When the election campaign opened, the Hungarian Worker's Party and the People's

Independence Front, uniting the forces of Hungarian democracy, called upon the electorate, by their active participation in the election, to approve the work which the Party had carried out to strengthen Hungarian democracy. The people were asked to show their approval by the Five-Year Plan and support for the foreign policy of the Party and the People's Independence Front—a policy aimed at combatting, together with the Soviet Union, the imperialists' war plans, and securing a lasting peace for mankind and for the Hungarian people. In the election this programme was triumphant.

With the fraternal help of the Soviet people, the working people of Hungary have restored the country's economy which had been ruined by the fascists. Living conditions have improved. The Three-Year Plan is being successfully carried out and will be completed seven months ahead of schedule. Even the bourgeois press, commenting on the election admitted these results, albeit reluctantly, "Le Monde", semi-official organ of the French Foreign Office, wrote in this connection: "The pivot of the election was the Five-Year Plan" which "covers all branches of economic, scientific and spiritual life, and everybody here is interested in its realisation". Hungarian democracy, led by the Communists, has a constructive programme. It has also the strength to carry it out. The programme of reaction, from Nagy to Barankovics and Peyer, would have meant misery for the people and destruction of the country. That is why it was easy for our electorate to decide for whom they should vote.

The election results also show that the medium peasantry, women and youth have been decisively won to the side of the united democratic front. This process, which greatly contributed to the political development of the working people, developed apace after the establishment of the united Hungarian Workers' Party.

Many other circumstances also favoured the election. A

particularly important factor was the success of the Soviet Union's peace policy on the Berlin question. The news of the preliminary agreement over Berlin considerably strengthened the positions of the supporters of peace and progress in Hungary and was a crushing blow to the supporters of reaction and war.

The Hungarian people owe much to our liberator, the Soviet Union. The hearts of millions of working people in Hungary are filled with love for the Soviet people, for the great leader of the Soviet land, the glorious Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin. The Hungarian factory worker, peasant and working intellectual know that our success in rebuilding the country economically and politically was only possible because of the Soviet Union's support and that friendship with the Soviet Union is the only way to maintain peace and win a happy future for Hungary.

That is why, by voting for the People's Front candidates, our people voted to further strengthen this friendship, to consolidate the socialist and democratic peace camp fighting under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

The election results have enhanced the leading role of the Hungarian Workers' Party in the country, and have consolidated the alliance of workers and peasants and the unity of the democratic camp. People's Hungary stands firmly on the side of the Soviet Union and is opposing the imperialist warmongers and their stooges, the Right Social Democrats and the Tito gang of provocateurs and adventurers.

Speaking of the confidence demonstrated during the election in the People's Front and its leader, the Hungarian Worker's Party, we should also recall other proofs of this confidence. In the year since industry was nationalised, output rose 21.2 per cent, exceeding the 1938 level by 24.4 per cent. Taking the value of the output of an individual worker in 1938 as 100, we see that in 1946 it was 73 per cent (the productivity

of labour dropped as a result of the war) in the middle of 1948, 94.2 per cent and 110.5 per cent in March 1949.

The attitude of our working peasantry to people's democracy is shown by the fact that by May 20, when there were still three weeks left to carry out the spring sowing, the targets had already been fulfilled by 97.9 per cent even though the work had been held up by bad weather.

Even after their liberation the working people of Hungary had to wage a hard struggle for their happiness. Our people have learnt much during the past years. We won a glorious and complete victory at the general election, but we are far from being complacent. Reaction has not yet been eliminated in our country; beyond our borders the forces of international reaction will snatch at the slightest opportunity to create difficulties for us. We shall be on our guard.

Basing itself on the victory of May 15 and on the confidence and selfless support of our people, Hungarian democracy will go forward along its planned path. By rallying still closer in the socialist democratic camp of peace led by the Soviet Union, we will build Socialism in our Country.

