

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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POWERFUL VOICE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

The working people in all countries, peace supporters, fighters for freedom and democracy have followed with unremitting attention the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held recently in Moscow.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the greatest power in the world. The decisions of its supreme body exert an enormous influence on the development of international events. The Soviet Union marches at the head of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp which rallies in its ranks over 800 million people who have liberated themselves from the Imperialist power, as well as hundreds of millions of working people fighting in capitalist countries for peace, freedom and democracy.

The Soviet Union, which is successfully building Communism, has always been and remains the main obstacle in the path of the imperialist warmongers; it ruthlessly exposed, and continues to expose, the criminal designs of the imperialists: consistently and resolutely defends the interests of the masses of the people, equality of peoples, their national independence. All this explains the boundless love for, and confidence of the working' people throughout the world in, the Soviet Union, the growth of its prestige, the support its policy receives from the whole of progressive mankind. Everything living, everything growing, and all that which does not want to die in the darkness and the suffocating atmosphere of decaying capitalism, turns to the Soviet Union as to the sun.

That is why the imperialists react so nervously and hysterically to the resolute actions of the U.S.S.R. in defence of peace. Press, radio, cinema—all the means of imperialist propaganda—have been brought into operation to slander the

Soviet Union and to undermine the confidence which the working people and the fighters for peace have in it. Turning things upside down and placing the fault on someone else's doorstep, Churchill's disciples in aggression plan to deceive the vigilance of the peoples, and, behind the back of the peoples, and with hypocritical phrases about peace, secretly prepare a criminal aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

In conditions of the steadily growing struggle of the peoples for peace which the American imperialists so brazenly and nefariously want to violate—the work of the First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was of the greatest significance. It was all the more significant since, in addition to vital State questions concerning the land of Socialism, the representatives of the Soviet people also discussed the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

On behalf of the Soviet people, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union unanimously declared of its full solidarity with the proposals of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress to prohibit the atomic weapon, institute strict international control over the implementation of this prohibition and denounce as a war criminal that government which first uses this weapon of aggression and mass annihilation of people.

The statement issued by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. says that the proposals of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress

“fully correspond to the vital demands of all peoples and to their desire for a stable and durable peace throughout the world.

“Expressing the unbending will of the Soviet people for peace, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. declares its readiness to co-operate with the legislative organs of other States in drawing up and carrying out the necessary

measures to realise the proposes of the Permanent Committee of the Peace Congress.

“The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. expresses its confidence that the Soviet Government, consistently standing for peace and co-operation between the peoples, will continue firmly and persistently to pursue this policy of peaceful and friendly relations between the peoples; to take the necessary measures through the United Nations Organisation and to make use of all other ways to secure universal peace and international security.

“At the same time the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. expresses confidence that the movement of the partisans of peace, and above all, the above-mentioned Stockholm appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, will meet with the unanimous support of all Soviet people”.

What can Messrs. the imperialists contrast to this clear and exhaustive statement of the supreme organ of power in the U.S.S.R.; a statement which leaves no shade of doubt as to the firm determination of the Soviet people, to fight for peace, to uphold the cause of peace by all means, in every way and with all the energy so characteristic of them.

The Soviet Parliament not only received the delegation of the Permanent Committee; it discussed the proposals of the messengers of peace and has approved and backed the Stockholm appeal with all the might and prestige of Soviet power.

And how have the Parliaments, which are dominated by the imperialist lackeys, reacted? The U.S. Government did not allow the peace delegation to enter the country, and Wall Street Congressmen, far from protesting, even applauded Truman.

Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of “democratic, peace-loving” Britain, refused to receive the messengers of peace. The shamelessness and audacity of the imperialists have gone so far

that certain governments, for example, that of Holland, arrested the delegates of the Permanent Committee and later expelled them from the country. And following all this the atomic-mongers dare talk about peace! Mr Truman, who recently threatened that he would unhesitatingly use the atom bomb now makes hypocritical speeches about peace. Within two days alone, he used in his speeches, the word “peace” 50 times!

U.S. imperialists were compelled hypocritically to begin talking “peace” because the peoples demand peace. The imperialists are shouting about “peace”, but in practice they are feverishly preparing a new war: the percentage of military expenditure in the U.S. budget increased from 22.5 per cent in 1939-40 to 68 per cent in 1949-50—and will reach 76 per cent in 1950-51! The British Government also often uses the word “peace”, at the same time transforming Britain into an American military camp and increasing military expenditure from £760 million in 1949 to £1,200 million in the current year. The French puppets of Wall Street shamelessly ruining the country and increasing even more its financial dependence on the U.S., have increased military expenditure up to 57 per cent of all budget expenditure.

These facts are sufficient—not to speak of the hatching of aggressive blocs and unions by Wall Street and City magnates; of re-arming Western Germany and Japan and turning these countries into U.S. military bases; of the atom bomb blackmail; the “total diplomacy” of the Achesons, and the “total mobilisation” of West-European industry under the guise of the “Schuman plan”—for every honest person to realise who are the enemies of peace, the instigators of a new war.

