

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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Bureau of the Communist and  
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## CONTENTS

STRENGTHEN REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE! .....	6
MARCEL CACHIN'S 80 <sup>th</sup> BIRTHDAY .....	12
EVE OF PEACE DAY .....	13
FRANCE .....	13
ITALY .....	13
CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE    FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE.....	15
COMRADE MARCEL CACHIN.....	16
30 YEARS OF U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY .....	17
AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES IN RUMANIA .....	18
OPENING OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE .....	19
EDUCATION IN BULGARIA .....	20
LECTURES FOR TEACHERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES.....	21
BEFORE AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS .....	22
MINERS STRIKE IN U.S. ....	23
BOOK ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY .....	24
EXPERIENCE OF WORK OF PEASANT COOPERATIVES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA .....	25
CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL WORK IN ALBANIA.....	26
FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD BRAND WITH SHAME FASCIST DEGENERATES, TITO ACCOMPLICES, AGENTS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM.....	27
SOME LESSONS FROM THE TRIAL OF THE RAJK-RANKOVIC-TITO ESPIONAGE GANG. Ernö Gerö, member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party .....	27
EXPOSE THE PROVOCATEURS AND SPIES .....	31

COMMENTS ON TRIAL OF HUNGARIAN STATE CRIMINAL RAJK AND HIS ASSOCIATES .....	33
POLAND .....	33
BULGARIA .....	34
RUMANIA.....	35
CZECHOSLOVAKIA.....	36
ALBANIA.....	37
CHINA .....	39
ITALY .....	40
GREAT BRITAIN .....	41
U.S.A. ....	41
FRANCE .....	42
ISRAEL .....	43
GERMANY .....	43
SWITZERLAND.....	44
TRIAL OF HUNGARIAN STATE CRIMINAL, RAJK, AND HIS ASSOCIATES .....	45
Agents of American Intelligence Service in Hungary and Yugoslavia Exposed.....	45
Tito's Counter-Revolutionary Plans .....	58
American Intelligence Service—Master of the Yugoslav Rulers...	65
The Tito Clique—A Gang of Assassins .....	70
STRUGGLE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE FOR PEACE. Raymond Guvot, Member, Political Bureau, Communist Party of France .....	80
EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN PARTY WORK.....	87
EXPERIENCE OF ORGANISING WORK IN BUILDING ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. Pietro Secchia Deputy General Secretary, Communist Party, Italy .....	87
ELECTION OF PARTY ORGANS IN THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY. Walter Ulbricht, Member Political Bureau, Chairman of Secretariat, Socialist Unity Party of Germany .....	94

DEVALUATION OF POUND PRICES SLUMP BURDEN ON BRITISH WORKERS. Harry Pollitt, General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain .....	99
WAVE OF PROTESTS AGAINST DECISION TO DEPRIVE LOUIS ARAGON OF ELECTORAL RIGHTS .	102
COMMUNISTS OF WESTERN GERMANY FIGHT FOR THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE....	103
BREAD RATIONING ENDS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Letter From Prague .....	105
FROM THE COURTROOM... From our Special Correspondent .....	107
POLITICAL NOTES .....	112
THE LABOUR PARTY AND DEVALUATION .....	112
AMERICAN PATRONS OF FASCIST RIFF-RAFF .....	113
TITO AGENTS IN AUSTRIA .....	114
ARE THERE CAPITALISTS IN AUSTRIA? .....	115
FRENCH COMMUNISTS GREET BUILDING OF NEW COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.....	118

## **STRENGTHEN REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE!**

The Budapest trial of the Hungarian State criminal, Rajk, and his associates, is of great international significance. The testimonies of the accused disclose the monstrous conspiracy of the Anglo-American imperialists against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. They lay bare the undermining activities of the agency of the Anglo-American Intelligence Services inside the anti-imperialist, democratic camp.

The accused—a gang of contemptible provocateurs and assassins who under false pretences, got into high Party and Government posts—have been caught redhanded and, in the face of irrefutable evidence, are forced to expose not only their own undermining activity but the activity and lies of the Belgrade clique of provocateurs with the Anglo-American imperialists.

Rajk, Palffy, Brankov and the other accused admitted that they conducted their espionage undermining activities directly under orders from the American Intelligence Service branch in Central and Southeastern Europe—under the clique of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic.

The hardened spy, Brankov, testified that Tito, Djilas, Rankovic and Kardelj have been the hired agents of the British and the Americans for a long time past. During the war Tito and his gang established contact with the Anglo-American Intelligence Service not only inside the country but also beyond its borders. Tito's special representative was sent to Switzerland to contact Allan Dulles, chief of the American Intelligence Service in Europe. Velebit, a British spy of long-standing, was on the scene in London. Tito's representatives contacted American Intelligence officers in Bari and

Marseilles.

American agents operating in Hungary were well aware that the Yugoslav Intelligence was merely the Belgrade section of the American Intelligence Service. "It was often difficult to determine", stated the spy Szonyi at the trial, "where the American Intelligence Service ended and the Yugoslav Intelligence Service started".

The Budapest trial disclosed yet another foul and disgusting aspect of the activities of the imperialist warmongers and their agents. Having won the confidence of the working class under false pretences, the agents of imperialism—the Tito-Rankovic clique—seized the leadership of the Communist Party and the leading posts in the whole State apparatus. Acting in the name of the Communist Party, in the name of the people's democratic State, this clique began to liquidate, step by step, the gains of the people, steadily weaving a web of lies and provocations against the Soviet Union, not only in their own country but in the People's Democracies as well.

In the New Democracies the people drove out the landlords and capitalists, took over power and, with the fraternal support of the great land of Socialism, are confidently building a new socialist society. The peoples of these countries see in the Communist Parties their leader. The capitalist classes in these countries are being eliminated. Consequently, the base on which world capital could rely is shrinking. In their struggle to restore capitalism in these countries, the imperialists are compelled, more and more, to depend on the work of spies, provocateurs and assassins who portray themselves as "one hundred per cent Marxists". It is not for nothing that the Titos, Rankovic, Kardeljs and Djilases make long speeches about the "construction of Socialism."

For centuries bourgeois States have been developing their

experience in organising espionage, provocation and conspiracies in other countries. They utilised this experience to the full in Yugoslavia. Through tortuous channels of intrigue and blackmail they built up a reliable agency in the Yugoslav Party leadership and in the headquarters of the partisan movement even during the war. Compelled to recognise the powerful people's movement against the German fascist invaders, the Anglo-American imperialists decided—with the help of the agents of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic—to use this movement for their own purposes, to use it in such a way that they would be able after the victorious end of the war to gradually bring Yugoslavia into the orbit of their foreign policy, to gradually liquidate the gains of the people. The plans of the Anglo-American imperialists stretched beyond Yugoslavia. It was the Yugoslav leadership which was scheduled, under cover of "Communism", "Marxism", "Socialist construction", to carry out the line of restoring capitalism in all the People's Democracies, to take them into the camp of imperialism, and wrest them from the Soviet Union.

This was one of the crafty and carefully planned manoeuvres of Anglo-American imperialism. Establishing a firm basis in Yugoslavia, in the shape of the Tito-Rankovic clique, the Anglo-American imperialists assigned to this clique the principal role in effecting a counter-revolutionary coup in the other People's Democracies. With this aim in view, the Americans placed Rajk and his ilk in Hungary under the immediate subordination of Tito and Rankovic. Rajk testified that his gang, with the assistance and under the direct supervision of the Tito clique, was charged with the assignment to retard socialist development in Hungary, to seize power, return the plants, factories and banks to the capitalists, the land to the landlords, to abolish the gains of the working class and

the people—in short, to restore capitalism.

Such was the “brilliant plan” of the imperialists and it is futile for Tito, their paid agent, to take credit for it. He is much too stupid! He is simply the executor of the will of those whom he pledged to serve. The sole merit of this hired agent is that both during and after the war he annihilated the finest sons and daughters of the Yugoslav people and, parrot-like, kept reiterating: “I am a hundred per cent Marxist.” This “Marxist” and the whole of his pack of provocateurs and assassins have been completely exposed by the testimonies of the accused at the trial.

The great significance of the Budapest trial lies in the fact that it exposed and delivered a crushing blow to the crafty imperialist plans to undermine the people’s democratic States from within. The vigilance of the revolutionary people and above all, the wise vigilance of the Bolshevik Party and its brilliant leader, Comrade Stalin, have laid bare, in good time, these manoeuvres of the imperialists. In this connection it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Information Bureau Resolution which more than a year ago warned the Yugoslav people, the Communist Parties and the working class of other countries, that the Tito clique in Yugoslavia had betrayed Socialism, that the policy of this clique was leading to the restoration of capitalism and to the enslavement of Yugoslavia by imperialism.

Characteristically, before the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers’ Parties was published, the Belgrade group of American spies planned, on the basis of their experience in Yugoslavia, to effect in Hungary the “peaceful passing over” of the people’s democratic order into the capitalist order. Following the publication of the Resolution, the plotters realised that they would not succeed in a “peaceful” restoration of capitalism. They therefore decided

to seize power through an armed putsch, relying on all the counter-revolutionary elements, with the help of military units dispatched from abroad, the direct intervention of Yugoslav troops and relying on U.S. aid as the main force. The nationalist fascist agency took the course of establishing an open fascist regime, of unleashing war. Such was the assignment which Tito and Rajk received from the American imperialists. The attempt to establish an anti-Soviet bloc in Central and Southeastern Europe was simply part of the common plan of the American imperialists, aimed at unleashing a new world war. That is why the exposure and failure of these foul plans constitute a serious victory for the camp of peace and a defeat for the warmongers.

The confusion in the imperialist camp and the howl raised in connection with the Budapest trial reveal the telling nature of the blow to the Wall Street rulers. The hysterical outbursts of the Belgrade gang of spies and assassins about the "Budapest manoeuvre" merely prove that they are afraid their American masters may come to the conclusion that their ace cards, Tito and company, have been trumped and and these "aces" can no longer take the trick. The Tito gang are afraid they may be thrown overboard, as is usually the case with all exposed spies.

The Budapest trial testifies to the accentuation of the class struggle, the struggle between victoriously advancing Socialism and dying capitalism. The experience of this struggle teaches the Communist Parties that the seizure of power by the people does not mean the cessation of attempts by the routed capitalist classes to regain their lost positions; this experience teaches that the imperialists will use every means, means foul and crafty, in the attempt to regain their domination.

The Budapest trial, with renewed emphasis, raises before the Communist and Workers' Parties the need for increased

vigilance and revolutionary watchfulness. The trial teaches that it is necessary to be merciless toward the attempts of the imperialists, necessary resolutely to root out their agencies which, by means of deceit, have penetrated into the ranks of the Communist Parties. The trial shows the need for greater vigilance, particularly in the ranks of the Communist and Worker's Parties in the People's Democracies—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and the others.

The traitors exposed at the Budapest trial disclosed that the Tito clique had striven might and main to get on with undermining work in the other People's Democracies. Marxism-Leninism teaches that the Party of the working class can successfully get to grips with and beat the enemy always and everywhere, no matter what mask he dons, only if it, engages in systematic work to raise the political and ideological level of its cadres, if it trains them in the spirit of irreconcilability to each and every deviation from the line of Marxism-Leninism, if it strengthens its ranks organisationally, resolutely rids the Party of alien elements, exposing and smashing in good time nationalist and revisionist deviations and by deepening the class-consciousness of the working class and all toilers.

Strengthen revolutionary vigilance!

[page 1]

## **MARCEL CACHIN'S 80<sup>th</sup> BIRTHDAY**

On September 20, the great "Mutualité" Hall in Paris was crowded to capacity at a celebration in honour of Marcel Cachin's 80th birthday. The veteran Communist is a member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party and is Director of "L'Humanite".

The meeting, with Maurice Thorez in the chair, was addressed by Jacques Duclos, Gaston Monmousseau, Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour, Etienne Fajon, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, Leon Figueres, Secretary of the Republican youth Alliance and by others.

All speakers stressed the glorious path taken by Marcel Cachin, one of the founders of the Communist Party of France, whose whole life is a model of loyalty to the international working class movement, of boundless faith in the victory of Socialism and in the triumph of the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

The numerous birthday greetings received by the veteran included a message from Comrade Stalin, congratulations from the Central Committee of the French Party, from the editorial staff of "L'Humanite", and from the Central Committees and newspapers of the fraternal Communist Parties. Greetings were also received from the editorial Board of the newspaper, "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!".

## **EVE OF PEACE DAY**

### **FRANCE**

In France, the voting in the peace ballot, which is part of the preparations for International Peace Day on October 2, is daily growing in scope.

At most of the big industrial enterprises in the Paris region, the Renault Works for example, the workers have completed the filling in of ballot papers. Voting is being carried out under the auspices of the General Confederation of Labour and is directed by a committee specially elected from the personnel.

Members of the Union of French Women have placed ballot-boxes in the market places. Young people are voting at the numerous report back meetings held by the French delegates returned from the Budapest Youth Festival. In the smaller Communes the local councils are supervising the filling in of the ballot papers.

From the South it is reported that voting is being held during the celebrations of the grape harvest.

The police authorities are putting obstacles in the way of this nation-wide movement. In the Paris region police confiscated the ballot-boxes.

### **ITALY**

A few days ago The Italian National Peace Committee, which is composed of representatives of all organisations affiliated to the World Peace Congress, held a meeting in

Rome to discuss the question of preparations for Peace Day in the country.

Addressing the Italian people and supporters of peace, the National Committee called upon all mass organisations, all democratic associations and all supporters of peace to mobilise the people on a wide scale and thus turn October 2 into a day of political and organisational consolidation of the cause of peace.

The local representatives of the organisations affiliated to the Paris Congress are called upon to gather in all towns and villages on October 2 in order to extend the existing local Peace Committees and help form new ones. Representatives of the local Peace Committees and in many cases, delegates to the Paris Congress will address meetings and demonstrations on October 2.

[page 1]

## **CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE FREE TERRITORY OF TRieste**

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Free Territory of Trieste opened in Trieste on September 16. The Congress elected to its honorary presidium the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), headed by Comrade Stalin; Comrade Mao Tse-tung; the leaders of the main European Communist Parties, Comrade Togliatti and Thorez; the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party now on trial; all Communists imprisoned by the fascist Tito clique; all the political anti-fascist prisoners in zones "A" and "B" of the Free Territory of Trieste.

Opening the Congress, Comrade Gaskerini, Secretary of the Central Committee, honoured the memory of Comrades Zhdanov and Dimitrov outstanding figures of the international Communist movement—and the memory of Comrade Jovanovic, Chief of Staff of the heroic partisan army of Yugoslavia, who was murdered by the fascist Tito gang.

Telegrams of greetings to the congress were read. These included messages from the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, China, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Britain and the United States. The greetings from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) were received by the Congress delegates with a stormy ovation.

[page 1]

## **COMRADE MARCEL CACHIN**

Dear Comrade Cachin,

Allow me, on the occasion of your 80th birthday, to greet you as one of the founders of the Communist Party of France, as a true son of the French people and as an outstanding figure in the international working-class movement.

I wish you health and long life for the wellbeing of the people, of France and the peoples of the world.

I warmly shake your hand.

*J. S T A L I N*

[page 1]

## **30 YEARS OF U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY**

Eighteen thousand people—members of the Communist Party and sympathisers—attended the great demonstration in Madison Square Garden in honour of the United States Communist Party's Thirtieth Anniversary.

Opening the meeting, Robert Thompson, one of the twelve Party leaders on trial, said. We have gathered here to declare to Prosecutor McGohey and Judge Medina and to their masters in Washington and Wall Street, that the fate of our Party and the future of the American working class movement will not be decided in the courtroom. We are gathered here to express the profound conviction that the great and overgrowing camp of peace-loving American anti-fascists, of which we are an important part, will be the camp that determines the fate of our country.

The audience applauded a message of greetings from William Foster, Chairman of the Party, saying that the Party would continue its struggle.

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Party, declared that the Communist Party of the United States was confident of the future irrespective of the outcome of the trial of the leaders of the Party. The lesson of the past thirty years, continued Dennis, teaches that Socialism is an invincible reality on one sixth of the earth's surface. During its thirty years, the Communist Party of the United States has applauded the achievements of the Soviet Union and its role as bulwark of world peace and progress. The correctness of our stand was proved at Stalingrad and further confirmed by the Soviet delegates in the United Nations and at all international meetings held in recent years.

## **AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES IN RUMANIA**

At present there are in the Rumanian People's Republic 55 agricultural collectives. The collectives were formed at the request of thousands of peasant families who, following the fraternal guidance of the working class and the Workers' Party, decided to pool their land, draught animals and implements and work in common for a better life.

Membership of the collective is limited strictly to poor and medium peasants who have united in the struggle against the kulaks. The members retain their own homes, 1¼ acres of land for personal use, a milk cow and two calves, pigs, half a dozen sheep or goats, 15 beehives, and poultry in unrestricted numbers.

By government decision, the machine-tractor depots are obliged to service the collectives. Right from the outset the collectives began to employ the brigade method practised in the Soviet collective farms. Each brigade works permanently on a given sector of the farm.

Just now, Rumania's newly formed agricultural collectives are preparing for the Autumn sowing.

[page 1]

## **OPENING OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE**

The [Chinese] People's Political Consultative Conference [...] opened a few days ago in [...] to proclaim the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the formation of a central people's government.