PEOPLE OF ITALY AGAINST THE ATLANTIC PACT

The proposal of a number of outstanding Italian political leaders of various opinions to present Parliament with a people's petition against the ratification of the Atlantic Pact has met with widespread approval. It is supported by members of Parliament and prominent figures in politics, culture, art and literature.

Although Article 50 of the Italian Constitution gives all citizens the right to address petitions to Parliament, demanding "legislative measures or putting forward general demands", the de Gasperi Government has ordered the police and Government representatives in the localities to issue an unlawful decree prohibiting the signing of petitions in public places, in the streets, and in houses.

But in spite of these anti-Constitutional measures of the Government, by May 10, 100,000 signatures had been collected in Florence, 70,000 in the Province of Naples and 130,000 in the Province of Catanzaro. Many people who voted for the government parties are now signing the petition directed against the Government's actions.

The Council of Ministers' ban on political meetings in Rome, attended by citizens from various part of Italy, has caused grave concern throughout the country. This ban is aimed at preventing 100,000 young people from coming to the peace congress called by the Youth Alliance for June 12.

Addressing a great meeting of 200,000 in Reggio Emilia, Togliatti outlined the tasks of the reorganised Communist Youth League and its role in the struggle for peace.

The National Petition Committee has called on the Italian people to celebrate June 2, anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, as a day in defence of peace and democratic

liberties , under the slogan of struggle against the Atlantic Pact.

Neither de Gasperi! and Scelpa, nor the Vatican which has mobilised its propaganda machine against the petition, will be able to prevent the Italian people from expressing their will.

INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM.

Liu Shao-chi, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

The Resolution concerning the Communist Party of Yugoslavia passed by the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties condemned the anti-Soviet position of the treacherous Tito nationalist clique.

The Resolution pointed out that this anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique proceeds from the nationalist programme of the bourgeoisie. The resolution states: "Such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary, bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence, and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries."

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Yugoslav Party also pointed out that the Tito-ites had fallen into the mire of bourgeois nationalism. At the same time, our Central Committee stressed that by passing this resolution the Information Bureau was "fulfilling its obligations to the cause of preserving world peace and democracy, and defending the people of Yugoslavia from the deception and aggression of American imperialism".

What, then, is bourgeois nationalism? What is the attitude of Marxism-Leninism to the national question? Why is it that the anti-Soviet position of the Tito clique may make Yugoslavia a prey to the aggression of American imperialism, and forfeit Yugoslavia's independence, transforming her into a colony of imperialism?

Bourgeois nationalism's concept of the nation, or the bourgeoisie's approach to the nation, its programme and policy for dealing with the national question, are based on the class foundations of the bourgeoisie, proceeding solely from its own narrow class interests.

In pursuit of their own profits the capitalists not only exploit the proletariat unscrupulously, but even within their own bourgeois class they are not averse from swallowing-up rivals in cut-throat competition; the big fish eating the little fish, the big bourgeoisie swallowing the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and one group ousting and destroying another.

Using every possible method, including wars, to gain monopoly throughout the country and the world—such is the profit-seeking nature of the bourgeoisie. This is the class basis of bourgeois nationalism, and likewise the class basis of all bourgeois ideologies.

The imperialist enslavement of colonies—and semi-colonies which brought about World War One, the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords which led to World War Two, and, finally the plan for the enslavement of the whole world by the camp of world imperialism, headed by American imperialism—these are the most evil manifestations of the imperialist essence of the contemporary bourgeoisie, cloaked in nationalism.

I.

Proletarian internationalism's concept of the nation is fundamentally opposed to that of bourgeois nationalism. Proletarian internationalism's approach to the nation and its basic principles for dealing with the national question, proceed from the fundamental interests of the mass of the people of the given country and from the fundamental common interests of the mass of the people of all the nations throughout the world—of all mankind. National oppression is a product of the system of class exploitation. The proletariat, which exploits no one and struggles for a social system which abolishes the exploitation of man by man, is opposed to the oppression of

one nation by another. The proletariat rejects any oppression of man by man in society, since this runs counter to the aims of its emancipation struggle.