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has proved once again to the world the determination of the Soviet people to fight for peace. Apart from the clear statement of the Supreme Soviet regarding the support of the Soviet people for the Stockholm appeal, the peace policy pursued by the Soviet

Government was also strikingly reflected in the budget of the U.S.S.R. In 1950, allocations for the defence of the U.S.S.R. comprise only 18.5 per cent of all expenditure as compared with 32.6 per cent in the pre-war 1940 year and 23.9 per cent in the first year of the post-war Five-Year Plan.

The whole of progressive mankind, all who treasure the lives and security of millions of women, children and old folk—whom the warmongers threaten with death—have warmly welcomed the historic statement of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to support the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress. The Soviet Union has made a new, enormous contribution to the cause of defending peace. The great inspiring example of the Soviet Union—which, together with many millions of the heroic people of China and with the People's Democracies, is consistently and, resolutely fighting for peace, against the imperialist warmongers—is filling the hearts of all partisans of peace with confidence in the triumph of their great noble cause.

Following the example of the Soviet Union, the peace supporters will intensify even more their struggle and achieve their lofty aim—the Stockholm appeal will become the decision of all mankind which will curb the miserable handful of imperialists with their monstrous plans for mass extermination of people. The guarantee of this is the unbending determination of the Soviet Union to fight for peace; the will and foresight of the brilliant leader of progressive mankind—Comrade Stalin, the determination of millions of people of good will to uphold peace.

UNITED YOUTH ORGANISATION FORMED IN HUNGARY

The inaugural Congress of the Union of Working Youth in Hungary, which completed its work in Budapest on June 18, formed a united organisation of the working class, peasant and student youth.

Congress clearly defined the tasks of the Union. The new Union will be an active force in the struggle for peace, against the warmongers, for peaceful creative labour, for the happiness of the working people. The Union of Working Youth will give loyal assistance, support and reserves to the Party.

Congress unanimously elected 75 members to the Central Committee of this united youth organisation of Hungary, and 20 candidate members for the Central Committee.

SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

The first session of the Supreme Soviet, unanimously elected by the Soviet people on March 12, 1950, was held in Moscow on June 12-19.

The session heard the report by A. G. Zverev, Minister of Finance of the Soviet Union, on the 1950 State budget of the U.S.S.R. and on the carrying out of the 1948 and 1949 budget. The speaker pointed out that the outstanding successes achieved by the working people of the U.S.S.R. in the struggle for the further prosperity of the country's economy have secured the strengthening of the Soviet finance system and the increased purchasing power of the Soviet ruble, which is the most stable currency in the world.

The 1950 budget of the U.S.S.R. has been drawn up in full conformity with the national economic plan. The 1950 budget envisages an income of 433,167,416,000 rubles and expenditure, totalling 427,937,525,000. Of the total budget expenditure 164.4 billion rubles are allocated to finance the national total economy and 120.7 billion rubles for social cultural measures. In other words, two thirds of the 1950 State budget expenditure of the U.S.S.R. is allocated for the national economy and for culture. At the same time, I'll order further to strengthen the defence capacity of the country, the Soviet Government has allocated essential funds for the upkeep of the armed forces which stand on guard over the peaceful labour of Soviet citizens. According to the 1950 State budget, allocations for the War Ministry and the Naval Ministry will amount to 18.5 per cent of the total budget expenditure, whereas in 1940, expenditure for the country's defence comprised 32.6 per cent of the total budget expenditure, and in the first year of the post-war Five-Year Plan, 23.9 per cent.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the military budgets of such States as the U.S., Britain and France are steadily increasing. In the U.S., military expenditure increased from 225 per cent of the budget in 1939,40 to 68 per cent in 1949-50. As is evident from the message of Truman to Congress concerning the 1950-1951 budget, expenditure on the armed forces, including allocations for arming the countries participating in the aggressive military blocs, and also expenditure on the production of atomic bombs, and other war measures, will exceed 32 billion dollars, or nearly 76 per cent of the budget.

Military expenditure in 1950 in Britain will total £1,200 million against £760 million in 1949. In France, military expenditure increased from 179 billion francs in 1946 to 800 billion francs in 1949, and in 1950, military expenditure—including that to settle old war debts—will reach 1,276 billion francs, that is, 57 per cent of all budget expenditure.

All this shows that capitalist countries are strenuously preparing for a new imperialist war. The Soviet Union is firmly pursuing the policy of peace and stands in the vanguard of the struggle of the international forces of Socialism and democracy against the warmongers, for consolidating peace throughout the world. All this is reflected in the 1950 State budget of the U.S.S.R.

Nearly two thirds of the State budget income of the U.S.S.R. will come mainly from Socialist enterprises in the form of taxes of the turnover and deductions from profits. Taxes from the population amount to 36.4 billion rubles, that is, merely 8.4 per cent of the budget income of the U.S.S.R. At the same time, in the 1948-49 State budget of the U.S., taxes accounted for over 94 per cent of all income; in Britain, nearly 90 per cent in the 1950-51 fiscal year, the amount of taxes in the U.S. will rise nearly eight times; in Britain, more than four times. In France, taxes soared thirty times compared with pre-

war level. The burden of taxes is shouldered mainly by the working people.