The People's Political Consultative Conference, which represents all sections of the Chinese people will, until the All-China People's Congress is convened, exercise the powers and functions of this Congress. The Conference is attended by delegates with full voting powers, delegates with a consultative vote and by specially invited guests—in all 636 people. The delegates were sent by 45 representative bodies—by all democratic parties and groups, popular organisations, People's Liberation Army, representative organs of the different regions and national groups as well as representative bodies of Chinese citizens abroad and other patriotic elements.

The Conference will discuss and adopt the organisational statutes of the People's Political Consultative Conference of China, the organisational statutes of the Central People's Government and the general programme of the People's Political Consultative Conference; it will elect the National Committee of the Consultative Conference and the Council of the Central People's Government and will adopt the national flag and national emblem and determine the seat of the capital of the Republic.

The delegates and guests accorded an enthusiastic ovation to Mao-Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, who made the opening speech, which was repeatedly interrupted by applause. [page 1]

## **EDUCATION IN BULGARIA**

The Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the National Council of the Fatherland Front have proposed to the Ministry of Education that a plan should be drawn up to bring elementary and secondary schools under a centralised leadership, that the titles "People's Teacher" and "Teacher of Merit" should be introduced and conferred on teachers for outstanding services, and that the teachers' conditions should be improved.

Special attention must be paid to vocational training. To meet requirements in this sphere the Ministry of Education will increase its allocations up to 350 million leva in 1950 to complete the construction of new vocational schools and for the necessary equipment.

[page 1]

## **LECTURES FOR TEACHERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

During September a series of lectures was delivered in the Stefan Gheorghiu University in Bucharest for professors and lecturers of the social sciences in universities and institutes of the Rumanian People's Republic.

Lectures were read by the Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Vasile Luca, Josef Chisinevski and other leaders. The subjects covered were: "Socialist Reorganisation of Agriculture in the Rumanian People's Republic", "The People's Democracy—a Form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", "Against Cosmopolitanism and Bourgeois Objectivism in Science and Art", "Superiority of Soviet Science and the Tasks of the Faculty of Social Sciences in the Ideological Struggle of the Party". The lectures were attended by 120 professors and lecturers of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism, and political economy.

[page 1]

## **BEFORE AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS**

The election agreement concluded between the Communist Party and the “Progressive Socialists”—organisation of the Austrian Left Socialists—has made a deep impression in Austria. The comments of Austrian reaction are filled with hatred.

The working class of Austria welcomed this agreement which is already beginning to influence rank and file members of the Socialist Party: there have been cases recently of leading officials of the Socialist Party joining the Left Socialists.

For instance, the Deputy Burgomaster of Kapfenberg (Styria), the Burgomaster of Felden (Carinthia), and a number of other Socialist Party functionaries, have joined the Left Socialists and have called upon their comrades in the Socialist Party to come out in solidarity with the Left bloc of workers’ unity. In Upper Austria, the Socialist Party leadership removed the whole editorial staff of one of the local papers and replaced it with former Goebbels journalists.

[page 1]

## **MINERS STRIKE IN U.S.**

Practically the entire 480,000 members of the Mineworkers' Union in the United States have ceased work.

The miners are demanding that the owners honor the agreement providing for contributions to the Miners' Welfare Fund. Strikes are threatening to flare up in other basic industries in the U.S. including the steel, electric power, shipbuilding and rubber industries. Phillip Murray, President of the Steelworkers: Union has announced an all out stoppage of steelworkers beginning at midnight September 24, unless the companies agree to a system of pensions and welfare for the workers, About a million steel workers are likely to be involved in the strike.

[page 1]

## **BOOK ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY**

Maurice Thorez's "Son of the People", first appeared in 1937. This work, the autobiography of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, was warmly received by the working class and democratic public opinion.

A revised edition of Thorez's book, which merges with the glorious history of the Communist Party of France from its inception at the congress in Tours in 1920, is now being published.

In the final chapter, Thorez outlines the basis of the Communist World outlook, traces the organisational principles of the Party and the principles of Communist morals. Undoubtedly, "Son of the People", which is also a profound analysis of the history of the Communist Party of France and an irrefutable justification of its policy, will be an important contribution to Communist education.

[page 1]

## **EXPERIENCE OF WORK OF PEASANT COOPERATIVES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

The united peasant cooperatives in Czechoslovakia have acquired rich experience in their joint work to harvest the crop and are now using this experience in planning the Autumn sowing.

The peasant association in Bogatice carried out the harvest along planned lines. As a result, the work was completed in less time, with better results and less expenditure than last year. The plan for the Autumn sowing has been discussed with every peasant and unanimously accepted. According to the plan, the same crops will be sown on adjacent fields. Selected seed and artificial fertilizers will be used. Tractors will be used during the sowing and harvesting.

[page 1]

## **CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL WORK IN ALBANIA**

Extensive measures have been taken in the Albanian People's Republic to raise the cultural level of the people. Ten houses of culture in the towns and 180 reading rooms in the countryside are arranging lectures and talks. The village reading rooms alone, for instance, organised 1,226 conferences, 113 exhibitions, 1,966 theatrical performances and concerts in the first half of 1949.

Before the war there were only 5 libraries in the country with 25,000 books. Today there are 11 State libraries with 190,000 books. This does not include libraries in the workers' centres. Last year the number of readers reached 100,000 whereas in the first half of the current year the figure was 74,000. Three hundred thousand travelling libraries have been sent into the countryside and to workers' centres. There are three museums: the archaeological museum, the museum of natural sciences and the museum of the people's liberation struggle.

[page 1]

## **FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD BRAND WITH SHAME FASCIST DEGENERATES, TITO ACCOMPLICES, AGENTS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM**

### **SOME LESSONS FROM THE TRIAL OF THE RAJK- RANKOVIC-TITO ESPIONAGE GANG. Ernö Gerö, member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party**

The exposure of the Rajk-Rankovic-Tito espionage gang and the destruction of the ramified imperialist espionage network in a number of countries not only spells the collapse of the conspiracy to overthrow the people's democratic order of the Hungarian Republic but is also a heavy blow at the imperialists and the Tito fascist gang in their service.

The Budapest trial clearly shows that in their struggle against peace, democracy and Socialism, against the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties—the imperialist are changing their methods for even fouler ones.

During the past few years the openly reactionary forces in the People's Democracies were isolated and suffered a decisive defeat, while the forces in the camp of peace throughout the world grew immeasurably. The consciousness of the working class increased, as did the working people's confidence in their strength. The leader of the democratic camp of peace—the socialist Soviet Union—also greatly enhanced its prestige. At the same time the imperialist warmongers were exposing themselves more and more.

In the capitalist countries the economic crisis is becoming

increasingly obvious, the working people are beginning to see through the "Marshall Plan" which is an instrument of American imperialism for colonising Europe and preparing for a new predatory war.

In the People's Democracies the over-whelming majority of the people who have liberated their countries from capitalist exploitation, becoming masters of their States, fully support the people's democracy, its State power, Government, and its guiding force the Communist and Workers Parties. In these countries the confidence and love of the working masses for the Soviet Union are unshakable, for the whole people know they are above all indebted to the Soviet Union for their freedom and independence, for the improvement of their wellbeing and for their advance toward Socialism.

Under these circumstances any open attack by the reactionary forces on the peoples [...] or on its State [...] is doomed to failure. But such attacks on the working class, on the forces of democracy and peace, leave the imperialists little hope, even in the capitalist countries. That is why the imperialist are forced to resort to new methods, to new ways and means in their struggle against peace and democracy, against the working class and the People's Democracies. The essence of the methods was revealed by the trial of the Rajk-Rankovic-Tito espionage gang.

The new element in the methods of the imperialists is that in their struggle against the working class, democracy and peace they are throwing their reserve forces into battle, forces which had been masked for many years, had been sent into the ranks of the working class and its parties and organised there. The trial revealed that the imperialists had succeeded in placing and concealing such elements in the working-class movement in a number of countries while in Yugoslavia these elements had succeeded in holding State power for a number of years.

More than a year ago, before the concrete facts were brought to light in the course of the trial, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties clearly indicated where the policy of the Tito clique was leading. This is proof of the integrity of Marxism-Leninism and its strength. Although the direct ties of the Tito-Rankovic-Kardelj-Djilas gang with the imperialists and their Intelligence Service organs were not known at the time, the Information Bureau in June 1948 indicated with the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism and with Stalinist foresight, that the anti-Communist, nationalist Tito clique had taken the path of treachery, the path of imperialist bandits.

The Budapest trial vividly proves the absolute integrity of the Information Bureau R solution, adopted in June last year. This trial also showed how justified and correct was the statement that the Tito-Rankovic-Kardelj-Djilas clique is simply international imperialism's storm detachment, its special fascist group.

The facts disclosed in the course of the Rajk trial show that a considerable part of the gang today in power in Yugoslavia who are oppressing the peoples of their country are police informers and imperialist agents of long standing whose provocateur activities date back many years. Betrayal of the working class is no new profession to them. For this is how they earned their bread for many a year. Only after being in possession of these new facts can one realise the utter baseness of these imperialist hirelings and the boundless hatred they have for the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union.

The exposure of the espionage diversion network and its destruction in Hungary is undoubtedly a big success for the camp of democracy and peace in its anti-imperialist struggle.

But it would be a mistake to see only the success and fail to see that the lessons of the Budapest trial demand of us

increased vigilance, and resolute struggle against the enemies still unmasked.

The enemy must be exposed and smashed, no matter where he is: exposed and smashed as the Soviet people, under the leadership of the great Stalin, exposed and smashed the imperialist agents and diversionists.

[page 2]

## **EXPOSE THE PROVOCATEURS AND SPIES**

Hungarian volunteers who took part in the Spanish liberation war, former fighters of the Rakosi Battalion and other units of the International Brigade adopted a resolution at a meeting held in connection with the trial in which they express their indignation at the subversive espionage activities of the agents of imperialism.

Hungarians who took part in the liberation war in Spain want to remind their comrades who fought alongside them that while the bitter struggle was being fought against the Franco gang another bitter struggle was also being fought against the spies, provocateurs and trotskyites who got into the ranks of the International Brigade. It should not be forgotten that the fifth column was also able to penetrate into the ranks of the fighters for Spain's freedom and that at the time it was possible to expose only a part of it. It was particularly difficult to fight the fifth column in the units organised by the underground Communist Parties where the leaderships were engaged in factional struggle. As far as we know such was the case not only in the Hungarian Party but also in the Yugoslav Party where the police of the Prince Regent, Paul, successfully took advantage of the factional struggle to send their spies and provocateurs into the ranks of the fighters for Spain's freedom.

The fact that such a provocateur as Rajk, who grouped around himself similar traitors who had been to Spain, has been exposed in Hungary makes it clear that the task of honest Yugoslav fighters who fought in the International Brigade, is to put their ranks in order, vigilantly and strictly, so as not to give shelter to Rajks. It is particularly important to make a careful check on those who were released by the Gestapo in 1944 from

the French internment camps and sent back to Yugoslavia.

The overwhelming majority of honest Yugoslav emigrants have only now learnt with a shock that among their Party leaders, Ministers, Ambassadors and generals are Gestapo agents. It is clear that the Gestapo was not prompted by generous feelings when it released those men. The Gestapo was working in alliance with the police of Prince Regent Paul. By releasing and sending home traitors, who had been carefully selected, the Gestapo knew it could rely on their services in Yugoslavia just as it relied on Rajk's services in Hungary. The fact that a considerable number of the spies sent home by the Gestapo in 1944 now spearhead the provocative and vicious campaign of the Tito-clique against the People's Democracies building Socialism, against the Soviet Union and their own Communists, proves clearly that the Gestapo was right in its calculations.

Honest Yugoslav fighters for freedom in Spain can defend the glorious memory of the liberation war in Spain, equally dear to all of us, by exposing and branding the spies, and provocateurs of the Gestapo, by expelling them from their ranks as we have done in Hungary. In this way they will serve the great cause of freedom and peace which we defended in Spain and which was foully betrayed by Tito and his gang.

The resolution is signed by Lieutenant General Ferenc Munih, Colonel General Mihaly Falvay, Colonels Rezco Szanto, Andras Zalka, Imre Mezo and Sandor Sziklai.

[page 2]

## **COMMENTS ON TRIAL OF HUNGARIAN STATE CRIMINAL RAJK AND HIS ASSOCIATES**

### **POLAND**

The reports about the criminal activities of the spies, provocateurs and murderers in the Rajk gang have evoked deep indignation among public opinion in the People's Republic of Poland. The press comments on the Budapest trial express the contempt of the free Polish people for the dregs of human society who have sold their honour and conscience and the interests of millions of working people for thirty pieces of silver.

In its editorial "Strengthen Class Vigilance", "Trybuna Ludu" wrote on September 20:

It is not new to find diversive activities of the class enemy inside the working-class movement. The bourgeoisie has always relied on provocation, resorting to it in an ever increasing extent as the working-class movement and the revolutionary parties of the working class grew stronger.

The Tito agents masked their hostile activity with hypocritical loyalty to the ideas of Socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union, hoping in this way to lull the vigilance of the masses and the workers' parties.

But the Tito traitors and provocateurs miscalculated. The liquidation of the Rajk gang has dealt a new, telling blow to the imperialists. It must not be forgotten, however, that, notwithstanding the defeat imperialism has suffered, its agents will continue their subversive work. They will still make many attempts to penetrate the working-class movement in the

People's Democracies.

We must remember that the Titoites, relying on trotskyite spies and provocateurs in their plans, tried to use every opening in the Communist and Workers' Parties, inciting rabid nationalism, splits and deviations. From Brankov's testimony at the Budapest trial, we learn that the Titoites had placed high hopes on the Right deviation in the Polish Workers' Party. When these plans failed, the Titoites sent new agents to organise a diversive network.

The exposure of the insidious methods of the Tito agents with the help of which they are trying to penetrate the working class movement calls for greater vigilance in the working class and workers' movement for greater [...] ranks pure, for carrying out the [...] without deviation.

We must still further consolidate our alliance with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Party will not tolerate any double-dealing in its ranks. In conditions of the sharpening class struggle our answer to every attempt of enemy agents to penetrate and influence the ranks of the Party must be to strengthen our vigilance and our ranks, tempering the Party with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism".

## **BULGARIA**

In an editorial entitled "Another Crushing Blow to the Enemies of People's Democracy and Socialism," the newspaper "Fatherland Front" writes:

"Thanks to the vigilance of the security organs of Hungary, the people of Hungary, and together with them the peoples of the other democratic countries, have been saved from great trials which the obedient servants of reaction and fascism—the plotters Rajk, Szonyi, Palffy—and their Yugoslav associates—

headed by Tito, Rankovic and company—were preparing for them”.

The newspaper “Zernedelsko Zname” publishes foreign press comments under the heading: “The Anglo-American Imperialists are Paying in Dollars for Tito’s Treachery”.

In a column entitled “Tito Only Rules with the Help of Terror and Military Dictatorship”, the paper “Izgrev” carries foreign press comments on the Indictment and other material on the attitude of the peoples of Yugoslavia to the traitor Tito under the sub-heading “Anti-Tito Leaflets in the Heart of Belgrade”.

## **RUMANIA**

The Press of the Rumanian People’s Republic is widely covering the Rajk trial. “Scanteia” carries detailed reports by its Budapest correspondent, which reveal the tie-up between Rajk and his associates and the Tito fascist clique whose repulsive countenance has been fully exposed. What hitherto was a surmise, writes the paper, is now, after the testimony of Rajk, Palffy, Brankov and the others an established fact: the trial has proved that the rulers of Yugoslavia and their immediate circles are a hired agency of the American Intelligence Service.

On September 21, “Scanteia” published the announcement that the Rumanian Foreign Ministry had informed the Yugoslav Embassy in Bucharest that the continued stay in Bucharest of Lompar, Yugoslav Embassy secretary, was undesirable. Now Lompar has been exposed by the Budapest trial as a spy and provocateur, closely linked with Allan Dulles, head of the American Intelligence Service.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak press is giving wide coverage to the Budapest trial of Rajk and his associates. All newspapers carried summaries of the Indictment while "Rude Pravo" printed it in full.

Commenting on the first day of the trial the paper "Svobodny Slovo" wrote: "The People's Court is not only trying the eight accused traitors. In the dock is also Tito, this Judas and maniac who pretended to be a Communist in order to serve the West better and to stab the People's Democracies in the back. The court was struck dumb with horror when, on the first day of the hearing, Rajk admitted his criminal plans which he wanted to carry out against his own people on the order of Tito and his masters—the Western imperialists".

"The Rajk trial is the trial of imperialism", is how "Rude Pravo" describes it. "In the dock," writes the paper, "are all the imperialist espionage organisations, the Vatican with its Mindzenty and other agents in clerical garb. In the dock we see, first and foremost, the Tito Gestapo gang, the Rankovics, Kardelj's and Djilas's who want to conceal their repulsive face behind the mask of Socialism and progress, the gang of imperialism's craftiest agents, the dress of humanity. But the day will come when they will all be caught and brought before the just court of the people.

"The trial shows that we, too, are indebted to the Hungarian workers for capturing the Rajk gang, for its criminal plans were directed not only against the fraternal Hungarian people, but also against our country, against all the fraternal People's Democratic States. These plans were aimed, above all, against the great Soviet Union—the stalwart defender of the working people of the world. Therefore, the most severe punishment meted out to the traitors by the Hungarian people

will be but just”.