Communist Party members in all the oppressed nations have always constituted the staunchest vanguard fighters leading the national liberation movements of the oppressed nations against imperialism. For example, we Chinese Communists are thorough proletarian internationalists and are, at the same time, the staunchest revolutionary patriots and national revolutionary fighters opposing all imperialist aggression against the Chinese nation, defending China's freedom and independence and opposing all national traitors.

In China, the first to raise a clear-cut programme of opposition to imperialism and for national independence was not the party of the bourgeoisie to the petty-bourgeoisie but was the party of the Chinese proletariat. Our Communist Party of China has always been the leader and organiser of the united anti-imperialist national front of the Chinese people. This is a broad united national front including workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie, and other progressive elements. This kind of revolutionary national liberation movement is not in contradiction to proletarian internationalism. The two are entirely consistent with each other, constituting an extremely important organic part of the movement of proletarian internationalism, constituting its broad direct ally. The victory of this national liberation movement is a great step forward along the path of proletarian internationalism, giving great help and impetus to the socialist revolution of the proletariat throughout the world.

Therefore, it is clear that if the Communists of oppressed nationalities fail to carry out concrete opposition to imperialist oppression and to fight for national liberation, if they merely regard "internationalism" as an empty ornamental phrase—then they are betraying proletarian internationalism, and

descending to the level of low and contemptible trotskyites, agents of imperialism.

Furthermore, if after their own nation has rid itself of imperialist oppression, the Communists descend to a position of bourgeois nationalism, carrying out policy of national self-interest and sacrificing the common international interests of the working people of all the nations of the world and of the proletariat to the interests of the upper strata of their own nation, not only failing to oppose imperialism but on the contrary relying on imperialist aid to carry out aggression against other nations, and oppress them, or opposing proletarian internationalism with national conservatism, rejecting the international solidarity of the proletariat and the working people and opposing the Socialist Soviet Union—then all this is also a betrayal of the proletariat and of Communism, which helps the international imperialists, and makes these traitors themselves a pawn of the imperialists. The Tito group in Yugoslavia is now taking this path.

Lenin said: “Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are two irreconcilable, mutually antagonistic slogans. They conform to the two great class camps of the whole capitalist world, and manifest two different policies on the national question (and especially two different world outlooks)”.

A sharp difference must be drawn between proletarian internationalism and its position on the national question, and bourgeois nationalism. A Communist who descends to a position of bourgeois nationalism is betraying Communism. Imperialism whenever possible, wages aggression against weaker nations and oppresses them and certainly will not honestly assist other nation to win independence and liberation. It may happen that one imperialist country may help an oppressed nation to struggle against another imperialist country; however, the imperialist country does not do this for

the sake of the independence and liberation of the oppressed nation, it does it rather to make use of the oppressed nation against its competitor, scheming to establish its own imperialist rule, over the oppressed nation after its competitor has been removed.

The purpose of Hitler's plan to establish "the New Order in Europe", of the Japanese warlord's plans to establish "the co-prosperity sphere in greater East Asia" and "Sino-Japanese co-existence and co-prosperity", of American imperialism's "Marshall Plan for European Recovery", "Aid for Economic Construction in China" " "Aid for Korean Independence" and "Assistance for Philippine Independence", of Britain's "Aid for Indian and Burmese Independence", and the like—the purpose of all these is to establish their rule over other nations, to preserve and increase their profits.

It would be extremely erroneous and harmful to harbour any illusions about the good faith of American imperialism in giving the Chinese national any real aid, independence, peace, or democracy.

II

Only the Communists and the world proletariat, only the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, are the true and reliable friends of all oppressed nations fighting for their liberation and national independence. The aid of the Soviet Union, of the world proletariat and of the Communists is the most important condition for the victory of all nations in fighting for liberation from imperialist oppression, for national independence.