Having thoroughly discussed the budgets in the Chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities—the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously approved the report concerning the State budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1948, and 1949 and the law relating to the State budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1950.

The session heard and approved the report by A.F. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the ratification of the Decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. issued since the last session of the Supreme Soviet.

The joint meeting of the two Chambers of the Supreme Soviet elected the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. composed of the Chairman, sixteen Deputy Chairmen, fifteen members and a secretary. N. M. Shvernik was elected Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet discussed the question of the formation of the Government of the U.S.S.R.—the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The session unanimously approved the activities of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and commissioned it further to continue the fulfilment of the obligations in governing the State.

The session heard a report by Deputy V. V. Kuznetsov regarding the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress to the Parliaments of all countries which proposes the discussion of measures in defence of peace. This appeal was delivered to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on March 8 by the delegation from the Permanent Committee. Having discussed the Permanent Committee appeal the session unanimously agreed to the following statement:

“STATEMENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.”

“Having heard the report by Deputy V. V. Kuznetsov concerning the reception in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of the delegation from the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, under the chairmanship of M. V. Farge, and also the appeal of the Stockholm session of the Permanent Committee which urged the prohibition of the atomic weapon, the Institution of a strict international control over the implementation of this prohibition and the denunciation as a war criminal of that government which first uses this weapon of aggression and mass annihilation of people, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously declares its solidarity with the proposals of the Permanent Committee.

“These proposals of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress fully correspond to the vital demands of all peoples and to their desire for a stable and durable ‘peace throughout the world.

Expressing the unbending will of the Soviet people for peace, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. declares its readiness to co-operate with legislative organs of other States in drawing up and carrying out the necessary measures to realise the proposals of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

“The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. expresses its confidence that the Soviet Government, consistently standing for peace and co-operation between the peoples, will continue firmly and persistently to pursue this policy of peaceful and friendly relations between the peoples; to take the necessary measures through the United Nations Organisation and to make use of all other ways to secure

universal peace and international security.

“At the same time the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. expresses confidence that the movement of the partisans of peace and, above all, the above-mentioned Stockholm appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, will meet with the unanimous support of all Soviet people.”

MOVEMENT OF FIGHTERS FOR PEACE GROWING AND GAINING IN STRENGTH

PEACE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

The campaign for signatures to the Stockholm appeal is developing on a steadily increasing scale in France, New people are supporting the appeal and ask to sign it. A group of Catholic students of the University of Paris has issued a statement, exposing the arguments of the advocates of the atom bomb and calling upon all Christians to sign the appeal. Under the pressure of the Catholic masses who are signing the Stockholm appeal. Cardinals and Archbishops in France have been compelled unconditionally to denounce the atomic weapon in their "Peace Letter."

On Sunday, June 18, thousands of young Parisians took part in a great demonstration in the Buffalo Stadium. One of the slogans of the demonstration was the demand to prohibit the atomic weapon. The organisation of French pioneers has reported that some tens of thousands of signatures have already been collected by Pioneers.

The citizens of Ivry (a suburb of Paris) collected 46,000 signatures whereas the population in the town is only 42,000. Many working people residing in other populated centres have signed the appeal in Ivry. At present the fighters for peace from this town are helping the fighters for peace in the neighbouring towns.

At the same time concrete actions against war continue. Despite pressure and intimidation. the Rouen dockers refused to unload 60 tons of American war materials from the vessel, "Pomerol".

NEWSPAPER OF THE FIGHTERS FOR PEACE

Information Bulletin of the Spanish Peace Commission entitled “Espanoles Por la Paz” (“Spaniards for Peace”) has been published since May 29, in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay.

It is a four page bulletin of average size.

The Stockholm appeal and other material about the ever extending struggle for peace was published in the first issue.

SPANISH PATRIOTS SIGN THE APPEAL

The signing of the Stockholm appeal is being successfully conducted by the Spanish emigrants—anti-fascists. According to “Mundo Obrero”, more than 65,000 signatures of Spanish patriots were collected in France and in North Africa. The appeal was signed by Dolores Ibaruri, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain and Vice-Chairman of the Republican Parliament; Professor Jose Giral, ex-Prime Minister; Angel Galarza, former minister; Maria Casares actress; Dr. Miguel Martinez Risco, deputy; Generals Francisco Matz, Jose Riquelme, Emilo Herrera; Professors Esteban Salazar Chapels and Manuel Nunez Arenas; Dr. Manuel Marquez, the Dean of the Medical Faculty and by Serrano Plaja, poet.

ITALIAN PEOPLE STAND FOR PEACE

Only a few days have passed since the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm appeal began in Italy but hundreds of thousands of people in all towns and villages of the country

have already signed this document.

On the initiative of town, regional, factory and village peace committees, hundreds of meetings are held at which the significance of the Stockholm appeal is explained to the people and signatures are collected. The existing peace committees are strengthened and new ones are formed wherever they do not exist.