In their articles on the trial the other Prague papers stress the close collaboration between the Hungarian State traitors, the Belgrade fascists and the American imperialists.

“Rude Pravo” points out that the Tito gang is holding the peoples of Yugoslavia in fetters, that the entire Tito State apparatus is an obedient tool of the American espionage service operating along Himmler-Hedrich lines.

In another article the paper writes: “Czechoslovakia was also included in the plans of the Anglo-American imperialists and their Tito hirelings. They endeavoured also in our country to organise forces to overthrow the people’s democratic order and restore capitalism. It was planned to organise an espionage network also in Czechoslovakia, a network that would rely first and foremost, on the so-called Yugoslav diplomats and trotskyite elements. It was planned to destroy the eternal friendship between the peoples of our Republic and the peoples of the Soviet Union. It was planned to destroy the unity of the workers. However, the imperialists and the Titoites were in a worse position in Czechoslovakia to carry out their plans than in any other country. The Czechoslovak working people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will not tolerate traitors in its midst.”

## **ALBANIA**

The people of Albania are following the trial of the fascist plotters and their ringleader Rajk with feelings of repulsion and hatred for this contemptible gang of American-Tito spies.

Albania was the first Balkan country which executioner Tito, the present dictator of Yugoslavia and the highly paid resident agent of the American Intelligence Service, tried to

colonise and enslave. Under cover of hypocritical declarations of friendship and “community of interests” and with the help of his hirelings—the dyed in-the-wool trotskyite and provocateur Vukmanovic (Tempo) and his ilk—Tito ruthlessly plundered Albania already [...] by war and occupation, draining the country of its oil, copper, chromium and agricultural products.

Thanks to the timely assistance of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, the Albanian people detected the wolf in sheep’s clothing and expelled from their country the agents of the vicious enemy who hypocritically pretended to be a friend. The Budapest trial has fully revealed to the Albanian people the hideous face of the Gestapo Tito clique and the monstrous network of treachery they spun around the People’s Democracies among which Albania figured as one of the first victims.

Meetings are being held in towns and villages throughout the country at which workers, peasants and representatives of the Albanian intelligentsia are voicing their indignation at the espionage and plotting activities of the Tito clique—the paid agents of American imperialism.

A mass meeting of the working people of Scutari on the Albanian-Yugoslav border, was addressed by Comrade Enver Hodja, Secretary of the Albanian Worker’s Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People’s Republic of Albania.

Stressing the significance of the struggle of the Albanian people against the foreign invaders in the past and of the present, and their selfless labour aimed at carrying out the Two-Year Plan, Comrade Enver Hodja said:

“The clique of the fascist traitors in Belgrade is the centre where all the imperialist intrigues against our country are spun. The Budapest trial is fresh proof of this. We know that Tito’s agents conferred with the Greek monarcho-fascists and officers

of the British and American Intelligence Services in Trieste. These fascist bandits understood each other very well. But the fascist Tito, who has come to terms with the American imperialists, is unable to carry out his bloodthirsty plans in relation to Albania. Our country is not the same country of 1924, when the rulers of capitalist monopolies did as they pleased.

“Our people are united and consolidated. We are no longer an isolated State, left to ourselves. We now have allies, strong and reliable friends who are resolutely defending the peace of peoples, the freedom and independence of small countries. Relying on the help of the great Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, the Albanian people will courageously defend their independence and territorial integrity against the encroachments of the Tito espionage gang and its Greek monarcho-fascist allies”.

## CHINA

All the papers in the liberated areas of China report the trial of Rajk and his associates. The Peiping paper “Jenming-jipao” describes the unmasking of the conspiracy as a “great victory for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace and democracy.”

The paper writes: “Rajk and his treacherous gang were spies who were used both by the American imperialists and by the Tito clique. This is another reminder to the peoples of different countries that they must raise their political vigilance. The conspiracy of the Tito clique is an integral part of the conspiracies plotted by the imperialist warmongers”.

The “Tientsinjipao” stresses that “the exposure of the Rajk conspiracy will still further strengthen the democratic people’s

regime in Hungary and raise the vigilance of the camp of peace toward the enemy”.

The Tientsin paper “Tsinpujipao” comments: “the conspiracy of the imperialists , and Titoites has been exposed”.

## ITALY

“L’Unita”, central organ of the Communist Party of Italy, devotes much space to the Budapest trial. In an article entitled “The Traitors in the Dock” the paper’s special correspondent in Budapest, Ottavio Pastore, writes:

“The trial of Rajk and his associates is the first trial in many years to be so dramatic... It is dramatic not because of its grimness or lone but because of the facts disclosed, laying bare the reactionary and warmongering policy of the imperialist Governments and their Yugoslav satellite...

“The Rajk trial is not the only one of its kind in the history of the revolutionary working-class movement. There was the provocateur Azef, agent of the Tsarist secret police, who penetrated into the organisation of the Russian socialist revolutionaries. A more recent case is that of the Paris deputy, Jitton, who became one of the leaders of the French Communist Party and who was exposed as a police agent at the beginning of World War Two. Many other instances could be called to mind. The police have always tried to send their agents into all the Communist Parties. But undoubtedly, the Rajk case is one of the most shocking and most base”.

After describing the background of Rajk’s treachery and his espionage activities in numerous secret services, the author continues:

“For twenty years this hybrid led the life of a provocateur, spy and traitor, closely connected with the police. And while the Hungarian Communists and the Hungarian working people

realise today that they have won a big victory, a victory proving their strength, the Hungarian fascist dregs realise that the last support has been pulled from under their feet, the support to which they clung after the Mindszenty trial—the hope that America would succeed in capturing the country which she has lost forever.”

## **GREAT BRITAIN**

Stressing the great significance of the trial, the “Daily Worker” writes that it is one of the most important and most serious trials of our day.

The trial discloses a whole network which engaged in police operations and espionage, a network which began to be formed even before the civil war in Spain. As a result of this, British and American agents penetrated the ranks of the Communist Parties of the East European countries. Through these agents, with Rajk as the ringleader in Hungary, and Tito and Rankovic the ringleaders in Yugoslavia, hundreds of Communists lost their lives. These people were out to destroy the new socialist States ultimately. The “Daily Worker” further notes that at the very beginning of the trial it was disclosed that the people around Tito in Yugoslavia today worked for the French secret service in Spain as far back as 1938.

## **U.S.A.**

The New York “Daily Worker” writes that the Rajk trial has laid bare the true nature of the criminal activities conducted by the Tito fascist clique and its connections with the Washington and London warmongers.

The paper recalls that on May 6, 19-18, John Foster Dulles

reported on the plan to recruit, finance and arm spies and counter-revolutionaries in the People's Democracies.

Saying that the trial has placed the American warmongers in an embarrassing position by exposing the assignments entrusted to Tito and Rajk in keeping with American plans, the "Daily Worker" warns: The spies of Tito and Rankovic threaten the American people in the same way as they threaten the peoples of Europe. The task of the Tito spies is to support the warmongering plans, to provoke dangerous incidents with the Soviet Union and to incite fascist revolts in the Balkans as a signal for a new world war. All Americans who treasure peace will welcome the exposure of the agents of American imperialism.

## **FRANCE**

The indictment of Rajk, Palffy and their associates as well as the testimony of this gang of fascist plotters, spies and provocateurs at their trial is widely commented on by the French working people. "L'Humanite" has given the full text of the Indictment and carried a number of editorials exposing Rajk's criminal activities.

"Before the war," states the central organ of the Communist Party of France, "the trotskyite traitors took their orders from Hitler and his Gestapo. Today the accused admit that they carried out the plans of Tito and his masters... This contemptible gang is made up of Tukhachevskys, Yagodas, Doriots, Titos, Rajks and Palffys whom capitalism corrupts and uses as its tool in the working-class movement. But the working-class movement is strong enough to sweep aside these traitors from its path".

"As Comrade Stalin stressed twelve years ago", writes

Etienne Fajon, member of the Political Bureau of the French Party, “the greater our success, the more extreme the methods of the class enemy in his struggle. War against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies is this extreme [methods]. The Tito-Rajk conspiracy is an integral part of the preparations for this war”.

Noting the fact that the new Hungary was able to frustrate the plans of traitors, Etienne Fajon concludes:

“In the light of the Rajk trial, French patriots must even more strongly realise the danger to the world of the imperialist machinations: they must realise the superiority of the forces of peace, the need for unity and a resolute struggle against the warmongers and hired provocateurs”.

## **ISRAEL**

Describing the Budapest trial the newspapers “Kol Haam”, “Al Hamishmar” and others particularly dwell on the testimonies of Rajk and Palfy regarding their espionage activities on behalf of the Anglo-American and Tito secret service and their joint preparations with the fascist Tito clique for a conspiracy against the people’s democratic order in Hungary and in the other People’s Democracies, as well as their joint plans to assassinate the leading figures in Hungary.

## **GERMANY**

In detailed reports, comments and editorials on the Rajk trial, newspapers in the Soviet occupation zone stress the importance of this trial for the common struggle for a lasting peace throughout the world.

“Neues Deutschland”, central organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, comments editorially:

“We are indebted to the vigilance of the Communist and Workers’ Parties for the fact that the logical development of Tito and his circle from renegades into bandits was detected in good time and publicly condemned. We are indebted to the vigilance of Hungarian People’s Democracy for the fact that Rajk and his associates, who “worked” for Tito and for the American warmongers, were rendered harmless in good time. In this way yet another sledge-hammer blow has been dealt the warmongers not only in the interests of the Balkan peoples but also in the interests of progressive mankind”.

## **SWITZERLAND**

The progressive Swiss press carries detailed reports of the Rajk trial. In an editorial the Geneva paper “La Voix Ouvrière” points out, in particular, that the Swiss men and women who have returned from the International Youth Festival in Budapest “are indignant at the fact that part of these monstrous activities (Tito-Rajk. Ed.) were prepared in Switzerland under the wing of the Americans, Dulles and Field, and with the connivance of the federal police which persecuted the real anti-fascist emigrants while it allowed trotskyite spies, of the type of Dr. Fzoly, liberally supplied with money, to continue their subversive activities”.

The article closes with the words: “After the arrest of the spy Gerber in Thun the Rajk trial is a new call to us to increase our vigilance toward the warmongers who are weaving plots on our soil and are trying to involve us in their machinations”.

## **TRIAL OF HUNGARIAN STATE CRIMINAL, RAJK, AND HIS ASSOCIATES**

### **Agents of American Intelligence Service in Hungary and Yugoslavia Exposed**

The trial of Rajk and his associates in Budapest has been proceeding for a week. The case is being heard by the People's Court of Budapest in the House of the Metalworkers. Attending the trial are representatives of the Hungarian working people—factory workers, peasants, intellectuals—and numerous representatives of the foreign and Hungarian Press and news agencies.

The trial opened on the morning of September 16. After briefly questioning the eight accused and reading the Indictment of the Hungarian State Prosecutor's Office, the Chairman of the Court began his interrogation of Laszlo Rajk, chief agent of the American and Yugoslav Intelligence Services in Hungary and, before his arrest. Hungarian Foreign Minister and former of the Interior, Rajk pleaded guilty.

In 1931, when a student of the Budapest Pedagogical Institute, Rajk was arrested for distributing Communist leaflets. His brother-in-law, Police Captain **Louis Bokor**, intervened on his behalf and, upon agreeing in writing to serve as an informer in the revolutionary movement, he was released. From that time on, Rajk specialised in betraying heroic Hungarian Communists to the police, in sending dozens of fighters for the cause of the working class to prison and to death.

In 1938 he went to Spain on the instructions of the secret police. At the trial Rajk testified:

I went to Spain with a double assignment: on the one hand to find out who was in the Rakosi Battalion, and on the other, to lower the fighting efficiency of the Battalion by corrupting it politically. It was not difficult to carry out the first assignment, since all its members knew each other. I carried out the second assignment as follows: in 1938, just before the battle on the Ebro, I, as Party Secretary of the Rakosi Battalion, made a false accusation of a political nature against the Battalion Commissar Laszlo Haas in order to cause trouble in the Battalion and lower its fighting efficiency. I also carried out trotskyite propaganda in the Battalion. When the Party leadership discussed the Haas case, the Communists in the Battalion exposed my trotskyite behaviour. In the end the whole thing turned out badly for me: I was expelled from the Party.

**Chairman:** When did this take place?

**Rajk:** In June 1938. Before the battle on the Ebro... One way or another my undermining trotskyite activity and the discussion round the Laszlo Hass case resulted in lowering the fighting efficiency of the [...] could not be effected because early in the Spring of 1948, that is, after the Kelebia meeting, the workers' parties started the unity talks. The fusion of the two workers' parties started a process in the country's internal political life which led to various people we had previously placed in certain posts being removed from them. Neither could the task be carried out in the various public organisations because our agents had been removed from all spheres of State life and public organisations, from State institutions, the army and so on during the reorganisation of the Government in the course of 1948. At the same time, the activities and propaganda of Catholic reaction led by Mindzenty, on which Tito had backed heavily, yielded no results, for when the schools were handed over to the State, the strengthened people's democratic

State deprived Catholic reaction of one of its main instruments for influencing the youth. The Resolution of the Information Bureau exposing Tito's policy dealt a shattering blow to the whole plan. This, in essence, completed the first phase of Tito's policy when he wanted to bring about the overthrow of the people's democratic order in the different countries, while pretending to pursue a policy of friendship.

**Chairman:** But you did carry out some activity in the interests of your common aims, did you not?

**Rajk:** My concrete activity was this: in accordance with instructions I spoke to Korondy and told him that, in the event of the members of the Government being arrested, he was to attend to the formation of a special punitive police battalion. Korondy received instructions from me that he would receive all subsequent orders from Palfy. After the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution—I think it was in August—Brankov came to see me and told me that Rankovic wanted to meet me at all costs to discuss the situation that had arisen. I replied that I was ready to meet him but only if he would come Hungary and only if our conversation remained a secret. Mrazovic arranged the meeting with Rankovic. We met in a forester's hut. Later I learned that Palfy, as head of the border guard, had made the necessary preparations for Rankovic's illegal entry into Hungary.

Since I do not speak Serbian, the Yugoslav Ambassador, Mrazovic, acted as interpreter. Rankovic started by saying that the Resolution of the Information Bureau in no way affected the ultimate aim he had described to me at Kelebia, that is, the overthrow of the People's Democratic Governments, the establishment of bourgeois democracies, the formation of a Union of States with Yugoslavia as the centre, relying on the United States against the Soviet Union. However the methods used to carry out these tasks would vary according to

circumstances. Life, said Rankovic, force us to come out sharply and resolutely helped to carry out. As far as I can remember there were about 150 Yugoslavs engaged in trotskyite activities. They were for the most part intellectuals, bourgeois people and students. Prominent among them were Kosta Nagy, Milic, Stefanovic and Bebler. These men not only organised and directed the work of the Yugoslav trotskyites but also that of the other trotskyite groups in the camps and the trotskyite factions among the other national groups. I was in close contact with these Yugoslavs and conducted this trotskyite undermining activity jointly with them as well as independently.

I reported to the officer in charge of the “Deuxième Bureau” that a strong Yugoslav group was operating in the camp and gave him the names of the leaders of this group. This officer checked these names against a list of Yugoslav names in his possession. I noticed that those I had mentioned as leaders figured also as leaders of the Yugoslav trotskyite group in his list. The officer of the “Deuxième Bureau” told me that he knew of the activities of the group and that they were carrying out certain assignments in agreement with him, and even more, on his instructions.

I visited the head of the “Deuxième Bureau” several times and there I saw the leaders of the afore-mentioned trotskyite group—Kosta Nagy, Stefanovic, Milic and others. It was clear to me that these Yugoslavs had been recruited by the “Deuxième Bureau” and, like myself, were carrying out its instructions.

**Chairman:** How long were you in the camps. How did you get out of them?

Rajk: I remained in the French camp at Vernet until 1941. In the Spring of 1941, a German mission arrived at the camp to secure labour for construction work in Germany and other jobs.

At this time Northern France was under German occupation. This German mission was headed by a major of the Gestapo. I do not remember his name. The major asked to see me and proposed that I should register for work in Germany. He told me that he was making this proposal because the chief of the political department of the Hungarian police had asked him to help me, as an old agent of the Hungarian police, to get back home.

During this conversation the Gestapo major took out a list of names and enquired about certain Yugoslavs. This list was the same as had been in the possession of the officer of the "Deuxième Bureau". When I told him about the Yugoslav trotskyite group in the camp the German major faced with the same task. Rankovic said that apart from this propaganda which was to evoke anti-Soviet sentiments among the masses, it was necessary to realise that it was not propaganda that was of decisive significance today but the consolidation of reactionary elements of all shades, that is, nationalist, anti-Soviet elements and fascist elements.

It was necessary, he said, in the interest of achieving our aim to use all the means at our disposal and quickly put them into operation before there was any further consolidation in the People's Democracies, He therefore recommended that in addition to propaganda we should also orientate not only on the hostile elements concealed in the army and the police but also on the old fascist, Horthy elements dismissed from the army. Rankovic stressed that it was now necessary to concentrate on these elements and to show greater activity than hitherto in order to draw the kulaks over to our side and to consolidate them. Rankovic conveyed Tito's opinion that since the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution there could no longer be any talk of seizing power through peaceful channels. The people's democratic order must be overthrown

by armed revolt. In this connection he stressed that I should follow the activity of the great Western Powers in preparing for these events. Rankovic said: there is not only the “brilliant retuning policy” to achieve the ultimate aim but also policy agreed between Tito, the United States, Britain and the Western Powers in general, including the Vatican. This policy aimed at overthrowing the Governments in the People’s Democracies.