Mistrust and unfriendliness toward the Soviet Union and the New Democracies which the Tito-ites are seeking to inculcate among the people of Yugoslavia, and, advancing the "argument" that the "capitalist countries are less dangerous to

Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union” can only bring harm to Yugoslavia.

To declare as the Tito-ites do that the same attitude should be adopted toward the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, led by the Communist Parties, as is adopted in reaction to imperialist countries—this is but the outcome of betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a betrayal of proletarian internationalism, and of switching over to a bourgeois nationalist position.

Imperialist aggression divided the nations of the world into two types—oppressed nations and oppressing nations. After World War One, Lenin made the following analysis of the situation with regard to these two types of nations:

“A billion and a quarter oppressed in the colonies—countries which are being cut up alive, like Persia, Turkey and China; and countries which have been vanquished and flung into the position of colonies. Not more than a quarter of a billion inhabit countries which have retained their old positions, but have fallen into economic dependence upon America, and all of them, during the war, were in a state of military dependence, for the war affected the whole world and did not permit a single state to remain really neutral. And finally, we have not more than a quarter of a billion inhabitants of countries in which only the upper stratum, of course, only the capitalists, benefited by the partition of the world.”

During the latter period of the First World War, the Russian proletariat pierced the imperialist front over one-sixth of the earth’s surface and carried out the great October Socialist Revolution. As a result the world was divided into two different economic systems. The First World War and the October Revolution led to the general crisis of capitalism. In conditions of this general crisis, bourgeois nationalism became even more narrow, cruel and aggressive. Fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries, aiming at enslaving the world,

was the product of the most rotten, most reactionary monopoly capital and appeared in conditions of the sharp contradictions inherent in the general crisis of capitalism. During the Second World War the German-Italian-Japanese fascists were defeated by the international anti-fascist forces, headed by the Soviet Union. With the help of the Soviet Union the peoples of Eastern Europe established a new democratic order in their countries.

The Communist Parties of the world proved to be the most heroic leaders and staunchest defenders of their motherland during World War Two; their prestige among the people is extremely high and they became unprecedentedly powerful; the national revolutionary struggles of the East are sweeping like a forest fire through China, Viet Nam, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya and other countries. The world situation after World War Two underwent another fundamental change manifesting a new, sharper development of the general crisis of capitalism compared with what took place after World War One.

III

Even during World War Two the American imperialists made their plans for plundering and oppressing the nations of the whole world. After the war, they put into operation the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, bringing step by step, many of the world's nations under their control and rule, preparing a network of military bases throughout the world, and interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries. All these aggressive plans just as was the case with Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords are being carried out under the slogan of "defence against the Soviet Union, defence against Communism".

The American imperialists are exerting all their forces to mobilise the people of their own country in support of their

plans, they are suppressing the forces among the people of their own country who oppose their plans. They are cultivating the myth of the “American Century”, the “theory” of the “superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race”, declaring that Americans, should “lead the world”, and that all the nations of the world should be under their rule. They are persecuting the Communist Party of the United States, the progressive trade unions, the progressive movement under the leadership of Henry Wallace and are establishing fascist-like rule in America. In attempting to realise their plans of world domination, the American imperialists are opposing the U.S.S.R., the People’s Democracies the Communist Party of China and the liberation movement of the Chinese people, the national liberation movements of Greece, Viet Nam, Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and the Philippines; they are opposing the Communist Parties and the peoples’ democratic forces of all countries.

Therefore, when the Tito-ites take up an anti-Soviet position, leave the Communist Information Bureau and, within their own country destroy the vital forces of real progress, the American imperialists display uncontrollable glee.