The executive committee of the Italian General Confederation of Labour has called upon all working people of Italy to sign the appeal, and has approached other trade union organisations with a suggestion “jointly to carry out in practice the common tasks of defending human lives from the danger of atomic extermination”. A similar appeal was addressed to the working people by the Central Committee of the metal workers’ union and by the leading bodies of other trade union federations, provincial councils of trade union leagues, management councils, local trade union chambers of labour, co-operatives and all democratic organisations. The Genoa peace committee has challenged the peace committees in Naples, Rome, Bologna, Florence, Livorno and Turin to collect, the utmost number of signatures in relation to the population of these regions.

Considerable success in collecting signatures was achieved in the Florence Province where 300,000 signatures were collected within one week.

At many factories the appeal is being signed by every worker, For example, the appeal has been signed by every worker in the “Fiat” works, the “Aeritalia” works in Turin, Montecatini in Crotona, the “Valentia” footwear factory in Alessandria, Fonderie Riunite in Modella, Arrigoni and Fonderie delle Cure in Florence: The leaders of these enterprises have also signed the appeal.

The appeal has been supported by 124 actors, artists and critics who assembled in Venice for a Two-Year International

Exhibition, by members of the Philosophical Society in Milan, teachers of the Musical Academy and Conservatoire in Florence—headed by the conductor Lualdi—and by many professors of Italian universities, teachers of secondary and elementary schools together with their students and pupils.

The Stockholm appeal has been signed by the participants in the cycle relay race in Italy and also by many other prominent sportsmen and whole football teams.

The Bishops of Trieste, Grosseto and Pecsia, who supported the Stockholm appeal, were followed by the Bishops of Acqui, Pesaro, Jesi, Arezzo, Cesena and by many priests.

In the Avellino Province, Fr. Passo Mirabello signed the appeal and called upon all the laity to follow his example. In Dergano (Milan), Don Achille Veronelli joined the local peace committee. Don Gioacchino Serraglia in Saliceto (Cuneo) declared: “All people must unite irrespective of their political affiliation, and having united they will be able to suppress the desire of those who want to use this monstrous weapon”. In Varazza (Genoa), apart from priests, many nuns have also signed the appeal.

In Forli, Simo, captain of the local carabinieri unit, and Dr. Grimaldi, police commissar, both signed the appeal. When leaving for the army two conscripts, Secugnaga Trezzo, declared: “The 1950 conscription will be conscription for peace”. It is reported from various provinces that in certain villages the entire population, together with mayors and municipal councillors, have signed the appeal.

On all doors facing Exilles Street in Turin, announcements were pasted which read: “In this house every family has signed the appeal against the atom bomb”.

The unlawful, arrest in Cagliari of Senator Sereni, General Secretary of the National Peace Committee, has evoked sharp reaction in Parliament. Bonomi, Chairman of the Senate, declared that such an arrest violated the Constitution, and he

insisted that the Government should call its subordinates to order so that they should respect members of Parliament. Under the pressure of the unanimous indignation of Parliament and of all the Italian people. Minister Scelba was forced to pass the case to his subordinate for investigation by the Court.

TO CONSOLIDATE AND EXTEND THE VICTORY ACHIEVED

As reported in the German democratic press, 17,046,399 people in the German Democratic Republic have signed the Stockholm appeal.

“This result is a triumph for the forces of peace”, says the German Peace Committee in its appeal. It is now necessary to consolidate this triumph and to extend it. By systematic and tireless explanatory work we must draw all people of good will into the great, movement for peace, and make them conscious fighters for peace”.

In Western Germany the collection of signatures continues despite the opposition of the occupation authorities and their lackeys. According to the latest information, more than two million signatures. have already been collected in Western Germany. The working people are rebuffing the attempts of Adenauer, Heuss and other puppets of the Anglo-American imperialists to hamper the movement of the German people for peace.

CALL OF THE AMERICAN AND CANADIAN YOUTH

Three thousand people took part in a joint demonstration of

the American and Canadian youth in defence of peace at Blaine (State of Washington) near the Canadian frontier. The demonstrators hailed with enthusiasm the following statement which will be sent to youth organisations throughout the world: To the representatives of youth wherever they are. We solemnly promise that we, the representatives of the Canadian and American youth, gathered under the Peace Arch, will strive to secure the banning of the atom bomb. We will regard that government which first uses the atom bomb against any country, to have committed a crime against the youth of the entire world.

The majority of the demonstrators signed the Stockholm appeal. Representatives of unions covering cooks, stewards, and fishermen expressed the fraternal greetings of their unions.

Endicote, Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress, declared at the meeting that there are no problems between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union which cannot be solved much better by peaceful means than by war... If we can prohibit the atomic weapon. Endicote said, we will be able to stop aggression.

The American youth, participating in the meeting, sent a message to the youth of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in which they promised to fight against any new use of the atomic or H-bomb.