Speaking also on behalf of Tito, Rankovic stressed that armed force was all important when overthrowing the State power. At the beginning of the putsch to seize power Tito was prepared to send Yugoslav units.

Rankovic further reported that they would select the necessary people and form various units which would be stationed on the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. So that these units should remain unnoticed, they would endeavour to form them of Hungarians living in Yugoslavia, equipping them with Hungarian uniforms. Rankovic drew my attention to Tito’s insistence that the first measure to be taken parallel with the putsch should be the assassination of Rakosi, Gero and Farkas. Naturally, stated Rankovic, crude methods were to be “avoided.” Explanations could be given for each case—that the first was an accident, another sudden illness, the third suicide or that all had been shot while trying to escape.

**Chairman:** Did he offer other military aid?

**Rajk:** Apart from this, when drawing up his plan Tito took into account the fascist units made up of former Horthy and Szalasi followers who were located in the West, in the Anglo-American zone. Rankovic said that when he had spoken to me earlier, they—that is, Tito and Rankovic—had taken steps to contact the commanders American agents. For instance, Tibor Szonyi and his associates—the Swiss trotskyite group made up entirely of American agents—returned to Hungary through

Yugoslavia. Most convincing proof of the ties of leading Yugoslav circles, of Prime Minister Tito and Home Minister Rankovic, with the Americans is my conversation with Rankovic in the summer of 1947 during my holiday in the Yugoslav resort of Abbazia.

**Chairman:** Will you please tell the Court how you established contact with Yugoslav official persons.

**Rajk:** I established contact with the Yugoslav Intelligence organs and with Brankov as early as 1945, independently of the American Intelligence organs. I did not know at the time that the Yugoslavs were in close contact with the Americans. Brankov presented Tito's policy to me as a "new tactic in building Socialism" in the new historical situation that had arisen in the course of the world war. When I became Minister of the Interior, Brankov constantly returned to this theme and I guessed that he was directing our conversation along lines that would give him an idea, of my attitude to the Soviet Union and to the leaders of the Communist Party who were pursuing a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, that is, to Rakosi, Gero, Farkas and others, of how much I sympathised with Tito's nationalist policy and what were my political sentiments. From my answers Brankov could gather that I not only sympathised with Tito but also approved of his nationalist and anti-Soviet views. As a result, Brankov became so frank that he simply told me that he was leader of the Yugoslav Intelligence Service in Hungary and asked me, as Minister of the Interior, to supply him with various data, to keep him informed about the Hungarian political scene, about different questions that were State secrets and so on.

**Chairman:** Was there any mention of your internment camp acquaintances?

**Rajk:** Yes. As head of the military mission, Brankov often went to Belgrade for instructions and every time he returned he

brought back greetings from Rankovic, Milic, Vukmanovic and others. He informed me that the Yugoslavs who had been to Spain were all leading statesmen in Yugoslavia.

In 1947 spent my holiday in Yugoslavia where I was heartily welcomed Rankovic paid me a visit in Abbazia. A woman from the Croat U.D.B. acted as interpreter. Rankovic told me that [...] not conceal at the trial.

Palfy was the chief of the military part of the conspiracy. The Tito clique regarded this former officer of the Horthy army as their man and had promised him the post of Hungarian War Minister. From 1945 Palfy was in the service of the Yugoslav Intelligence Service, regularly supplying it with secret documents. On Rankovic's instructions he deliberately staffed the army and the border troops with reactionary officers, bitter enemies of the People's Democracy. Palfy was in the confidence of the Yugoslav leaders and he knew a great deal about their plans.

In the autumn of 1947, Palfy met Colonel Nedeljkovic, one of Tito's men, at the Congress of Partisans in Rome. Nedeljkovic had been sent specially to give Palfy the necessary information. In the course of his conversation with Palfy he repeatedly stressed that he was talking on behalf of Tito. He spoke of the plans, which had the agreement of the United States, to wrest the People's Democracies from the democratic camp, headed by the U.S.S.R. Nedeljkovic assured Palfy that Tito's aims would materialise since they had the backing of the United States.

Questioned by the Chairman, Palfy told of his links with official representatives of the Yugoslav Government in Hungary who under cover of their diplomatic passports, developed extensive espionage activities. Brankov, Counsellor to the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest, and the military attaches, Colonels Lozic and Djokail, received highly

important data from Palfy personally. In the summer of 1947, Palfy told Rajk that it was necessary to seize power at all costs. Rajk decided to get Rankovic's advice.

Palfy said: on his return from his holiday in Yugoslavia, Rajk told me of Rankovic's instructions. These amounted to an armed putsch, with the support of the United States.

In October 1948 Palfy, taking advantage of his position as chief of the border troops, helped to arrange an illegal meeting between Rankovic and Rajk. The latter afterwards told Palfy of the assignments given him by Rankovic.

**Chairman:** What was the essence of Rankovic's plan?

**Palfy:** Rajk told me that, according to Rankovic's plan, the putsch was to be staged on a day when Rakosi, Gerö and Farkas were in Budapest, that is, when there was a meeting of the Political Bureau, or a session of the Council of Ministers. The beginning of the putsch was timed for 23.00 hours, or later, when all three would certainly have returned home. Upon verifying this, groups of twelve men each were to attack the guards, disarm them and arrest the aforementioned people.

I had detailed conversations with Korondy on this matter. This was in April 1949, just a few days before May 1st. Korondy had already been informed by Rajk of his assignment, but I discussed the details with him. After I had told him about the above-mentioned tasks he informed me that he had gendarmes at present serving in the police and the army who could be formed into groups to assassinate Rakosi. In this connection Rankovic said that we would discuss everything later and that in the meantime, on behalf of Tito, I should follow the instructions given me at the end of 1946 by Himmler, one of the leaders of the American Intelligence Service.

**Chairman:** So even then he referred to Himmler?

**Rajk:** Rankovic again mentioned the fact that the

Americans had informed them in detail of my talk with Himmler, that Prime Minister Tito and he knew of this. Rankovic laid particular emphasis on the demand that I should start a strong movement against Rakosi inside the Communist Party; that is, that I should start a nationalist anti-Soviet faction. As I stated earlier, I saw for myself that Prime Minister Tito, Home Minister Rankovic and other leading Yugoslav statesmen were in close contact with the American Intelligence organs. I assumed, and it was later proved correct, that this contact was of long standing, for such complete collaboration would have been impossible had the contact only been of recent origin... Even now I cannot rid myself of the thought that the Americans have a hold on Tito himself, just as they have on other Yugoslavs whom they recruited in France. They evidently have in their hands material dating back to the time of fascist Yugoslavia that would compromise Tito.

**Chairman:** Parallel with this, did you maintain contact with the Yugoslav officials Brankov, Mrazovic, Javorsky and Cacinovic who were operating in Hungary?

**Rajk:** I regularly supplied political and other information to Brankov and others. After my first meeting with Rankovic, the nature of my contact with Brankov changed: I began to receive one kind of instruction after another from him. When I returned, one of my assignments transmitted through Brankov was to do everything to facilitate the appointment to leading positions in the police and army of people who fitted in with our policy, people on whom we could rely, that is, nationalist, chauvinist and anti-Soviet elements. He stressed that the appointment of these elements to important posts was not enough and that I must see to it that the police and army as a whole were influenced by Tito's policy, that they follow a nationalist, anti-Soviet line with orientation on the United States. To achieve this Rankovic suggested that delegations

from the police and the army should be sent to Yugoslavia where they would enjoy all kinds of privileges and be shown the achievements of Yugoslavia. Tito would be popularised among them so that before the putsch they would send across the border Yugoslavs of Hungarian origin in Hungarian army and police uniform so that they would be at hand as specialists—but actually as hired assassins. I told Korondy that he could rely on Yugoslav support and that he would be given a special detachment to carry out this measure.

Palfy further stated that the putsch did not come off not because of any fault of theirs. The Hungarian Government tightened its security measures and the criminals were arrested.

Dr. Alapi, Chairman of the Public Prosecutor's Office, asked Palfy what he knew of the preparations to overthrow the People's democratic order in the other People's Democracies.

Palfy replied that the subversive activities of the Tito clique were conducted in all the People's Democracies. Nedelkovic informed me of this.

The accused **Brankov**, told the court of the Tito clique's undermining work. Colonel Tsitsmil was the original organiser of the Yugoslav military mission in Budapest and personally received his instructions from Tito and Rankovic concerning the mission's methods of work. These instructions were to organise an Intelligence Service, to establish close contact with the Anglo-American representatives and to avoid falling under the influence of the Soviet representatives in the Allied Control Commission. During the war, Tsitsmil had close contact with Anglo-American Intelligence Service officers in Yugoslavia and after the war handed over to them all the necessary information. Tsitsmil has been promoted now—Tito has appointed him ambassador to London. Brankov stated that they were given categoric instructions by Rankovic to employ all means in pursuit of their aims. Threats, violence,

assassination—even of their own people—all this figured in the arsenal of these bandits. For instance, the Hungarian citizen Jubitsa Hibar was forcibly taken in an embassy car to Yugoslavia where he was forced to sign a written statement that he would work for the U.D.B.

The Titoites recruited their agents from among provocateurs and careerists, from among people devoid of honour or conscience. Rankovic knew that Andras Szalay had betrayed a group of anti-fascists who were planning to escape from prison. Nearly 70 of them were killed, including many Serbs. And this enemy of the Yugoslav people was one of the leading agents of the Yugoslav Government! The Yugoslav official representatives in Budapest lost no time in handing over to the American and British Intelligence Services all the data they received from their spies Rajk, Palffy, Szonyi, Szalay, Justus, Korondy and others. Kardelj gave direct instructions that the British general, Edgecombe, who egged on the Yugoslav hirelings, should be kept informed of everything.

The principal aim of the Tito agency in Hungary was to popularise Tito, draw over the Hungarian people to its side and furnish the conditions for establishing a Balkan Federation, Here the Yugoslav the influence of the Rights. One of the means of bringing this about was to stop the work of the Party organisations in the police force.

At the end of 1947, the treaty of friendship between Yugoslavia and Hungary was about to be signed. In this connection Brankov told me that I must use the occasion to popularise Tito. To discuss the details, Rankovic sent a delegation headed by Milic, one of the chiefs of the U.D.B., a few days in advance of the official Yugoslav Government delegation.

Milic visited me at my home together with Brankov. They told me that the occasion must be used to carry out intensified

security measures to protect Tito and thus emphasise his importance as a recognised leader. They suggested such measures as moving people from houses whose windows faced the streets through which Tito would pass; to examine the sewage system along the whole route in case time-bombs had been planted, making a great demonstration of guarding each manhole so that everybody would realise it was a question of ensuring the safety of Tito. Mrazovic, who was Ambassador at the time, insisted that Tito be given the most beautiful villa in Budapest.

When I did not succeed in making these arrangements, Mrazovic visited me in his official capacity as Ambassador to convey the following statement of the Yugoslav Government; in view of the fact that the Hungarian Government has not been able to provide a villa suitable for Tito, and does not agree to give the corresponding orders that would ensure Tito's safety, the Yugoslav Government delegation refuses to come to Hungary to sign the friendship agreement. This statement was made about thirty-six hours before the arrival of the delegation. I did my best to try to satisfy these demands. That they were not carried out 100 per cent did not depend on me. The Hungarian Government intervened in the matter and forbade me, as Minister of the Interior, to take extra, exaggerated measures.

In 1948 I spoke to Brankov about the decision of the Information Bureau long before it was published (I did not have the decision in written form). Thus, thanks to me, the Tito-ites knew of the Cominform decision long in advance and long before it was published.

## **Tito's Counter-Revolutionary Plans**

**Chairman:** Now about the meeting in Kelebia?

**Rajk:** After the agreement was signed, the Hungarian Government arranged a hunting trip in honour of the Yugoslav delegation.

Rankovic informed me through Brankov that after the hunt he wished to speak to me in one of the compartments of the Yugoslav train. The meeting took place. Brankov acted as interpreter. There was nobody else in the carriage. Summarising the political gist of Rankovic's conversation with me, I can state the following: it was necessary to influence things in such a way as to bring about the disintegration of the people's democratic State systems, of the people's democratic republics and to prevent their socialist development. Part of the revolutionary democratic forces were to be drawn over to our side. wrested from the Soviet Union. Where these forces could not be won over. they were to be destroyed. Instead of a people's democratic State order, a bourgeois-democratic order was to be set up in all the People's Democracies; that is, instead of developing toward Socialism, capitalism was to be restored. These bourgeois democratic Governments would orientate themselves on the United States instead of the Soviet Union. Grouped around Yugoslavia they would form a federation returned to Belgrade at the end of 1948.

**Chairman:** What directives did you receive from the Minister of the Interior, Rankovic, in October 1948 regarding the publication of a false statement about relations with the Tito Government having been broken off?

**Brankov:** Rankovic simply stated that the situation in Hungary was such that it was no longer possible to work in the old way and that the methods would have to be changed. The Hungarian authorities had become so vigilant that it was

practically impossible for the Embassy members to carry on subversive work. He gave me instructions to return to Budapest and leave the Embassy, after which I was to announce that I condemned the Tito policy and would remain in Hungary as a political emigrant. Seeing my hesitation, Rankovic told me that he had spoken to Tito personally about the matter and that Tito expected me to handle the assignment successfully. Rankovic also gave me instructions on what I was to do on my return to Hungary.

These instructions were: first of all, to win the confidence of the leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party; secondly, once this confidence was won, to maintain imperceptible contact with the Hungarian plotters, mainly with Rajk. Rankovic ordered Mrazovic and myself to put all other work aside and do only this. Another of my assignments was to establish contact with several important Yugoslav agents in Hungary.

Brankov was Rankovic's chief resident agent in Hungary. He often visited Belgrade where he received instructions direct from the Yugoslav leaders. During one of his visits there he had a confidential talk with Rankovic.

**Chairman:** Djilas was present at this conversation?

**Brankov:** Djilas was present at this conversation. He had just been in conference with Tito who was then negotiating with the American and British representatives in Belgrade. They told Tito that they were prepared to help the Yugoslav Government not only economically but also politically if the Tito Government was prepared to fight against the Soviet Union. Djilas said the situation was such that we had better accept this offer, for the Americans and British had become our natural allies. Rankovic thereupon added that collaboration was being carried out in other countries.

A certain Sahota acted as go between for Brankov and

Rankovic during the recent past. Brankov testified: In February I met Sahota at an appointed place. He reported to me that Rankovic wanted Rajk to be prodded into getting on with the putsch: it should be made clear to him that the time for preparation had passed, that action was wanted. Rankovic also asked that Rajk be informed that Belgrade was dissatisfied with a comparatively large number of old reactionary forces who could be relied on to be victorious and who, in the event of victory, could also be relied on to establish a bourgeois-democratic order in these countries. Thus, for instance, stated Rankovic, if the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy had not been discovered, Hungary would have closely approached this stage of development. Had things turned out this way, continued Rankovic, Yugoslavia would have become active in its foreign policy only after the forces of reaction had been victorious in some of these countries, in which case Yugoslavia would have been able to form a bloc in alliance with these forces.

He then said: the situation, however, has changed so fundamentally that it has become necessary for Yugoslavia to give up the role of reserve and come to the forefront, thus becoming the organiser and taking the lead in overthrowing the People's democratic order in the other People's Democracies, becoming the organiser and leader of an alliance of bourgeois-democratic States which relied on the United States and constituted a military bloc against the Soviet Union.

Here I want to point out that during our conversation in Kelebia, Rankovic stressed that everything he had told me was part and Vukmanovic as well as many others. Brankov mentioned this to Milic who told him that Tito and Rankovic were fully aware of this. Brankov declared that Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic were undoubtedly agent provocateurs, considering their ties with the Americans and British. Eager to carry out the orders of their masters they annihilated a large

number of honest people in Yugoslavia and placed provocateurs in key positions. It was with their help that the Tito clique tried to draw Yugoslavia and the other People's Democracies into the camp of imperialism.

**Chairman:** What do you know of the Tito plans during the post-war period?

**Brankov:** The leaders of Yugoslavia considered that Yugoslavia possessed an enormous strategic significance and that it had a decisive role to play in the Balkans and in Central Europe. In essence, the Tito plan provided for the setting up, under his leadership, of a powerful Federation in the form of a bourgeois-democratic republic, embracing the Balkans and the Central European countries. The Federation would orientate on the West. This plan, which was formulated as early as 1945, was carefully concealed. Only an extremely narrow group knew of its existence—Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic. In his (Brankov) view, Tito and his clique were merely carrying out the plan of the American imperialists. Brankov stated that the Titoites sought to portray this line as something “new” in Marxism, and Tito as a man who was enriching Marxism.

The accused **Szonyi, Szalay, Korondy, Ogyenovics and Justus** also pleaded guilty. From their testimony it can be concluded that the present Yugoslav Government is simply a carefully organised group of agents provocateurs who have been placed in power. Left phrases are used by them as a screen for concealing their evil deeds. In 1945 a group of American spies headed by Szonyi was brought to Hungary with the help of the Yugoslav authorities. These spies were given the necessary documents by Lompar, the Yugoslav representative in Switzerland. They were brought to Yugoslavia in an United States army plane. They entered Hungary as members of a Yugoslav military mission. In Hungary, Szonyi developed extensive espionage activities,

guiding the work of American and Yugoslav agents.