The American imperialists must search for stooges and agents of the various countries who will carry out their behests. They seek out national renegades and traitors and give them their backing in suppressing the resistance movements of the peoples of these countries and in opposing the Soviet Union. American imperialism helps the reactionaries of all countries, and supports the revival of the remnants of fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan, and other countries. Everywhere the reactionary parties and groups of the bourgeoisie of these countries and the remnants of fascism have become the agents and stooges of American imperialism suppressing with American aid, the resistance movements of the peoples of their own countries and of the colonial countries and opposing the

Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the peoples of all countries.

The class enemies of the proletariat of the capitalist countries are at the same time the national betrayers of these countries. To win Socialism the proletariat of these capitalist countries must oppose both enslavement by American imperialism and the national traitors of their own countries. The class question and the national question are linked together. This enables the proletariat of the countries of Europe to unite still broader masses of people within their countries, and link up the defense of their national independence with the cause of winning Socialism, and, on the other hand too unite broader masses, of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, linking up the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies with their own cause of winning Socialism.

At the present time, the world national question has been unprecedentedly intensified by the American imperialists' growing attempts to enslave the world, by the sharpening oppression of colonial peoples on the part of the imperialists of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries with American aid by the new upsurge of the popular democratic movement and the growing national liberation movement in the colonies. Today the world is divided into two mutually antagonistic camps. On the one side is American imperialism and its accomplices—the reactionaries of all countries. This is the international camp of imperialism. On the other side is the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe, the national-liberation movement in China, in the countries of Southeastern Asia and in Greece, the democratic forces of the peoples of the world. This is the international anti-imperialist camp, American imperialism is the fortress of all the reactionary forces of the world while the Soviet Union is the fortress of the forces of progress. These two camps include the peoples of the world, all countries, classes, sections of the

population, parties and groups. When these two camps are in sharp conflict, people line up with one or the other side.

As pointed out by Mao Tse-tung in his “New Democracy”, so-called neutrally is nothing but deception, intentional or otherwise”.

To win their liberation, all the oppressed nations can only oppose American imperialism and its accomplices within their countries, can only unite with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, unite with the national liberation movement and peoples’ democratic forces of other countries, unite with the proletariat and the Communist Parties—that is to say, they must line up in the anti-imperialist camp which is waging a stubborn struggle against American imperialism. No nation can win real liberation any other way.

In the spring of 1925, the great Chinese patriot, Sun Yat-sen wrote in his letter to the Soviet Union just before his death: “This free union of republics is the true bequest of the immortal Lenin to the world at the oppressed nations. The victims of imperialism will rely on it in defence of their freedom, to seek emancipation from the international system which, since ancient times, has been based on slavery, war and intolerance.” This remains true. It has been further proved in the world war against fascist aggression, is being proved again in the present struggles of mankind for liberation. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung made clear in his “New Democracy”, there are two possibilities—alliance with the Soviet Union or alliance with imperialism. It must be one or the other. This is the demarcation line between revolution and counter-revolution, between progression or retrogression for any nation in the world.

IV

The basic conclusion to be drawn from all this is: the

oppressed nations of the world, the proletariat and peoples' democratic forces of all countries must unite with the Soviet Union, with the New Democracies of eastern Europe in order to defeat the American imperialist plans for world enslavement, plans of colonial oppression and to solve the present-day question namely, to liberate all oppressed nations and end the rule of monopoly capital. In other words, the Communists and peoples of all countries must, in accordance with the proletarian international treatment of the question of nations and the programme and policy of the proletariat on the national question, unite with the working people and all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of the world, with the Soviet Union and democratic countries of Eastern Europe for a common struggle and to render each other assistance and support. Only thus can the Communists solve the present-day national question.

If opposition of the Soviet Union is adopted instead of alliance with the Soviet Union; if opposition to the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe is adopted instead of alliance with them, if opposition to the Communist Parties the proletariat and the people's democratic forces of the various countries of the world is adopted in lead of alliance, if opposition is adopted toward the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies instead of alliance with all oppressed nations as the Tito group has done in Yugoslavia—all this is done, then the result will of necessity be alliance with American imperialism and other imperialisms, a position in the imperialist camp and an alliance with the reactionary forces of the world. Had this path been followed, national liberation could not have been achieved in China, this would have led to U.S. imperialist domination and domination by their imperialist countries, to loss of independence and the transformation of the country into a colony of imperialism.