UNDERGROUND PEACE STRUGGLE IN GREECE

A Peace Committee, formed illegally in Athens, and composed of delegates from local peace committees in trade unions and city districts called upon the Greek people to fight for peace. The Committee is compelled to work illegally because of the terror and, in particular, because King Pavel, Plastiras, the Prime Minister, and Papandreu Deputy Prime Minister, have prohibited the Greeks, to pronounce the word

“peace”.

The call of the Athens Committee said that the Americans, preparing for a new world war, carried out a rehearsal of this in Greece in which many Greeks lost their lives. “The Americans are preparing for the complete destruction of Greece and its people”, said the appeal. “The struggle for peace will save Greece from the massacre being prepared by the imperialists”.

The Peace Committee calls upon the Greek people to sign the Stockholm appeal and to send the signatures to the government and to Parliament to foreign embassies and to the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

“Free Greece” broadcasts that this peace call of the Committee is “a fighting call to all Greeks to form a nation-wide organisation in defence of peace”.

ABOUT MARXISM IN LINGUISTICS

“Pravda”, June 20th. 1950.

A group of young comrades has approached me with the suggestion that I express my opinion in the press on matters of linguistics, particularly on questions of Marxism in linguistics. I am not a linguist and, of course, cannot fully, satisfy the comrades. As concerns Marxism in linguistics as in other social sciences, I bear a direct relation to it. That is why I have agreed to answer a number of questions submitted by the comrades.

QUESTION. Is it correct that language is a superstructure above the foundation?

Reply. No. it is not.

The foundation is the economic system of society at a given stage in its development. The superstructure is the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical views of society and the corresponding political, legal, and other institutions.

Each foundation has its own corresponding superstructure. The foundation of the feudal system has its own superstructure, its own political, legal and other views and corresponding institutions; the capitalist foundation has its superstructure, the Socialist—its own. If the basis is changed and abolished, this is followed by the change and abolition of its superstructure; should a new basis emerge, this is then followed by the emergence of the corresponding superstructure.

Language, in this respect, differs essentially from the superstructure. Take for example, Russian society and the Russian language. During the past 30 years in Russia, the old, capitalist foundation was abolished and a new, Socialist foundation erected. Accordingly, the superstructure of the

capitalist basis was abolished and the new superstructure corresponding to the Socialist basis was created. Consequently, the old political, legal and other institutions were replaced by new, Socialist ones. But despite this, the Russian language remained basically the same as it was prior to the October upheaval.

What change has occurred in the Russian language during this period? To a certain extent the vocabulary of the Russian language has changed in the sense that it has been supplemented by a considerable number of new words and expressions which arose along with the new Socialist production, with the emergence of the new State, of the new Socialist culture, new society, morals, and finally, in connection with the growth of technique and science; the sense of a number of obsolete words and expressions has changed, having acquired a new meaning; a certain number of obsolete words have fallen out of use. As for the basic word fund and the grammatical structure of the Russian language, which from the basis of the language, far from being abolished and replaced with a new basic vocabulary and a new grammatical structure of the language, after the destruction of the capitalist foundation, they, on the contrary, remained intact and without any serious change—remained precisely the basis of the modern Russian language.

Further. The superstructure emerges from the foundation, but this does not at all mean that it merely reflects the foundation, that it is passive, neutral, indifferent to the fate of its foundation, to the fate of classes, to the nature of the system. On the contrary, having emerged, it becomes a great active force, actively helping its foundation to take shape and gain strength, takes all measures in order to help the new system to finish off and destroy the old foundation and the old classes.

It cannot be otherwise. The superstructure is created by the foundation precisely in order to serve it, actively to help it to

take shape and gain strength, actively to fight for the destruction of the old foundation which has outlived itself. together with its old superstructure. It is sufficient for the superstructure to give up its subsidiary role, for the superstructure to pass from a position of active defence of the foundation to an attitude of indifference towards it, to an attitude of equal regard towards classes, for it to lose its quality and cease to be a superstructure.

Language, in this respect, differs essentially from the superstructure. Language arises not from this or that foundation, from an old or new foundation within the given society, but out of the entire course of the history of the society and the history of foundations over the centuries. It is created not by any single class, but by society as a whole, by all classes in society, by the efforts of hundreds of generations. It is created to meet the needs not of any single class but of all society, of all classes in society. Precisely because of this it has been created as a uniform language for society and common to all members of society, an all-people's languages. In view of this, the subsidiary role of language as a means of intercourse between people consists not in serving one class to the detriment of other classes but in serving equally all society and all classes in society. This, incidentally, explains how language can serve equally both the old, dying system and the new, rising system in both the old foundation and the new, both exploiters and exploited.

It is no secret to anyone that the Russian language served Russian capitalism and Russian bourgeois culture before the October upheaval just as well as today it serves the Socialist system and the Socialist culture of Russian society.

The same must be said about the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazak, Georgian, Armenian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Tatar, Azerbaijan, Bashkir, Turkmen and other languages of the Soviet nations, which served the

old, bourgeois system of these nations just as well as they serve the new, Socialist system.