On Rankovic's orders Szonyi and all his agents were placed at the disposal of Rajk.

The Court interrogated 19 witnesses who testified to the espionage and undermining activities of the accused.

After the interrogation of the accused and the witnesses, speeches were made by the Counsel for the Defence and the State Prosecutor.

**Chairman:** Were you entrusted with this task as far as Hungary was concerned?

**Rajk:** As far as Hungary was concerned, I was given this task. The Kelebia meeting ended in Rankovic promising new instructions. He also said there was no need to feel isolated since besides themselves there were other forces operating in this direction.

In this connection he mentioned the fact that the "Marshal Plan" would have the effect of making the economic life of the People's Democracies difficult and on the grounds of economic difficulties create the prerequisites for bringing these countries into a united front.

It should be borne in mind, said Rankovic, that the United States and the Anglo-Saxon countries in general were steadily intensifying their provocative war policy. In Hungary and the other People's Democracies this would undoubtedly have the effect of causing uncertainty in the minds of politically immature people who would become panicky and try to orientate on America... Rankovic stressed that the British Labour Party, the Blum supporters and the Saragat followers—that is, the Right Labour leaders and the French and Italian Right special democrats—would start intensified propaganda in support of the Marshall Plan and the provocative policy of the United States.

**Chairman:** After the Kelebia meeting did you talk about

this with American officials?

**Rajk:** Yes. In the Spring of 1948 mentioned this to Chapin, U.S. Ambassador to Budapest. I told him of my conversation with Rankovic in the course of which Rankovic had stressed that the United States would try to divert the Soviet Union's attention and thus prevent it from interfering with the seizure of power in Hungary.

**Chairman:** What did Chapin say to this?

**Rajk:** Chapin told me that he knew of this plan and that the United States would not stand in the way of Yugoslavia's policy. After this it became clear to me that it was not merely for reasons of personal vanity that Tito wanted to become head of an alliance of States; it was clear that Tito had submitted his plan to the Americans, that the latter had approved it or jointly elaborated it, and that Tito and his Government were merely the executors of this plan.

**Chairman:** To what extent was it possible to realise all this?

**Rajk:** It was not realised. The concentration of [...] Rakosi battalion which occupied a very important sector of the front just before one of the most decisive battles launched by the Republicans.

**Chairman:** After your exclusion from the Rakosi Battalion did you continue your activities?

**Rajk:** Yes, I did. My activities came to an end in February 1939, while fighting was still in progress in Spain. I deserted then and fled from Spain. This is how I got into a French internment camp. I was together with Yugoslavs in the French internment camps of Saint-Cyprien, Gurs and Vernet. Particularly intensive trotskyite undermining activities were conducted in the internment camps.

The Yugoslav trotskyites were the main organisers of this activity which they also in order to realise this programme and

three tasks must be carried out in order to do so. The first task which falls to the lot of Yugoslavia itself is to mobilise the peoples of Yugoslavia against the Soviet Union. The second task is to consolidate and organise the anti-Soviet forces in the People's Democracies and prepare the reactionary forces for action. The third task is to take advantage of the contradictions between the United States and the Soviet Union and, at the appropriate moment, to overthrow the People's Democratic Government in Hungary by armed force.

Rankovic went into the following details in connection with these tasks. A certain transition period was necessary before they could openly come out against the Soviet Union because, much to their surprise, the roots of friendship and roots of friendship and loyalty to the Soviet Union among the working masses of Yugoslavia were deeper than they had thought, even after years of Tito propaganda. A special programme was needed in order to turn the Yugoslav masses against the Soviet Union. Rankovic called this programme the "brilliant" Tito "returning plan", by which he meant the plan to turn the Yugoslav working people's friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union into an anti-Soviet attitude. Rankovic said that Tito, after elaborating this Plan, showed it to Djilas, Kardelj and to him. They discussed and approved it. The essence of this plan was to start out by friendly criticism of the Information Bureau Resolution, to pretend that they only wanted to clear up some misunderstanding with the Soviet Union. Together with "friendly" criticism they would even praise the Soviet Union. Later they would change the tone of their criticism, begin to describe the Information Bureau Resolution as slander, but still not in a tone hostile to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. At a later stage they would blame the Soviet Union, alleging that it wanted to prevent the peoples of Yugoslavia from building Socialism,

wanted in divert them from the path leading to Socialism.

This was to be followed by the last phase of the “retuning policy”, when it was to be pointed out that while the Soviet Union was preventing the Socialist development of Yugoslavia, the United States was contributing to it. In this way it was planned to set the peoples of Yugoslavia against the Soviet Union. Tito, said Rankovic, estimated that the Western countries would take up this propaganda and spread it. Tito’s supporters in the People’s Democracies were became interested, particularly in Kosta Nagy, Stefanovic and others. The Yugoslavs, about 150 of them, asked him to help them return to Yugoslavia. I told him all that I knew about the activity of this Yugoslav trotskyite group. The Gestapo major received my information about their trotskyite activity with satisfaction and told me that he would grant their request and help them return to Yugoslavia. That he did so was proved by two facts: first, there were many Yugoslavs in the group with which I went to Germany; second, from time to time Yugoslav groups passed through the Leipzig area, where I was working, on their way to Yugoslavia. Since they passed through legally, it could only mean that the German authorities, the Gestapo and other organs, were helping them.

### **American Intelligence Service—Master of the Yugoslav Rulers**

On his return to Hungary, during the war, Rajk resumed undermining activities in the working-class movement. To avoid suspicion he was arrested but was soon released when it was learnt who he was and for whom he was working.

Step by step the Court disclosed Rajk’s espionage activities after his second return from Germany where he had been sent

just before the entry of the Soviet Army into Hungary.

Rajk testified: The leadership of the Communist Party was not aware of my espionage activities. I was considered one of the best members of the Communist Party. That is why I was entrusted with a high post in the Party immediately after my return. I became Secretary of the Budapest Party organisation. Soon after I had been given this post by the Party leadership, I was visited by a man named Kovacs a member of the American military mission. This was about August or September 1945.

Kovacs told me that he had been informed by Sombor-Schweinitzer, a former Horthy police chief then in the American zone, that I had worked for the Horthy police. Kovacs threatened that if I did not agree to work for the Americans they would expose me to the leaders of the Communist Party. I, of course, agreed. Kovacs asked to be supplied with information regarding the political situation in Hungary. He told me that since I occupied such a high position he would not give me the minor intelligence jobs of ordinary agents. He wanted me, as one close to leading political circles, to supply the American Intelligence Service in Budapest with the political information they could not get through other channels. I kept Kovacs—I think he was a lieutenant-colonel—supplied with information on the political situation in the country. Information I gave him on the 1945 elections was particularly important to him.

Kovacs put Rajk in contact with **Marton Himmler**, another American intelligence agent, who instructed Rajk to place his men in key posts in the Party and Government.

Rajk: The purpose of this work was to place people in all spheres of State life, decisive in the event of the seizure of power who could be relied on to carry out the plan for the overthrow of the people's democratic order. I must, however,

note that in 1946, when I spoke to Marlon Himmler, this policy in the sphere of cadres was only being outlined and was not at that time realised. It was carried out, not on the basis of conversations with Marton Himmler, but on the basis of the instructions and political plans of Tito and Rankovic. In the long run, of course, it was one and the same line, since Tito and Rankovic closely collaborated with the American Intelligence Service.

I am in possession of a whole number of facts to prove that they closely collaborated with the U.S. Intelligence Service. First, my observations in the French internment camp where I saw for myself that the people who today hold leading posts in Yugoslavia, were agents of the "Deuxième Bureau" and returned home with the help of the Gestapo. During the war the "Deuxième Bureau" was collaborating closely with the organs of the American Intelligence Service. After the war the "Deuxième Bureau" agents in Central and Eastern Europe began to work for the American Intelligence Service. That Yugoslav Government circles, Tito, Rankovic and others, were closely linked with American Intelligence Service organs is proved by the fact that, in 1945, in the majority of cases the Americans filtered their agents into Hungary through Yugoslavia. Moreover, this was done in such a way that the Yugoslavs knew that these individuals were of these units. In view of the fact that Hungary is separated from these zones by the Soviet zone running along the Austrian border, these units were to reach Hungary from Austria via Yugoslavia; at any rate when the time arrived for them to go into action they would be at our disposal. So that the concentration of these forces along the Hungarian border should not be noticed, Tito elaborated a special plan which was approved by Djilas and Kardelj, namely, to revive the charge of revisionism against Hungary.

**Chairman:** What in your opinion would these fascist and

Yugoslav units have done had they reached Hungarian territory?

**Rajk:** At any rate they would have been extremely brutal toward the democratic forces. It was in Tito's plan to spread the rumour among the Yugoslav peoples that Hungary, with the tacit support of the other People's Democracies and even the Soviet Union, entertained aggressive intentions against Yugoslavia and that it wanted to wrest from it the territory inhabited by Hungarians. Proceeding from the charge of revisionism, a series of provocative border incidents between Hungary and Yugoslavia were planned.

Actually, from the end of 1948, the Yugoslav Government in official statements began to accuse Hungary of revisionism. For instance, the Chairman of the Serbian Parliament made a statement protesting against the revisionist policy of the Hungarian Government. It was about that time that the Yugoslavs started to provoke border incidents which often ended in Hungarian borderguards being killed.

**Chairman:** What demands did Rankovic make on Hungary on behalf of Yugoslavia?

**Rajk:** Prime Minister Tito and Ministers Djilas, Kardelj and Rankovic informed me that after the seizure of power they would demand, first of all, the right to complete control of the Hungarian armed forces, that is the army and the police. With this aim in view, Tito insisted that Palfy, a man upon whom he could rely, should become Minister of Defence, and the Yugoslav agent, Antal Rob, Minister of the Interior. Taking into account the ultimate aim, that is, the establishment of a bloc of States, Tito demanded the subordination of Hungary's foreign policy to the Yugoslav Government. Finally he demanded that since Yugoslavia was a less developed country industrially, Hungary's entire industry should be subordinated to Yugoslavia's economic policy, although this was to the

detriment of Hungarian interests. He regarded me, Palfy and Antal Rob as the guarantee of this. Similarly he informed me through Rankovic that he had no objections to supporters of Ferenc Nagy who had fled to the West, and several Right social democrats taking part in the Government. Thus, Tito's plan envisaged a Right coalition Government.

Both Brankov and Mrazovic informed me, on Rankovic's instructions, of Tito's words that he was not only thinking of "armed support" for intervention in Hungary, but was also trying to create favourable conditions for similar actions in the People's Democracies bordering on Hungary. This policy was connected with the serious movements against the Governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia similar to the political actions initiated by Mindzsentsy. With regard to Bulgaria, Tito stated that national resentment could be fomented and a reactionary policy pursued on the national question that would have serious consequences.

Describing the policy of the bloc, Rankovic told me in Paks that they would make short shrift of Albania. They would not only colonise Albania, but cut short her existence as an independent country and would annex her territory to Yugoslavia.

Most important was Tito's plan for assistance to monarcho-fascist Greece. When I spoke to Rankovic in Paks he told me there was no sense in concealing any longer their policy with regard to Greece. It was in their interests that the United States should strengthen its base there as soon as possible in agreement with them, that is, with Tito and his associates.

That is why Yugoslavia would, at first covertly and later more and more openly, follow the course of isolating democratic Greece from the other people's democratic countries, so that the monarchist forces could smash it.

Rankovic went on to say that parallel with the Hungarian events and using the same methods as in Hungary, they would encourage their supports in the other People's Democracies to become politically active, using approximately the same categories of reactionary forces enumerated with regard to Hungary. He said that while the United States would put out provocations against the Soviet Union at the time of the putsch, in order to tie its hands, they for their part would attend to various small and large-scale disorders in the People's Democracies to make the confusion complete. Their ultimate aim in these People's Democracies was the overthrow of power and the restoration of capitalism.

### **The Tito Clique—A Gang of Assassins**

After Rajk had finished his evidence the accused **Paiffy** took his place in the dock. Paiffy is a confirmed fascist, a fact he did of my work for the Hungarian police and that he had now come to Abbazia on the direct orders of Tito to inform me that if my political behaviour in the future did not fully fit in with Tito's policy I would be exposed. I replied that his threats were superfluous since I had had nothing to do with the Hungarian police, and that if I had collaborated with them politically it was not because I had been caught and recruited but because my political convictions coincided with theirs. With a mocking gesture, Rankovic thereupon drew out of his pocket a photostatic copy and gave it to me to read. It was the copy of my statement to the Hungarian police in 1931, at the time of my first arrest.

I asked Rankovic how the photostatic copy of this document had come into his possession. Was it through the old Yugoslav police who had formerly had contact with the

Hungarian police and had received information from the latter, for it was known that the fascist police used to exchange information? Or was it through other channels? Rankovic told me that he had obtained this document not from the files of the Yugoslav police but from the Americans, that the Horthy police sent their archives to the West when the Hungarian Government and various of its officials fled at the end of the war. These archives found their way into the American zone.

I asked Rankovic how was it that the Americans had given him this photostatic copy? Rankovic replied that there was no sense in playing hide and seek with me since I must know of their policy and their contacts. He could tell me that they were linked with the Americans, that he knew of my conversation with Himmler in 1946, of the task Himmler had given me of placing Right forces in power and undermining the unity of the Communist Party. He knew that Himmler had informed me that in all probability, in the near future I would receive instructions not directly from the Americans but through Yugoslav channels. And so, said Rankovic, the Yugoslav channel is Tito and myself. In the future you will receive instructions from Tito or a person appointed by him.

This fact made it perfectly clear to me that not only the Yugoslavs who had been recruited in France but also many in Yugoslav Government circles, including Prime Minister Tito and Home Minister Rankovic, were in close contact with the Americans.

Here I must also point out that after Rankovic had shown me the photosatic copy there was absolutely no need to recruit me formally, for I was politically in full agreement with them. Rankovic, however, said that I, as Minister of the Interior, must understand that he, as Minister of the Interior, considered it important from the professional point of view, to observe these formalities. Incidentally, he assured me that I would not be

given minor assignments since they were aware of my capabilities due to my position in the Government and the Party. Gerö and Farkas. Thereupon I told him that Rankovic had promised Djokail and Rajk his assistance in this matter. Rankovic said that on their return home they would carry on a pro-Yugoslav policy inside the police and the army.

As a means of carrying out Yugoslavia's policy in the Hungarian army and police, Rankovic recommended that I should suggest that the Government should send Hungarian army and police officers to Yugoslav military and police schools where they would be trained as reliable army commanders for the Tito order. Rankovic's instructions indicated that, in place of the Smallholders' Party which had been smashed after the discovery of the conspiracy of its Right-wing, it was necessary to facilitate a new consolidation of the Right forces and that I, as Minister of the Interior, was not to obstruct the election propaganda of the Barankovics and Pfeiffer parties.

In other instructions Rankovic demanded that I should close my eyes to the activities of the Right social democrats who were pursuing a policy directed against the People's Democracy and the Soviet Union—a pro British and pro-American policy; that in the leadership of the Communist Party, as a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, I should suggest a tolerant attitude to this policy. The instructions stated that inside the Party I should put forward the argument that it was impossible to fight on two fronts simultaneously during the elections: that it was impossible to fight at one and the same time against the Rights whose policy bore a fascist nature and against those Rights who nevertheless were members of a workers' party. In connection with this, Rankovic pointed out that according to his information—I do not know the source of this information—the Right social

democrats would try to use the elections, the election campaign and afterwards the election results to blackmail the Communist Party, and deprive them of various Government posts. Thus, wrote Rankovic, there are wide possibilities for giving leading posts to the Right social democrats in different spheres of State life, especially in the military units of the Ministry of the Interior, State security organs, economic police, political departments of the army and in the army.

Through Brankov, Rankovic explained the purpose of these measures. He said that there was a common platform with the Right social democrats, namely, that they were orientated on the United States, were anti-Soviet, and that if they held positions in the army, the police, armed forces and in various organs of the State apparatus, this would correspond to our political aims, that is, aims directed against the people's democracy, anti-Soviet aims.

Finally, in the second half of 1947, after the meeting in Kelebia, I received yet another assignment from Tito and Rankovic. It was necessary to deprive the Communist Party, and the people's democracy in general, of its influence in the police and the armed forces and to bring these under agents did not confine themselves to Hungary alone, but stretched their tentacles to the other democratic countries.

In Rumania, the man chosen was the Minister of Justice, Patrascanu, who had no objection to carrying out Tito's plan. But he was isolated in good time and removed from the Party. Rankovic complained to Brankov that they would have to start all over again in Rumania. The notorious American agent, Misha Lompar, was sent to Rumania for this purpose.

Great hopes were also placed on the disagreements in the Polish Workers' Party. It was assumed that Gomulka would be the proper man to carry out Tito's designs. But Gomulka acknowledged his mistakes. Here, too, complained Rankovic,

they would have to start from scratch, and he sent Ivan Rukavin to Poland as Counsellor to the Yugoslav Embassy, together with a number of other agents. Similar attempts were made in relation to Bulgaria and Albania. Brankov said that he had learnt all this from Rankovic, Djilas and Milic.

Brankov said that, in 1946-47, Tito sent his representatives to the People's Democracies under the guise of representatives of the Yugoslav Communist Party. I was such a representative in Hungary, stated the accused.