Directing the national liberation, proletarian and socialist

movements in their countries, closely linking the national democratic revolution of the oppressed nations with the socialist revolution of the proletariat, the Communists are guided by proletarian internationalism. Only thus can victory be obtained in both kinds of revolution, only thus can one's nation be liberated, only thus can the national question be solved.

Victory in the struggle for Socialism cannot be won any other way, nor even real victory in the national-liberation movement.

We are living in the age when all roads lead to communism. The peoples of the various countries will come to it in their own concrete way of struggle. The national-liberation struggle is the path for the oppressed peoples.

The Soviet Union is the bulwark against imperialist aggression, the most reliable and best friend of the oppressed peoples of the world.

MR. BARUCH'S REVELATIONS

Bernard Baruch, the aged American financier, holds no official post today in the United States. But this does not mean that he has no influence on the policy of his country. Indeed, it is no secret that influential U.S. statesmen come to Baruch to pay their respects and ask his advice. He also has overseas visitors. Only recently Winston Churchill was his guest. The saying has it that you can tell a bird by its feathers, a man by his friends. Just who Baruch is can be gathered from the fact that Churchill is his bosom friend. We do not know what these two warmongers discussed but we take it for granted that they had no serious difference of opinion, Churchill expressed his ideas at Boston. Not willing to be left behind, Baruch let himself go in an article in "The Saturday Evening Post".

Posing as a seer he gave his efforts the pretentious title: "What does the Future Promise Us?" The average American, alarmed by the war psychosis and attracted by the grandiose headline, eagerly picks up the article to see what it has to say. And so the first part of the job is done—Baruch has caught the reader's attention, only the question remains to be answered. But the artful old man carefully avoids that. He follows the well-known method of the fortune-teller at the fair and tries to worm his way into his reader's confidence. He flatters the farmer, makes up to the housewife and addresses the worker as though he were a mayor or a governor.

The reader is given the impression that the this millionaire who leads a life of ease in South Carolina, is sharing his innermost thoughts. And all this is done in warm and touching terms. It seems the old man is gravely alarmed about the fate of mankind—it is making him lose his sleep. Baruch writes: After much thought I have come to the conclusion that there is a bold and clever way of getting out of the labyrinth of fears into which we have blundered.

Unwillingly, Baruch reveals what the American politicians, lost in the labyrinth of fears, are trying to conceal. Forrestal found the only way out of the maze—by way of a madhouse. But even there his guards could not control him, and the former Secretary of War became the victim of his own war hysteria. He leapt to death from a sixteenth-storey window.

Baruch has much in common with Forrestal. They are both tycoons of American finance capital. Baruch was in charge of American atom policy while Forrestal was a minister. Their community of thought was astonishing. The suicide suffered from persecution mania: Baruch, too, is displaying every sign of maniacal fear when he screams that the United States can become a victim of aggression. The difference is that Baruch does not seriously believe this.

It is not for nothing that Churchill selected him as a kindred spirit. Though Baruch writes that the cold war has thrown the United States into Polar gloom and that the country is in a fever of nervous excitement. His words are spun with a definite purpose—to impress upon the Americans that he is the new Messiah who can now save America the way out.

What is his solution? This old shark states that America needs peace. One might think that he was speaking in all sincerity, since the article is full of words about the wellbeing of mankind. But here Baruch makes a somersault. It appears that the U.S. can only maintain peace by intensified military preparations! The maintenance of peace, says Baruch, depends on how quickly we mobilise the necessary economic, military and spiritual power to fight a war. And to do this the American worker, farmer, and small businessman are expected to tighten their belts.