It cannot be otherwise. Language exists and has been created precisely in order to serve society as a whole, as a means of intercourse between people, in order to be common to all members of society and the uniform for society, serving equally the members of society irrespective of their class position. Should a language deviate from this general popular position, should a language adopt a position of preference and support for any one social group to the detriment of other social groups in society. It would lose its quality, it would cease to be a means of intercourse in society and would become the jargon of one or other social group, it would be degraded and doomed to extinction.

In this respect language, differing in principle from the superstructure, does not, however, differ from the means of production, let us say machinery, which is just as indifferent to classes as is language and can serve equally the capitalist system and the Socialist system.

Further. The superstructure is the product of a single epoch, in the course of which a given economic foundation lives and functions. Consequently, the superstructure is not of long duration, it is destroyed and vanishes with the destruction and disappearance of that given foundation.

Language, on the contrary, is the product of a whole series of epochs, during which it takes shape, is enriched, develops and is refined. Consequently, language lives incomparably longer than any foundation and superstructure. Actually this explains why the emergence and destruction of not only a foundation and its superstructure, but also of several foundations and corresponding superstructures—do not, in history, lead to the liquidation of that particular language, to the liquidation of its structure and to the emergence of a new language with a new word fund and a new system of grammar.

Over one hundred years have passed since the death of Pushkin. During this period there has been abolished in Russia the feudal system, the capitalist system, and there has arisen a third, Socialist system. Thus, there have been abolished two foundations with their superstructures, and there has arisen a new Socialist foundation with a new superstructure. However, if for example, we take the Russian language, we shall see that it has not suffered any radical change during this long period and that the present-day Russian language. In its structure, differs little from the language of Pushkin.

What has changed in the Russian language in this period? The Russian vocabulary has been considerably supplemented during this period; a considerable number of obsolete words have dropped out of the vocabulary; the meaning of a considerable number of words has changed; the grammatical structure of the language has improved. As for the structure of the language of Pushkin, and its grammar and fundamental word fund, it has, in all essentials, been preserved as the basis of the contemporary Russian language.

And this is quite understandable. Why, indeed, after every upheaval, should the existing structure of a language, its system of grammar and its basic word fund be destroyed and replaced by a new one as is usually the case with a superstructure? Why should not “water”, “land”, “mountain”, “forest”, “fish”, “man”, “go”, “do”, “produce”, “trade” etc., continue to be called water, land, mountain etc. and not something else? Why should not word changes in language and word combinations in a sentence follow the existing grammar but some other? What would the revolution gain from such a change in the language? History in general, never does anything essential without there being a special need for it. The question arises: what is the need for such a change in the language if it has been proved that the existing language with its structure is, in the main, quite capable of satisfying the

needs of the new system? It is possible and necessary to destroy, in the course of a few years, the old superstructure and to replace it by a new one in order to give scope to the development of the productive forces, of society; but how is it possible to destroy the existing language and build in its stead a new language within several years, without introducing anarchy into social life without incurring the threat of the disintegration of society? Who but Don Quixotes will set themselves this task?

Finally, there is one other radical distinction between superstructure and language. Superstructure is not directly linked with production, with the productive activity of man. It is connected with production only indirectly, through the medium of economy, through the medium of the foundation. Consequently, the superstructure reflects the changes in the level of the development of the productive forces not at once and not directly, but after the changes in the foundation, through reflection of the changes in production, in the changes in the foundation. This signifies that the sphere of action of the superstructure is narrow and restricted.

Language on the contrary is linked directly with Man's production activity, and not only with production activity, but the all other activity of Man in all spheres of his work from production for the foundation, from the foundation to the superstructure. Consequently, language reflects the changes in production at once and directly, without waiting for changes in the foundation. Therefore, the sphere of action of language, which, embraces all spheres of Man's activity, is much wider and varied than the sphere of action of the super structure. Moreover, it is practically without limits.

This explains first of all why language, especially its vocabulary, is in a state of almost continuous change. The continuous development of industry and agriculture, of trade and transport, technique and science demands that language

should supplement the vocabulary with new words and expressions which are necessary for their work. And language directly reflecting these needs supplements, its vocabulary with new words and perfects its system of grammar.

Thus:

a) A Marxist cannot regard language as a superstructure above the foundation;

b) To confuse language with superstructure means to commit a serious error.

QUESTION. Is it correct that language always was and remains of a class nature, that for society a common and uniform non-class, all-people's language does not exist?

REPLY. No. It is not correct.

It is not difficult to understand that in a society where there are no classes, there can be no question of a class language. The primitive-communal clan system did not know classes, consequently, there could not have been a class language—the language there was a common language. uniform for the entire collective. The argument that class stands to mean every human collective, including also the primitive communal collective, is not an argument but a quibble with words which is not worth refuting.

With regard to the further development of languages, from the languages of the clans to the languages of the tribes, from the tribal languages to the languages of nationalities and from the language of nationalities to national languages—everywhere, in all its stages of development, language as a means of intercourse between people in society was general and uniform for society, serving equally members of society irrespective of social status.