In Czechoslovakia the representatives were Novosel, now a Minister, and later Stilinovic; in Bulgaria, N. Kovacevic and O. Tsitsmil; in Albania, Djerdje and Slatic and in Poland, another Kovacevic. The task of these representatives, testified the accused, was to popularise Tito, to engage in undermining activities in the Communist Parties and the State apparatus of the People's Democracies.

Brankov described how the consular department of the Yugoslav mission in Budapest forged documents for the Yugoslav diplomats engaged in espionage, and for recruited Hungarian subjects.

The accused testified that he knew of the secret meeting between Rankovic and Rajk held at a country-house near Paks, and that Mrazovic told him about this meeting. Brankov further testified that during one of his regular trips to Belgrade, Rankovic expressed his dissatisfaction with Rajk's slowness, stressing that Rajk could have been more energetic and killed Rakosi and other leaders of the Hungarian State in one night. Rankovic sent two of his agents, the experienced political assassins, Jovanovic and Joikovic, to Hungary to help Rajk. They shadowed Rakosi. Jovanovic was sent out of Hungary and Joikovic under Yugoslavia, that is, under Tito and the Yugoslav Government, and this federation would rely on the United States. At the same time, this federation would

constitute a military bloc on the side of the United States against the Soviet Union.

**Chairman:** What was the plan proposed by Rankovic?

**Rajk:** I told him that I did not quite understand how Yugoslavia and the Tito Government meant to realise this policy. For there were definite contradictions, at any rate there seemed to be, between the situation prevailing in Yugoslavia and the situation that had, as its ultimate aim, the restoration of capitalism and the overthrow of the people's democratic order.

**Chairman:** What did Rankovic say to this?

**Rajk:** Rankovic replied as follows: In the first place it should be known that neither Tito nor the other members of the Yugoslav Government wanted a people's democratic order and Socialist construction after the liberation of Yugoslavia. The fact that they nevertheless were compelled to introduce revolutionary changes which in essence and de facto led to the liquidation of capitalism, came about not because they seriously wanted to realise this programme but because they were forced to do so under pressure from the working masses of Yugoslavia. Then again, after World War Two, the situation in Central and Southeastern Europe was such that Yugoslavia, in this case Prime Minister Tito and his hirelings, had to take the Soviet Union and the new People's Democracies into consideration. Hence, these factors forced them to introduce measures for the abolition of capitalism. Rankovic particularly stressed that they were "forced to do so", there and then adding that from the very outset they carefully ensured that really revolutionary, socialist elements did not get into power in Yugoslavia and that the centralised State power rested in the hands of Tito and his accomplices.

He said that the People's Front in Yugoslavia was organised on a nationalist basis. They did not allow the Communist Party to play an independent role but dissolved it

in the People's Front so that there should be no crystallisation of a revolutionary rallying force in the form of an independent proletarian party in Yugoslavia. Rankovic told me that after the liberation, in 1945-46, the situation was such that Yugoslavia could calmly remain in the background, outwardly presenting a revolutionary semblance to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. As yet, Yugoslavia did not have to take upon itself unpleasant obligations against the Soviet Union, for in all the People's Democracies, just on the thresh hold of their political development, there was still the delay in preparing the attempt against the lives of the Communist Party leaders.

During the trial Brankov tried to depict Tito as the victim of the machinations of Rankovic, Kardelj and Djilas. However, when cross examined he related that as early as the initial stages of the war, Tito was secretly negotiating with Germany, promising to cease military operations if Hitler would allow a Yugoslav Government to be established under the leadership of Tito. After Stalingrad, however, when the tide of the war turned, Tito broke off these negotiations. A number of the partisan leaders who had had an inkling about these negotiations and voiced their indignation were deliberately put out of the way. They were sent to sectors which meant death.

Even during the war. Brankov testified, Tito, Rankovic and Kardelj were in contact with the British and American Intelligence Services in Yugoslavia and also beyond its borders. I learned of this, he continued, from a talk I had with Tsitsmil and also from the secret files of the U.D.B. Misha Lompar, who during the war had been sent on a mission to Switzerland, was commissioned to contact Allen Dulles, chief of American espionage in Europe. Upon his arrival in Switzerland. Lompar also contacted a group of trotskyites there. Latinovic was sent to Marseilles and Basso Jovanovic to Bari where he contacted the Anglo-American Intelligence

Service. General Velebit, a British spy of long standing, was active in London where he passed on to British Intelligence all the materials at his disposal including information about the Soviet Army.

In 1943 American and British military missions came to Yugoslavia headed by the Intelligence Officers Colonel Hamilton and General MacLean. Rankovic, sent out a special circular to all regional partisan headquarters ordering them to give every possible assistance to the members of these missions. As a result, the British and American representatives were officially accredited to these partisan headquarters. Here the representatives of the Intelligence Service and the American O.S.S. engaged in recruiting agents, spreading their nets over the whole of Yugoslavia. Brankov testified that when he became Rankovic's principal resident agent in Hungary he was given access to the U.D.B. secret files.

Referring to U.D.R. documents, Brankov stated that even during the war the Yugoslav leadership was aware of the espionage activities of the present Yugoslav minister and generals [...c] Stambolic, Apostolovic of Tito's plan and that he was informing me of this on Tito's orders.

**Chairman:** What was the plan?

**Rajk:** The plan was that since the reactionary forces inside the People's Democracies had been defeated, Yugoslavia herself was to take over the leading and organising role in overthrowing the State order in the People's Democracies. Tito however was of the opinion that Yugoslavia could not do this openly, said Rankovic. It would be impossible since friendship with the Soviet Union had deep roots among the Yugoslav people and the peoples of the other People's Democracies and because of the great strength of the socialist camp. That is precisely why Tito must mask his policy and resort to deceit.

According to Rankovic, Tito presented this deceitful policy

as follows: As a result of the war, or more precisely, as a result of the heroic partisan war of the Yugoslav people, Yugoslavia enjoys the admiration of the peoples of the New Democracies. Tito therefore planned, while keeping up the pretence of friendship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, to use this magnetic force, this popularity, to form various alliances between Yugoslavia and the People's Democracies. Tito intended to group these countries round Yugoslavia under socialist, people's democratic slogans of friendship with the Soviet Union, under the pretext that, in view of its geographical position, Yugoslavia had an important strategic role to play against the aggressive policy of the United States and in general against the Anglo-Saxon countries. This was to serve as the main argument in order to group the remaining countries around Yugoslavia economically, taking advantage of the country's popularity for this purpose.

In the mean time, the establishment of alliances was to take place on the basis of talks with the Governments of the People's Democracies. Tito, however, stressed that at the same time as these talks were proceeding, it was also necessary to take measures to wrest the democratic forces in the People's Democracies from the influence of the Soviet Union and bring them under the influence of Tito. This was to be made easier by the creation of various Balkan alliances with the help of which Tito was to lay the political foundation for a single Balkan alliance. And, finally, the last point in this plan was that, simultaneously with the activities in these two directions to overthrow the Governments in the People's Democracies, work was to be conducted on Tito's instructions in each of the People's Democracies to rapidly consolidate all the Right forces and get them ready for action so that when the time arrived they could overthrow the people's democratic Governments in power, by armed action if necessary.

**BUDAPEST. (By telegraph from our special correspondent).**

[pages 3, 4]

## **STRUGGLE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE FOR PEACE. Raymond Guvot, Member, Political Bureau, Communist Party of France**

The French hirelings of the American imperialist warmongers feel the ground slipping from under their feet. With alarm they see people's movement for peace and against poverty growing and realise that the time is not far off when the people, united, will refuse to tolerate any longer their policy of war adventures and national betrayal.

For some time now the French rulers have been whipping up a real war hysteria. Vicious statements seem to be the order of the day. Matters have gone so far that General Revers, Chief of the General Staff, speaks of the necessity of "wiping out the Russian forces" and launching an "offensive and defensive bacteriological war".

A campaign of anti-Soviet lies and slander, unprecedented in its maliciousness and scope, is being conducted over the radio and in the press, with the de Gaulle-trotskyite organ "Franc-Tireur" in the lead. The Vatican decree is being widely used, as well as the provocations of the traitor Tito; once again there is talk about the "Asiatic danger".

It is clear that the warmongers' propaganda barrage aims at masking the real essence of the Atlantic Pact—a pact of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies,

But nobody can change the facts. On his return from a tour of inspection in Western Europe, General Bradley gave a report after which the Secretary of Defence, Johnson, announced his intention of building "a bridgehead in Europe", and filling the military vacuum of Western Europe.

These statements are borne out—if there is any need for proof—by the drive of the American imperialists to turn our country into a base for aggression against the Soviet Union. They are doing this by imposing on France, as a companion, Western Germany where militarism and chauvinism are spreading at a threatening rate. Millions of French men and women are conscious of this danger and are clearly pointing out who are the warmongers. At the same time the Soviet Union's peace policy is finding an ever deeper response among the French people.

The forces of peace cannot achieve victory unless they wage constant ideological struggle to expose the ties and tear away the veil with which the imperialists will always try to cover up their aggressive policy.

That is why, by intensifying the activity of every Party member and every Party organisation, we must see to it that the blow against the warmongers is struck by the whole working class movement, especially by the trade unions, by all the supporters of peace and their organisations, by municipal councils, by the Fighters for Peace and Freedom.

Such are the directives of which Maurice Thorez and Laurent Casanova reminded the Party membership at the conference of the Seine department Active on September 2. In order to carry out the peace ballot successfully, the Communists have started a campaign to distribute the bulletins, collect votes and organise polling stations at factories and in city and village districts. Considerable results have already been achieved; the movement is spreading from day to day.

In this connection the preparations for International Peace Day on October 2 raises a number of questions, one of which calls for particular attention. As is known, the struggle for the economic demands not only of the working class but also of

the peasantry and middle classes of the towns has spread widely in France.

From the middle of July, factory and office workers of private and government enterprises launched a widespread struggle for holiday bonuses. The struggle began at the Renault works where 35,000 workers formed an action committee, representing all trade unions, to demand a holiday bonus of 5,000 francs. This movement quickly spread to the iron and steel works and metal processing plants of the Paris region and afterwards to all branches of industry throughout the country, especially Marseilles, the Department of the Nord, in Lyons, Nantes and so on. At factories, construction sites and offices, workers staged innumerable actions—temporary work stoppages, strikes, demonstrations. At hundreds of enterprises the employers were forced to pay holiday bonuses ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 francs.

The struggle for vacation bonuses was in effect a struggle against low wages and poverty.

The wages problem is once again being sharply raised in France. At many plants the workers are not only raising the question of a holiday bonus but are also demanding an increase in their hourly rates. The strike of the 12,000 Parisian midinettes and the strike of the 4,000 railway workers of the International Wagons-Lits Company also demanded wage increases.

The working class is also vigorously fighting against unemployment. Here it should be noted that in May 1947, when the Communists were excluded from the Government, there was actually no unemployment in France. Today there are more than 200,000 unemployed in the country, of whom only 40,000 are registered and receive unemployment relief. In addition, partial unemployment is increasing in many industries, especially in the leather, woodworking and clothing

industries.

One after another the aircraft plants are being closed down. More than 15,000 workers were dismissed in August. Until now the automobile industry has been the only one working to full capacity. But here, too, the first signs of the crisis can be seen. In June, for the first time, production dropped: at the Renault warehouse alone a billion francs worth of unmarked cars are stocked.

Difficulties are also increasing in the countryside where the small and medium peasants are burdened by heavy taxes and are shouldering the brunt of the drop in prices on agricultural products.

More and more frequently the working people of the countryside muster with pitchforks to resist the confiscation of the property of peasants of the verge of ruin. The middle classes of the towns—shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, small manufacturers—are waging a bitter struggle against increased taxes and poor markets caused by the decreased purchasing power of the working people.

This struggle for economic demands will inevitably gain momentum in the coming weeks and will spread to ever broader sections of the working people. The slogan of the General Confederation of Labour—a return to the 40 hour week without wage cuts and with increased purchasing power—reflects the main demands of the working class while the slogan that 1949 taxes should be no higher than 1948 answer the demands of the working peasantry and middle classes.

In the struggle for their immediate demands the worker and representatives of the middle classes are seeking and finding ways and means of achieving unity. It can be stated with satisfaction that united action between the working people—Communists, Socialists and Catholics—is being effected at

factories and in the countryside, even in spite of the ban of the Socialist Party leaders and reactionary Church hierarchy.

The Communist Party of France is doing everything to facilitate attaining this necessary unity. It is fighting, above all, against sectarianism in its own ranks. It is endeavouring to give the maximum scope to the movement for immediate demands and on this basis to secure a firm alliance of the working class, working peasantry and middle classes of the town. But it is the duty of every Party member and every Party organisation to do still more. They must in particular, as Maurice Thorez has stressed over and over again, explain to the masses the reasons for their poverty and show them the way out of the ever worsening situation.

True, much has been done in this direction. But it is not enough. Moreover, certain "economist" trends were noted in our ranks, a tendency to confine activities to economic problems alone, which hampered the further development of the movement. Then again there were comrades who held that if we laid bare the problem before the masses, this would "hinder the united front".

Our Party resolutely combated these tendencies and will continue to do so. It is necessary to carry on explanatory work among the masses and show them what are the perspective for the future. The crisis that now grips France will deepen and develop rapidly, "Marshall credits" only partly cover the expenses entailed by the rearmament, imposed by the Atlantic Pact. And these credits will become less and less sufficient as time goes on. Military expenditure is far in excess of the military budget of 500 billion francs, and this will still further upset the budget balance. The militarisation of France's economy and the "open door" policy practised by American exporters will intensify stagnation in business circles and will accelerate the ruin of entire industries. This will lead to

inevitable unemployment and bankruptcy.

The crisis in France's economy is accompanied by a steady deterioration in the living conditions of the working people. The trusts and the Government will intensify their resistance to the workers' economic demands. Renault works, owned by the Marshallised state, refused holiday bonuses to the workers when a large number of private employer had agreed to them? Similarly, it is known that, with the backing of the Government, the big manufacturers threatened to take repressive measures against all dressmaking houses that agreed to the demands of the midinettes.

The French people refuse to reconcile themselves to their present living conditions. They see that the State, with its press, radio, administration and police, is coming out against the struggle of the people for improved living conditions. Thus, through their own experience, the people are forced to pose a number of questions. Our Party will help them to find the answer to these questions and to draw the necessary conclusions. It must be clearly shown that crisis and poverty are the outcome of the war policy and that it is necessary to act in defence of peace. Poverty can be fought only if the Atlantic Pact is fought. Our struggle for peace must be brought to the forefront. It is necessary that the people recognise the necessity and possibility of fundamentally changing the present policy, the necessity and possibility of smashing the chains of the "Marshall Plan" and the Atlantic Pact, that they should recognise the necessity and possibility, by mass action, of establishing a government which would pursue a policy of national independence.

The majority of the working class and the progressive section of the peasantry of France today realise the need for this. But to a certain extent they are hesitant about the possibility of realising it. This means our Party is faced with

the great task of **explaining to the whole working class and to the mass of the middle classes of town and countryside that crisis and poverty can be completely done away with only in a victorious struggle for peace and that this victory is not only necessary—it is also possible.**

[page 5]

**EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN PARTY  
WORK EXPERIENCE OF ORGANISING  
WORK IN BUILDING ITALIAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY. Pietro Secchia  
Deputy General Secretary, Communist  
Party, Italy**

After fascism had been overthrown and democratic liberties regained, the building of a mass Communist Party in Italy was one of the most important factors in the political scene in the country.

At the end of World War Two in 1945 the Party was 24 years old, but it had always been a closed, narrow party, compelled to fight under semi-legal, and later under illegal conditions. It was only during the war of national liberation against fascism that the Communist Party of Italy became a strong mass organisation, acquiring the features of a party of the new type.

In January 1943 the Party had just over 15,000 members whereas on June 30, 1919 it had a membership of 2,240,000. It was organised in 52,838 branches united in 13,025 sections. The Communist Party today is not only the largest party in Italy numerically, but also the strongest democratic organisation in the country.

What has been the experience of the past five years in building and developing this great organisation?

The changes that took place in the political situation after the fall of fascism and during the war of liberation, the rapid growth of the Party and, connected with this, the increase in the number of its branches and sections, faced us with new political and organisational tasks. The time had arrived not

only to change the methods of struggle but also the organisational structure of the Party.

A Party of more than two million cannot be squeezed into the framework of the same organisational forms that existed when it numbered no more than 50,000 members. It became difficult for the Central leadership in Rome to give effective guidance to the 95 provincial federations. The sharpening class struggle made it essential for the Centre to give more concrete help to the local organisations which were to head the broad mass movement embracing hundreds and thousands of working people.

We tackled the job of building regional committees as early as January 1947, at the national conference devoted to problems of organisation. These bodies are headed by the secretaries of the regional committees—leading comrades and members of the Central Committee—in the regional centres. The regional committees have shown themselves to be an effective weapon with the help of which the Party leadership gives assistance and guidance to the federations, thus effecting a more concrete leadership.

The same question faced the province committees in relation to the sections. Many Federation committees had to guide the work of organisations uniting 100,000 to 130,000 or more Party members in hundreds of sections and thousands of branches, scattered in different villages and provinces, often far from the Centre and with poor transport facilities. The question was by establishing zonal committees uniting sections of 10-15 villages. There are 5 or 6 zonal committees in each province, depending on the size of its territory and its social-economic structure. The sections and branches of one or two districts of a given town are guided by the sector committee (the district committee, which, in its turn, is guided by the province committee).