As the United States mobilises its forces, he continues, Americans will have to reconcile themselves to the hated regulation and hardships that come with war. Young people will have to join the army and “the rest of us” (by “us” Baruch

naturally excludes himself and his brother millionaires) will have to sign up at the registration bureau.

Under the standard of defending peace, Baruch is propagating war and a lower living standard. He promises price and profit control for the duration of war but demands that the standard of living and wages should be lowered immediately.

Digging up one argument after another in favour of intensifying military preparations, Bernard Baruch gradually changes his tone from that of a compassionate old man to an outright warmonger. He complains that the United States was much too hasty in demobilising its army. But there is not a word about the existing forces, about the hundreds of military bases throughout the world. The article mirrors the great-ridden face of the war-monger. The old man grumbles at the Government. The defence programme for Western Europe, he writes is being handled at an **impermissibly slow rate** (my emphasis—L.T.). He suggests that an American war production department should have been set up and the use of scarce materials for unessential goods restricted, to free more for urgent needs.

It is quite clear what Baruch is getting at.

Baruch, who headed the War Production Department during World War One and held a leading position on the War Resources Bureau in World War Two, ought to know better than anybody how great were the war profits piled up to the American monopolists. According to incomplete statistics, American corporations netted a profit of 52 billion dollars in six years during World War Two. This money was made out of human bloodshed, out of the sorrows and misfortunes of millions of widows and orphans.

After the war the American monopolists once again set about to whip up war hysteria, with the sole object of expanding war production and establishing world domination. That is why Baruch writes about the need for restrictions, why

he grumbles about the amazingly high standard of living of the American people, demanding that it should be lowered in order to raise the country's war mobilisation. Here, of course, the author is silent about the 13½ million unemployed and short-time workers in the United States and the falling purchasing power of the working people.

Baruch is out to prove that black is white and night is day. He is doing his utmost to convince the average American of the need to intensify war preparation, the inexpediency of lowering already extremely low taxes.

Bernard Baruch, financier of the Morgan group, is making a poor showing in his role of prophet. Raking in millions dollars from war he has been blinded by the dazzle of gold and his mind unbalanced by greed. Though he is waiting to unleash a third world war. Baruch the prophet forgets that it will certainly end badly for imperialism whose foundations have already been thoroughly shaken by the preceding two wars. The old wolf is dragging all his friends with him to the grave. He who takes up the sword shall perish by the sword. The new prophet Baruch who casts envious glances at Hitler's laurels should bear this in mind.

L. Tolkunov

IN MEMORY OF RICARDO FONSECA

Ricardo Fonseca, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile and one of the outstanding leaders of the Chilean proletariat has, died. A fine speaker and propagandist, Fonseca was active in the struggle for the country's independence and freedom right from his youth, endeavouring to help his people suffering from poverty, illiteracy and imperialist oppression.

Fonseca joined the Communist Party in 1929. For many years he guided the struggle of Chillan youth against fascism and for democracy and freedom. As one of the founders and editors of "**El Siglo**", Fonseca built up this newspaper into a militant organiser of the masses in the struggle against United States monopoly capital in the country.

In 1946 Fonseca was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. In his capacity he vigorously fought to keep the Party ranks pure and to prevent the penetration of revisionist ideologies in the working class movement.

The last years of his life Fonseca devoted to organising the working class and broad masses of the people against the bloodthirsty dictatorship of Gonzales Videla, a lackey of the imperialist monopolies, who has turned the county into one vast concentration camp. Fonseca courageously fought against the instigators of a new war and for peace and freedom between peoples. He had a warm love for the Soviet Union. In his last public appearance, on March 14, Fonseca declared on behalf of the Chilean working class:

"The people of Chile will never fight against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of peace and democracy, the defender of the oppressed and dependent peoples."

An untimely death has cut short the life of a splendid revolutionary anti-fascist and patriot.

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