Here I have in mind not the slave empires nor the middle-ages, let us say, the empires of Cyrus and Alexander the Great, or the empires of Caesar and Charles the Great who had no economic base of their own, and represented temporary and

unstable military-administrative unions. These empires not only did not have but could not have a language uniform for the empire and understandable to all members of the empire. They represented a conglomeration of tribes and nationalities living their own lives and having their own languages. It follows that I have in mind not these or similar empires, but those tribes and nationalities which formed part of empires, possessing their own economic base and having their own languages which took shape long ago. History states that the languages of these tribes and nationalities were not class languages, but an all-people's language, common to the tribes and nationalities and understandable to them.

Of course. together with this there were dialects, local tongues, but over them and subordinating them there prevailed the unified and common language of the tribe or nationality.

Later, with the advent of capitalism, with the abolition of feudal dismemberment and the rise of a national market, the nationalities developed into nations, and the languages of the nationalities into national languages. History states that national language are not class languages, but all-people's languages, common to the members of the nation and uniform for the nation.

It has been mentioned that language as a means of intercourse in society serves equally all classes of society and, in this respect, displays a peculiar indifference towards classes. But people, individual social groups and classes are far from being indifferent to language. They seek to use the language in their own interests, to impose their specific vocabulary on it, their special terminology and their particular expressions. Quite distinct in this respect are the upper layers of the propertied classes, severed from the people and hating them: the aristocratic nobility, the top layers of the bourgeoisie. "Class" dialects, jargon and salon "language" came into being. In literature these dialects and jargons are frequently given the

qualification of languages: the “language of the nobility”, “of the bourgeoisie”—as opposed to the “language of the proletariat”, and “peasant language”. On this basis, strange as it may seem, some of our comrades came to the conclusion that national language, is fiction, that actually only class languages exist.

I think that nothing could be more erroneous than such a conclusion. Is it possible to regard these dialects and jargons as languages? Of course not. Impossible, firstly, because these dialects and jargons lack a grammatical system of their own and have no basic word fund—they borrow them from the national language. Impossible, secondly, because dialects and jargons have a narrow sphere of circulation among the members of the upper layers of one or another class and, as a means of intercourse between people, for society as a whole, are absolutely useless. What have they then? They have a collection of certain specific words, reflecting the specific tastes of the aristocracy or of the upper layers of the bourgeoisie; a certain number of expressions and mannerisms, distinguished by refinement, gallantry and free from the “vulgar” expressions and mode of speech of the national language and, finally, a certain quantity of foreign words. But basically, i.e. the overwhelming majority of the words and the system of grammar, are taken from the all-people’s, from the national language. Consequently, dialects and jargons are offshoots of the all-people’s, the national language, lacking any linguistic independence and doomed to stagnation. To think that dialects and jargons can develop into independent languages, capable of dislodging and replacing the national language—signifies losing historical perspective and departing from the positions of Marxism.

Reference is made to Marx, his article “St. Max” is quoted, which states that the bourgeois has “his own language”, and that this language “is the product of the bourgeoisie”, that it is

permeated with the spirit of mercantilism of buying and selling. Some comrades, by means of this quotation, seek to prove that Marx allegedly stood for the “class character” of the language that he denied the existence of a unified national language. Had these comrades looked at the matter objectively, they could have cited another quotation from this same “St. Max” article, where Marx, dealing with the question of the means of forming a single national language, speaks of the “concentration of dialects into a single national language, conditioned by economic and political concentration.”

Consequently, Marx recognised the necessity for a **uniform** national language, as the highest form, to which dialects, as lower forms, are subordinated.

What, in this case, can the language of the bourgeoisie represent, a language which, in the words of Marx, “is the product of the bourgeoisie.” Did Marx regard it as being the same language as the national language, with its own peculiar language structure? Could he have regarded it as such a language? Of course not! Marx merely wished to say that the bourgeoisie had besmirched the unified national language by huckster jargon, that the bourgeoisie had, therefore, their own hucksters jargon.

It appears, that these comrade distorted the standpoint of Marx. And distorted it because they quoted Marx not as Marxists, but as dogmatists without going into the essence of the matter.

Reference is made to Engels, a quotation is cited from the book “Conditions of the Working Class in England” where Engels says that the “British working class has, in the course of time, become quite a different people from the British bourgeoisie”, that the “workers speak a different dialect, have different ideas and conception, other morals and moral principles, a different religious and politics from the bourgeoisie.” Some comrades, on the basis of this quotation,

reach the conclusion that Engels denied the necessity of an all-people's national language; that he therefore stand for a "class" language. True, Engels speaks here not of language, but of dialect, fully aware that a dialect, as an offshoot from the national language, cannot replace the national language. But these comrades, evidently, have no great sympathy for the difference that exists between language and dialect...

This quotation is obviously out of place since Engels speaks here not about "class languages" but mainly about class ideas, conceptions, morals, moral principles, religion and politics. It is absolutely correct that the ideas, conceptions, morals, moral principles, religion and the politics of the bourgeoisie and of the proletarians are diametrically opposed. But what has this to do with the national language, or the "class" character of language? Can the existence of class contradictions in society serve as an argument in favour of a "class" language or against the necessity of a unified national language? Marxism states that uniformity of language is one of the most important signs of a nation, although fully aware that there are class contradictions within the nation. Do the aforementioned comrades acknowledge this Marxist thesis?