It also became necessary to decentralise the Party organisations at the factories since it became impossible in practice to bring together a branch of 3,000 or 4,000 members, to know all the members and give each a definite assignment. It was decided that the branches should be restricted to not more than 60-70 members. Today we have several dozen branches at the big plants. Each one of these is guided by its committee while all the committees in the factory are directed by the all-factory committee which ensures unity of leadership and coordinates the activities of the branches inside the plant.

In order to draw the comrades into active work we divided the branches into groups of ten. Each group is headed by an organiser whose job is to explain to the members of his group current political questions, to inform them of meetings, to check on their activity, to find out the reason for the passive attitude to certain comrades and to help them carry out assignments.

Thus, constantly avoiding too great an increase in the organisational levels, or in widening the distance between the Centre and the lower organisations we carried out the most expedient decentralisation under the circumstances, a decentralisation which has already yielded positive results. The factory and shop branches, as well as street and block branches are now more clearly defined. The establishment of street branches and house groups has added to the Party's influence, enabling us to work better, to reach the masses and mobilise them.

Party sections, an organisational link which did not exist during the period of illegality, were set up. The sections are not just administrative bodies above the branches. They fulfil definite political functions and, more and more, are becoming centres of activity.

Experience has shown that the increased number of

intermediate leading bodies accelerated the process of training cadres, make it possible to make use of more comrades and facilitated the development of the political initiative of the Party organisations.

The structural reorganisation of our Party organs once again proved the correctness of the great teachings of Lenin and Stalin that organisational principles are not a demagogic formula. Irrespective of time and place the best form of organisation is that which enables the Party to carry out its political line most successfully. The new organs in our Party today have proved to be very necessary and useful, even though there are certain shortcomings in their work.

During the past few years the Communist Party of Italy has grown stronger not only as a result of its numerical development, but above all, because of its improved structure, a greater efficiency in work, the qualitative and quantitative growth of its cadres and the marked improvement in Party discipline.

Thousands of comrades have attended various courses, passing through central, regional, province and sectional schools. However, the rapid numerical growth of the Party calls for still greater political and ideological educational work among our cadres. If we do not want to fall into organisational opportunism. It is not only a question of recruiting new members but, primarily, of educating real Communists, of educating the Party membership in the spirit of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, of bringing every comrade up to the high level of socialist consciousness.

Although our successes are considerable, there is no doubt about it that we still suffer from a number of shortcomings in organisational work, in propaganda and in our activities as a whole.

The Party did not develop evenly in all regions and

provinces. There are towns and villages with a uniform social-economic structure, with similar characteristics, but where the Party organisations differ considerably. In some of these places 20 per cent and more of the membership consists of working people, in others it is 6 per cent and less. There are enterprises where 40-50 per cent of the workers are Party members whereas at others—in the same town, and in the same industry of a similar scale—only 15-20 per cent of the workers are Communists. There are thousands of small and medium plants and factories where there are no Party branches at all.

We are trying to overcome this uneven development of the Party at least in part by getting the strong organisations to help the weaker ones in the provinces and regions by sending brigades of 25-30 organisers and propagandists to work with them for a month or two. This method has given very good results, especially during the election campaign.

Many organisations are still working in haphazard fashion, without a plan, or with plans that lack concreteness.

Certain organisations are still placing the main emphasis on agitation and propaganda at a time when more activity should be centred round organisational work, on guiding the struggle and on work among the mass organisations. Our comrades are still not active enough in the mass associations, they still have not made sufficient use of these associations as effective transmission belts. We do not always succeed in getting them to develop wide-spread initiative capable of mobilising sections of the population for the struggle for peace and democracy.

But the most serious shortcoming in our organisation is the gap between the political line and its realisation. The decisions, directives and political initiative of the leading Party organs are carried out with considerable delay. Certain organisations confine themselves merely to applying directives, thus

becoming executive bodies instead of carrying out the functions of leading organs.

The gap between the political line and its realisation, the lack of initiative, political passivity, the non-fulfilment or belated, mechanical and bureaucratic application of Party directives—such are the typical shortcomings in the work of our Party. The Party is today concentrating the fire of its criticism on these shortcomings.

These shortcomings and mistakes are due to political and organisational reasons.

Our Party is strong in its political and ideological unity but this unity is not always apparent in equal measure at all levels. Here and there one can come across comrades who do not clearly visualise the development of the situation, who do not clearly appreciate the role of the Party and the struggle of the masses. Indifference, slowness, tardiness in putting political directives into effect are sometimes the outcome of an underestimation of our forces and the forces of the working class, of a sceptical attitude toward the activity of the working masses and the possibility of achieving certain aims through struggle. These shortcomings are in the main the result of the insufficient work carried out by the Party and its organisations in giving its cadres a political and ideological orientation.

The organisational reasons must be sought in the somewhat primitive methods of work of the various organisations. Until recently, for instance, it was no easy matter to hold a branch meeting to discuss directly the instructions or resolutions of the Party leadership and to take practical and concrete measures for immediately pulling these into effect. First the regional committees met which called meetings of the Federation committees. These, in their turn, after discussing and drawing up a plan of work for the provinces, held meetings of the sections and the active members and only after this was the

resolution or directives submitted for discussion at branch meetings. Thus, a month passed before one or another decision taken by the Party leadership, finally reached the branch.

The Party is now waging a struggle against these primitive organisational methods which could not be avoided in 1944-45 when the Party had only just emerged from underground work and lacked the necessary number of politically trained cadres. But these methods are out of the question today when the Party is in a position to make giant strides forward.

And finally, the main lesson we have drawn from our work in building the Party is confirmation of the principle that organisational and political work cannot be separated. No serious organisational work can be carried out without a clear political line, without a clear perspective and without a definite political object. No form of organisation, no organisational scheme, no method of practical work can yield good results unless the comrades are ideologically and politically up to the level.

By constantly stressing the importance of raising the political and ideological level of our cadres, by giving them a clear perspective and by waging a decisive struggle against all and every manifestation of opportunism and sectarianism, we shall be able to eliminate the practical shortcomings in our activity and to improve our organisational and propaganda work. In this way our Party will be able to make considerably greater headway.

[page 5]

## **ELECTION OF PARTY ORGANS IN THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY. Walter Ulbricht, Member Political Bureau, Chairman of Secretariat, Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

For the purpose of accelerating the transformation of the Socialist Unity Party into a party of a new type, the Party Board has arranged for elections to be held throughout the Party during the period September 1—December 15. The all-important task in these elections will be to make a critical examination of the work of the leading Party bodies and to strengthen the Party organisation as a whole. The elections will be carried out in keeping with the principle of inner Party democracy in accordance with which every Party member has the right and duty to express his opinion about the work of the Party leadership, criticise it if need be, and to participate in electing an efficient Party organ. There will be a wide exchange of experience, all shortcomings and mistakes in Party work will be disclosed during the reports on how the decisions of the First Party Conference have been carried out. In this way, the meetings and elections will be an excellent school for raising the ideological and political level of the Party and increasing the activity of its membership.

In verifying the work of the Party, main stress will be laid on how the decisions to establish a National Front and strengthen the democratic order in the Eastern zone are being carried out. The essence of democratic up-building now taking place in the Eastern zone is the consolidation of the successes already achieved. Further development should proceed along lines of strengthening the socialist sector and not along the path

of expropriation. The task at the moment is to overfulfil the economic plan. This means increasing output, improving its quality, running the socialised enterprises on a profitable basis, and strict adherence to the financial plan. With a view to utilising all the economic possibilities in order to hasten recovery and improve the conditions of the people the initiative of private enterprise, within the framework of existing laws, should be encouraged.

In agriculture, this economic policy is reflected in the establishment of machine hiring depots, in making available agricultural credits and in promoting trading cooperatives. Agricultural output in the Soviet zone is scheduled to reach the pre-war level in 1950, while the output of the socialised sector will exceed this level.

In this way, the prerequisites are being created for the gradual abolition of rationing for food and consumer goods. This is one of the most important tasks.

Verification of the carrying out of the decisions of the First Party Conference disclosed that the guidance given the basic Party organisations by some of the higher Party organs was unsatisfactory and that the political and economic content of the new legislation had not been explained sufficiently to the membership. It was further disclosed that the Party organisations of the zonal boards were not showing the necessary initiative in realising the measures arising from the decisions of the Conference. Very often there is a tendency to undertake State and economic tasks with the forces of the Socialist Unity Party alone, instead of persuading the members of the other parties in the bloc and the popular organisations to cooperate and take part in this work. There are also strong sectarian prejudices against cooperating with the old intelligentsia on a wide scale.

To secure the leading role of the Party, the Central Board

has adopted measures for improving organisation. The necessary social composition of the Party will be ensured by the introduction of probationary membership. Another decision provides that, for the time being, only shock workers will be admitted in the Party it follows, therefore, that activity among non-Party workers must be intensified. It was also decided to regard the Party organisations in the factories as the basic organisations. This means that all members working in industry must be members of the Party organisation at the given enterprise, and that they can work in the Party branch in their residential section, only with the permission of the leadership of the Party organisation or Party group in the given enterprise.

To develop the main forces of the working class it is necessary, above all, to improve the work of the Party organisations at the socialised enterprises, to raise their political level and enrol more young workers as candidate members.

The leading Party organs must, to a greater extent than hitherto, organise their work on a collective basis. An end must be put to the existing "parallelism" in the work of many departments.

It is the duty of the laender and district Party organs regularly to check the work of definite basic organisations, to hear their reports, and replace the bureaucratic system of issuing directives by extending the network of instructors. More young members and more women should be elected to the Party committees. Since the majority of the 'activist's' became politically organised only after 1945 while those who earlier were members either of the Socialist Democratic Party or the Communist Party are a minority in the Socialist Unity Party, there is no longer any sense in building up the Party leadership on the party principle, adopted when the fusion took place.

There should be a free exchange of opinion during the elections, extensive criticism and self-criticism. This will help to speed up the elimination of shortcomings and mistakes in Party work. This should lead to increased activity on the part of the membership and to the abolition of the bureaucratic and dictatorial methods of work in a number of Party organs. At present Party work is seriously hampered by elements of sectarianism. Sectarianism is reflected in the obstruction of measures designed to attract wide circles of people, who are nationally conscious, into the ranks of the National Front. It is reflected in the unsatisfactory work among non-Party people, peasants and intellectuals, intellectuals, in ignoring the policy of a bloc with other democratic parties, and in leftist demands on economic questions.

One of the most important tasks facing the Party is to change the policy with regard to the selection and placing of cadres, The training of cadres should be the concern not only of the personnel department. It should also become the concern of leading Party organs and departments responsible for definite assignments. Every assistance must be given to the younger 'activists' (shock workers), technical intelligentsia, teachers and other comrades, to develop in their work. It should be noted that, until now, women have not been promoted to leading posts on a wide enough scale.

In most cases, work among women was left entirely to the so-called women's departments. This has now been changed. These departments have been abolished in the lower organisations and the Party is now concentrating on electing more women to the executive Party bodies, on promoting them to leading positions in the State apparatus, economic organs and mass organisations.

To raise the ideological level of the Party it is necessary first of all to raise the level of the Party schools and courses by

training teachers and verifying their work.

Propagandists by means of articles in newspapers and journals must display greater initiative and theoretically disprove the mistaken views current among certain Party members. In particular, it is necessary to intensify the struggle against trotskyism since the American and British intelligence services are now, more than ever before, doing everything to form trotskyite groups.

The new elections for the leading Party bodies will help to raise the ideological level of the Party, to introduce new methods of work corresponding to the party of the new type, and will help to draw young comrades into the work of the Party organs.

[page 5]

## **DEVALUATION OF POUND PRICES SLUMP BURDEN ON BRITISH WORKERS. Harry Pollitt, General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain**

The British pound has been devalued: it is now worth in dollars 2.80 instead of 4.03. This decision to devalue the pound is the most brutal step yet taken by the Government in their attempt to put the burden of the developing slump on the shoulders of the British workers.

The decision represents a victory for the dollar over the pound, for American Big Business in its offensive against the national independence and living standards of the British people and will enable the Wait Street millionaires to buy British industries at home and in the colonies more cheaply.

The devaluation is in the first place an attack on real wages, which is why it has been demanded for months past by the Tories and by British Big Business. Cripps' main reason for the decision is that it would enable us to increase exports to dollar countries. But Britain will now have to increase exports over forty per cent to earn the same dollars as before the devaluation. What is more, to eliminate the dollar gap Britain would have to sell three hundred per cent more goods to the United States than she is selling at present. It is fantastic to suggest that this is possible when the United States itself is in the first stages of economic slump.

It is interesting to note how the American press today is openly admitting that even through the devaluation there is little chance of Britain being able to increase her exports to America.

The devaluation solves none of the increasing difficulties which face Britain. On the contrary, it will mean more sacrifices by the workers and will hasten mass unemployment. The cost of living will rise immediately through the increased price of bread from 4½d to 6d. a loaf. And it will rise still further in the coming period as other dollar goods increase in price. Clothing, all kinds of cotton goods, tobacco and vital raw materials will all increase in price which, in turn, will cause further rises in the cost of living and in the price of British goods for export.

Countries that compete with Britain in exports to America are also devaluating their currencies, so that Britain gets no advantage in competition with them, either in America or elsewhere.

Devaluation also means further cuts in capital investments and Government expenditure which will lead to unemployment and cuts in the social services, in the building of houses, schools, hospitals and so on.

A bare week after the Pyrrhic “wage freezing” victory won by the reactionary leaders at Bridlington, 37 unions, representing 3 million engineering and shipbuilding workers decided to apply for a £1 a week increase.

But opposition will develop to the Cripps policy as its effects become understood and felt by the British people. Immediately after the announcement of the devaluation the London railwaymen decided to start a go-slow movement for their wage demands. Their decision is a taste of what is to come.

The Communist Party declares that this whole policy must be fought and defeated, for this is the only way to avert a crisis that will be worse than that of 1931, the only way in which our national independence can be restored.

The decision proves once again that Britain’s financial

difficulties are due to the Government's dependence on America. Every time the American millionaires hand out some dollar "aid" they squeeze Britain a bit more at the same time.

The Government gives way in every instance because it is tied hand and foot to American dollars and the war plans directed against the Soviet Union.

America has forbidden Britain to trade freely with the Soviet Union, the Democracies and New China, yet through such trade Britain could secure vital raw materials and food stuffs, which would lessen her dependence on America.

The Communist Party is demanding immediate wage increases to meet the rise in the cost of living, increased pensions to help the old people and a drastic reduction of military expenditure which at present reaches the colossal figure of 760 million pounds.

Cut prices and profits, build more houses, extend social services, increase trade with the Soviet Union, the New Democracies and New China; stand up to Wall Street and end dollar domination: put the burdens of the crisis on the rich—this is the way to save Britain and her people from the catastrophe threatening them.

[page 6]

## **WAVE OF PROTESTS AGAINST DECISION TO DEPRIVE LOUIS ARAGON OF ELECTORAL RIGHTS**

On a charge of having violated the Press laws Louis Aragon, editor of "Ce Soir" and well-known French poet, has been deprived of his civil rights by the Queuille-Moch-Ramadier Government.

This means that Aragon no longer enjoys the right to vote or to stand for election. Simultaneously, Ferdinand Lefort, Communist Mayor of St. Ouen has been deprived of office, while Edouard Marc, Secretary of the Miners' Union at Montceau-les-Mines has been forced to resign.

The Government action has evoked a nation-wide wave of protest. Democratic organisations, trade unions and numerous municipalities have passed resolutions denouncing this violation of democratic principles by the Government, and its attempts to remove from elected offices people who enjoy the confidence and trust of the electors.

[page 6]

## **COMMUNISTS OF WESTERN GERMANY FIGHT FOR THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE**

The reactionary Press of the United States and Britain, the Press of the reactionaries in Western Germany following in its wake, are making much of the Bundestag formed in Bonn—the Parliament of Western Germany. But this hullabaloo around the puppet Parliament and the puppet Government cannot drown the voice of the working people of Germany who are protesting against the latest measures of the Western occupation authorities aimed at undermining the economic foundations of Western Germany and turning it into a colony of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The dismantling of important industrial enterprises, started in Western Germany on the orders of the occupation authorities, is meeting with the stubborn resistance of the working people. In view of this, the occupation authorities are resorting to force.

“Freies Volk”, central organ of the Communist Party of Germany, reports that when the workers resisted the dismantling of the “Fischer-Tropsch-Anlagen” works in Oberhausen, the British occupation authorities despatched an infantry battalion and armoured cars to the scene and the plant was dismantled under a guard of British soldiers. The British arrested newspaper photographers who visited the plant and stopped them from printing pictures showing the plant being dismantled under a British army guard.

The Communist Party of Germany is calling upon the working people to resolutely fight for the interests of their country. At the first session of the Bundestag, the Communist group submitted the following proposals: to refuse to sign the Ruhr statute which actually deprives the German people of

their right to the raw materials and key industries of Western Germany; to immediately stop the dismantling of the German enterprises which the Western Powers are carrying out for the purpose of strangling German competition.

“This dismantling,” declares the statement of the Communist group, “runs counter to the Potsdam decisions. As a result of this dismantling, tens of thousands of German factory and office workers are being left without work and their families are doomed to misery. This dismantling also threatens the existence of a considerable part of the middle sections—shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and manufacturers”.

The Communist Party group also proposed that the Bundestag should ask the High Commissioners of the Western Powers to amnesty the German workers who were arrested for refusing to do dismantling work, and to give them financial assistance.

In their statement the Communist members of the Bundestag stress that in their struggle they are relying on the growing people’s movement for a just peace, for a united, democratic and independent Germany. “After the curtain has been raised on the parliamentary scene”, writes the “Freies Volk”, “the producers, of course, would like the people to be satisfied with their role of a paying, but on the whole, passive audience. But the Communist group will under no circumstances consider the floor of the Bonn Parliament the main field of their activity. It considers that its main task is to stimulate the struggle outside Parliament for the unity and independence of Germany”.

## **BREAD RATIONING ENDS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Letter From Prague**

An event of considerable political significance is reported from Czechoslovakia—the abolition of rationing for bread and flour.

This development, however, does not mean a return to the old pre-Munich form of “free” capitalist trading. The difference has its origins in the peasant economies by which grain is delivered on the basis of agreement. Grain purchases are effected through the medium of the cooperatives at fixed prices. Since surpluses remaining with the peasants after these deliveries can be disposed of freely, it is anticipated that the peasants will dispose of this surplus also to the cooperatives.

The cooperatives, and the mills which grind the grain for the peasants are part of the socialist sector of the economy. The sale of flour, the baking and the sale of bread and bread products in most cases are carried on in the cooperatives and the nationalised shops and only in a small way in privately owned bakeries and shops. This ensures that grain and flour will not become articles for speculation. State measures have been taken to ensure adequate stocks of flour and bread in the shops. At the Ninth Congress of the Party, Comrade Gottwald, referring to rationing, pointed out that it was not a long-term measure and would be abolished the moment conditions permitted.

This year’s excellent harvest provided such conditions. There was an estimated wheat yield of 18.5 centners to the hectare. The good harvest was the outcome of fine work by the peasants and of the help given by industrial workers who, in addition to providing the necessary machines, helped gather in the crops.

But even with the good harvest we would not be in a position to meet all the needs of the country in relation to grain were it not for the help received from the fraternal People's Democracies and, in the first place, from the Soviet Union. The fixing of the price of bread was quite a vital problem. To have preserved the existing low price meant running the risk of grain and flour being used for animal fodder.

Consequently, while the price of bread remains as before—five crowns a kilo—it was decided to charge more for flour, namely 7.5 crowns a kilo for ordinary flour and 13 crowns for high quality flour. In compensation for the increase in flour prices, parents now qualify for a monthly allowance of 40 crowns extra for every child white pensioners and their wives receive an additional 12 crowns a month.

At five crowns a kilo, the price of bread is very low. In the pre-Munich days it cost from 2 to 2.1 crowns a kilo but in those days peasant earnings were at the rate of 1.05 crowns an hour while an unskilled labourer in Prague received an hourly rate of 1.25 crowns. Nowadays peasant earnings are at the rate of 6.5 crowns an hour, that is, if earlier his earnings were the equivalent of half a kilo of bread, they are now worth more than a kilo. Wages in industry are also higher.

The abolition of the bread and flour rationing has caused great satisfaction. The people see in it the first results of their creative efforts, a strengthening of the economy and a victory for the policy of the Communist Party.

**V. P.**

[page 6]

## **FROM THE COURTROOM... From our Special Correspondent**

It is not only Rajk and his associates who are on trial in Budapest. From 1945 onwards, every crime of Rajk and his gang is linked with Belgrade. The inspirers and organisers of the monstrous conspiracy against the freedom of the peoples—the Tito clique and its American masters—are on trial.

In a monotonous voice, Rajk described his talks with Rankovic, frequently repeating the phrase: “Rankovic said”, or “Rankovic stressed.” or “Rankovic particularly noted.” As Rajk himself put it, he is no political novice and he realised very well that every word he said sounded like an indictment of the Tito clique. But what is there left for such an inveterate spy as Rajk to do when he is confronted with countless irrefutable facts, when he sees for himself that he is pushed to the wall, that the game is lost?

Thread by thread the court unravelled the web of the conspiracy. Rajk told the story of the Yugoslavs together with him in the French internment camp. During the day they engaged in trotskyite propaganda and in the evening they hurried to report it to the French secret service. Later, these Yugoslavs were recruited by the Gestapo together with Rajk. Such are the “high-ranking” officials of Yugoslavia, such are Mrazovic, Kosta Nagy and Bebler. And these dregs of society who sent thousands of people to their death, who zealously served the executioners at Maidanek and Osweicirn, have the insolence to slander the heroes of Stalingrad, the Soviet people who saved the world from fascism!

Tito’s policy during the war was described in detail by Brankov, until recently Rankovic’s resident agent in Hungary. Brankov described how Tito carried on treacherous

negotiations with the Germans for an armistice. This is all too true: seeing there were so many German spies in Tito's headquarters, there was no reason why they had to fight the Germans. Honest partisan leaders were indignant at the behaviour of the corrupt top leadership. Tito and his associates thereupon devised a monstrous scheme for getting rid of the opposition—they were sent to sectors where they had no hope but death. To annihilate their finest sons under the flag of "defence of the people"—can anyone imagine a more dastardly method of seizing power?

Tito was not perturbed about this method. Rankovic simply declared that all means were good to achieve the aim. If it meant killing—go ahead and kill! If it meant betraying—betray! They have their own "code" from which the word "Man" is excluded. What do these ambition-ridden scoundrels care for the tears of a Montenegrin mother who has lost five or six sons when they can win the praise of Churchill!

Brankov told the court how Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic met the British and American military missions. This was after Stalingrad when it became clear that it would be risky to depend on Hitler. The British general MacLean and the American colonel Hamilton came to Yugoslavia. They had good reason to do so. These gentlemen were seriously disturbed by the successes of the Soviet Army. MacLean and Hamilton brought along a whole staff of intelligence officers. With Tito's agreement Rankovic sent out a special circular to the local partisan headquarters instructing them to receive the British and Americans as guests and to give them every assistance. The partisan commanders were obliged to remember the names of these intelligence officers so as to be at their service whenever necessary. What did this mean? Simply hospitality or helping the British and American Intelligence Services? Brankov declared that such instructions could be

given only by paid agents of the Intelligence Service.

Rankovic and a group of partisans were captured by the Germans. All were killed except Rankovic who, by some “miracle” remained alive. Is it not clear that Rankovic is a traitor? Tito, Kardelj and Djilas know this, but for that matter, Rankovic also knows that they were bought over by MacLean and Hamilton. Their treachery tied them to one another for life. Their dossiers lie in the sales of the British Intelligence Service and the American O.S.S.

Under pressure from the people Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic introduced a number of measures which could be thought to be socialist. But this was merely a skilful camouflage. They played on the revolutionary sentiments of the Yugoslav working people, while at the same time backing the reactionary riff-raff in the country, as well as in the other People’s Democracies. Whom did they select? The police spy Rajk, the provocateur Szalay who sent anti-fascist Serbians to their death. The fascist Palfy. The trotskyite and spy, Justus.

When the Right bourgeois parties were smashed in the People’s Democracies, when Mikolajczyk fled from Poland and Ferenc Nagy from Hungary, when Petkov was sentenced in Bulgaria and the February plot failed in Czechoslovakia—then ruling U.S. and British circles brought to the forefront Tito and his clique. The whole American agency was handed over to them, Rajk was placed at the disposal of Rankovic. Horthy handed Rajk over to the Americans, the latter then passed him on to Tito. The bosses are not scrupulous about their servants, and the capitalist Intelligence Services pass them on from hand to hand.

But it sometimes suits the purposes of the master that the servant should look impressive. Hence the Tito legend. Rajk was ordered to make Tito’s arrival in Budapest a “historic” event. There was laughter in court when Rajk related the

details. He was given instructions to move people out of the houses lining the streets through which the marshal, like an inflated peacock, was to pass with his suite. Instructions were also given to examine all the sewers and place guards round the gratings.

However, there were not many such lively moments during the trial. The blood ran cold listening to the monstrous crimes of the Tito gang of spies and provocateurs... and the trial laid bare so many crimes. Rajk and Brankov, Palffy and Szonyi testified that Tito had prepared similar crimes in all the People's Democracies. The American masters had forced Tito to use all means.

The trial laid bare Tito's aim—to wrest the People's Democracies from the U.S.S.R. and to restore capitalism in these countries. Throughout the interrogation, Rajk chattered about bourgeois democracy. Palffy corrected him and simply stated that the Tito plan was to establish a bourgeois dictatorship along fascist lines. Brankov described the work the Yugoslav diplomats were carrying out in the People's Democracies. This was preparation for various coups and for a third world war, preparations to assassinate political leaders.

Not over confident in the forces of their Hungarian agency, Tito and Rankovic intended to send into Hungary special Yugoslav units and battalions of Hungarian fascists formed in the West, to establish a fascist dictatorship. Rajk, Palffy, Tito and Rankovic hated the people with a bitter hatred and prepared to drown them in blood.

But they failed.

In the course of the trial the working people of Hungary gave full vent to their indignation. Crowds gathered round the loud-speakers broadcasting the proceedings. When Rajk told of his meetings with Rankovic and of the plans to occupy Hungary, the faces of the people expressed a bitter hatred of

the enemy who had planned to harness Hungary and the other People's Democracies once again to the yoke of fascist slavery. Spontaneous meetings were held at plants and factories. This formidable wave of the people's wrath has swept the country.

No quarter for the fascist hangmen!

Let Tito and his clique tremble like Rajk. The hour is near when they, too, will be tried by the people who will make them answer in full for their crimes.

**L. Tolkunov**

Budapest, September 22.

[page 6]

## **POLITICAL NOTES**

### **THE LABOUR PARTY AND DEVALUATION**

Rarely have the Right wing Labour leaders in Britain and their organ the "Daily Herald" resorted to such blatant demagogy in trying to confuse British workers as was the case at the Trades Union Congress and during the negotiations for devaluing the pound. While Bevin and Cripps in Washington were being bluntly ordered by the Wall Street bankers to devalue, Attlee was addressing the annual Trades Union Congress at Bridlington.

Attlee who as head of the Cabinet knew perfectly well that the official announcement concerning devaluation was but a matter of days, deliberately kept the delegates in the dark. Instead of telling them the truth about the pound he preferred to indulge in monstrous falsehoods against the Communists.

The "Daily Herald", organ of the Labour Party went one better. Its banner headline on September 2 announced: "U.S. drops campaign against the £."

On September 12, it pompously declared "those who have been predicting devaluing the pound will be discredited".

Two days later, on September 14, screaming headlines said "The £ goes up in New York".

On the 16th of September, two days before the devaluation; in an article headed "the intelligent readers' guide to pounds and dollars", it boldly declared that there was "no truth in the talk about the devaluation of the pound".

On September 17, a mere 24-hours before the Cripps announcement which caused gloom in every working class home in Britain, the "Daily Herald" once more headlined "no

pressure on the pound”.

It even managed to tell its readers that this triumph of the pound over the dollar represented victory over the Kremlin. But while Attlee and the Daily Herald were confusing the Trades Union Congress delegates and the working people of Britain as a whole, people in distant Buenos Aires knew two months ago of the forthcoming devaluation. At the signing of the British-Argentine trade agreement the Argentine Government insisted on the insertion of a “devaluation clause”, and the day after devaluation, promptly announced that this clause was now in operation and that the price of meat contracted for by Britain would be advanced 30%.

Australian and South African exporters to Britain had also protected themselves by similar clauses. Why then, when people at the other end of the world knew about devaluation, did the Labour leaders and the “Daily Herald” keep the British people in the dark about it?

The British worker will have to pay for devaluation and the “devaluation clauses” with higher prices for bread, meat and other foodstuffs. Attlee and the “Daily Herald” knew that knowledge of this would have caused a veritable storm, would have completely upset all their plans at the Trades Union Congress. These “democrats”, afraid to tell the truth to their people sought refuge in silence about what was already an accomplished fact and, in the best Goebbels style, sought to create a diversion by monstrous fabrications against the Communists and the Soviet Union.

## **AMERICAN PATRONS OF FASCIST RIFF- RAFF**

In connection with the monarcho-fascist offensive in

Greece, American reaction is energetically encouraging Albanian fascists in emigration to take advantage of the political situation, which they consider favourable, to intensify their counter-revolutionary undermining activities.

According to the "New York Times", these remnants of the Albanian fascists who sought asylum in the back yards of their imperialist patrons, are organised in two groups, one of which is working in Yugoslavia under the leadership of the Intelligence Service agent, Gani Bei Krijezu.

This group sets itself the object, if you please, of "establishing a national Communist regime in Albania along the lines of the Tito regime". The other group, in the words of the paper, is operating in Rome, Paris and London and is sending representatives to New York to set up headquarters there. The United States, writes the paper, is usually the country that finances such movements.

Infuriated by the collapse of their provocateur plans in Yugoslavia, following the complete exposure of the agent and spy Tito at the Budapest trial, and the smashing of their hopes for a fascist coup in Hungary, American reaction is now planning and subsidising new provocations and adventures and recruiting new bandits and hired assassins to carry out its aggression.

## **TITO AGENTS IN AUSTRIA**

Tito's agents in Austria who are liberally furnished with money and propaganda material from Liublana, have formed in Carinthia, a so-called democratic front of the working people which will put up its candidates at the coming elections.

This group of Yugoslav spies and traitors, camouflaging themselves behind the signboard of a "democratic front", are

entering the election struggle without any perspective. But this does not bother them. They have their orders from the Americans, from Tito and Austrian reaction, orders to the effect that they must put forward their candidates in an attempt to weaken the progressive forces of Austria.

Apart from several individuals who have played a treacherous role in the working-class movement, the leadership of the Tito agency in Carinthia is, in the main, made up of nationalist intellectuals with different, but invariably, reactionary pasts.

These people could be found in the most different places during the past fifteen years. At first they were part of Austrian reaction, then they came forward as “Yugoslavs, loyal to the king”, later they were officers in the German army and some of them even leaders of the “Hitler Youth”. Today they are the supporters of Tito. But no matter what their garb, they have remained what they are—bitter enemies of the working people.

**Jan Marek**

## **ARE THERE CAPITALISTS IN AUSTRIA?**

In connection with the general elections on October 9, the latest issue (No. 9) of the political and economic journal “Die Arbeit”, published in Vienna by the Communist Party of Austria, carries material exposing the demagoguery of the Socialist Party leaders and their yellow press. In the column “The Promises Made and Not Carried Out” the journal quotes the “Socialist” leaders, gives excerpts from newspapers and magazines of the Socialist Party and a series of figures and facts on the real state of affairs in the country.

It cites statements made by leaders of the Austrian Socialist

Party about the “absence of capitalism in the country”. For example, this is what Renner says:

“I am prepared to fight against capitalism, but where am I to find a real capitalist?”

Migsch, Minister of Power and Electrification: “To speak today of a capitalist class in Austria would be but an empty phrase.”

An article in the journal by E. Friedrich, gives the following statistical data:

There are 122,000 tax payers in Austria with an income up to 100,000 schillings, 13,000 others with an income of from 100,000 to 500,000 schillings, and 1,800 with an income of more than 500,000 schillings.

“Even ignoring the fact that, of course, not all valued properly is taxed,” writes E. Friedrich, “the most cautious estimate judging from these statistics, shows that the ‘non-existing’ capitalists possess a total fortune of 25 billion schillings”.

According to somewhat belated figures given by a semi-official Vienna paper, in 1947 alone, 136 Austrian joint stock companies netted an income of 236 million schillings. “These 236 millions,” writes the author, “form only a small part of the income which the manufacturers did not succeed in concealing carefully enough and which therefore became known to the public”.

To quote the statements of “workers leaders” mentioned by “Die Arbeit”:

“Slash the war-time and post-war profits!” declared Migsch on February 19, 1947. “The currency system must be stabilised and prices regulated in the course of the year”.

“Our immediate task,” wrote the Socialist organ “Solidaritet” in October 1948, “is to bring down prices. The struggle to bring down high prices continues”.

When, in spite of these assurances, the real wage of the workers came down and prices went up, “Arbeiter Zeitung”, central organ of the Austrian Socialist Party wrote on May 11, 1949: “There must be no general rise in prices, and there won’t be”.

The conditions of the Austrian workers are daily worsening. “Die Arbeit” reports that the price of pork, which was already 3.5 times higher than the pre-war price, has now risen 14 times.

These and similar facts quoted by the journal show what the promises of the Socialist Party leaders are worth. Their statement about “socialist construction” in Austria has the same value as the Tito clique’s declarations about “socialist construction” in Yugoslavia.

**G. Kurzman**

[page 6]

## **FRENCH COMMUNISTS GREET BUILDING OF NEW COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA**

The newspaper “**L’Humanite**” reports that a meeting of the Federation Committee of the Communist Party in Epinal, Vosges Department, adopted the following resolution:

“The Federation Committee of the Communist Party, Vosges Department, having read the report in the journal “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy”, concerning the building anew and strengthening of the illegal Communist Party throughout Yugoslavia, heartily applauds this event, which is of enormous International significance.

“The Committee expresses full solidarity with the courageous fighters of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, who are opposing the treacherous Tito clique and fighting a heroic struggle for the return of Yugoslavia to the camp of democracy and peace.

“The working people, democrats and all friends of peace of the Vosges wholeheartedly support these patriots, proletarian internationalists, who, with the support of the proletariat of the world, will win victory over their enemies and who will return their country to the camp of democracy and Socialism, to the camp of peace.”

### **EDITORIAL BOARD**

[page 6]

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