Reference is made to Lafargue saying that in his booklet "Language and Revolution" Lafargue recognises "class" language, that he allegedly denies the necessity of an all-people's national language. This is not correct. True, Lafargue speaks about the language of the "nobility" or the "aristocracy" and about the "jargons" of the various sections of society. But these comrades forget that Lafargue, not interested in the difference between language and jargon and calling dialects now "artificial speech", now "jargon", states definitely in his book that "the artificial speech which distinguishes the aristocracy... emanates from the all-people's language which is spoken also by the bourgeoisie, by handicraftsmen, by town and countryside."

Consequently, Lafargue acknowledges the existence of, and the need for an all-people's language, fully aware of the subordinate character and dependence of the "aristocratic language" and other dialects, and jargons on the all-people's language.

It appears that the reference to Lafargue is pretty, wide of the mark.

The reference is made that in England, at one time, the English feudal lords spoke French "for centuries" while the people of England spoke in English, and that this circumstance is, allegedly, an argument in support of "class" language and against the need for an all-people's language. But this is more in the nature of an anecdote than an argument. In the first place, in those days not all the feudals spoke French. It was spoken by an insignificant handful of the higher English feudalists attached to the Court and in the counties. Secondly, they spoke not some kind of "class language" but the ordinary French spoken by the people. Thirdly, as is known, this over-indulgence in the French language then disappeared, without leaving a trace, yielding to the English spoken by the people. Do these comrades think that, "in the course of centuries", the English feudals and the English people spoke to one another through the medium of interpreters, that the English feudals did not use the English language, that the all-people's English language did not exist in those days, that the French language in England was then anything more serious than a salon language spoken in a restricted circle of the top aristocracy in England? How can anyone, on the basis of these ludicrous "arguments", deny the existence of, and the necessity for, a common people's language?

Russian aristocrats at one time also over-indulged in the French language at the tsarist court and in the salons. They boasted that while speaking Russian they stuttered in French, that they could only speak Russian with a French accent. Does

this mean that in Russia, at that time, there was not the all-people's Russian language, that an all-people's language was a fiction and "class language" the reality?

Our comrades are committing, at the very least, two mistakes here.

The first mistake is that they confuse language with superstructure. They think that if the superstructure is of class character, then language also must be not an all-people's, but a class language. But, as I have already said, language and superstructure are two different conceptions, and a Marxist must not confuse them.

The second mistake is that these comrades see in the diametrically opposed interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in their fierce class struggle, the disintegration of society, the severing of all links between hostile classes. They consider that, since society is divided, since there is no longer a united society, and there are only classes, that there is no necessity for a unified language for society, for a national language. What then remains if society is divided and there is no longer a people's national language? There remain classes and "class languages". Clearly, each "class language" will have its own "class" grammar—a "proletarian" grammar and a "bourgeois" grammar. True, no such grammars exist in the world, but this does not embarrass these comrades: they believe that such grammars will appear.

At one time, we had "Marxists" who asserted that the railways, which remained in our country after the October upheaval were bourgeois, and that it did not become us Marxists to use them, that we must demolish them and build new, "proletarian" railways. For this they earned the soubriquet "troglodytes"...

Clearly, such a primitive-anarchist view of society, classes and language has nothing in common with Marxism. But it certainly exists and persists in the confused minds of some of

our comrades.

It is, of course, incorrect that, because of the violent class struggle, society had allegedly spilt up into classes, no longer linked with one another economically in a single society. On the contrary. As long as capitalism exists, bourgeois and proletarian will be linked to each other by all the threads in economy, as parts of a single capitalist society. The bourgeois cannot live and make a fortune without having wage workers at his disposal, and the proletarians cannot continue their existence without hiring themselves to the capitalists. The severing of all economic links between them would signify the cessation of every kind of production, and the cessation of every kind of production would lead to the ruin of society, to the ruin of the classes themselves.

Clearly, no class wants to subject itself to destruction. Consequently, the class struggle, no matter how acute, cannot lead to the disintegration of society. Only ignorance on questions of Marxism and an utter lack of understanding of the nature of language could prompt the fable in the minds of some of our comrades about the disintegration of society, about “class” languages and “class” grammars.

Further, reference is made to Lenin and it is recalled that Lenin recognised, the existence of two cultures under capitalism, bourgeois and proletarian, that the slogan of national culture under capitalism is a nationalist slogan. An this is true and Lenin is absolutely correct. But what has this to do with “class” languages? Quoting Lenin about two cultures under capitalism, these comrades evidently wish to convince the reader that the existence of two cultures in society, bourgeois and proletarian, signifies that there must also be two languages, since language and culture are connected—consequently, Lenin denies the necessity of a single national language, consequently, Lenin stands for “class” languages. The mistake of these comrades is that they identify and confuse

language with culture. Actually, culture and language are two different things. Culture can be both bourgeois and Socialist, whereas language as a means of intercourse, is always the language of all the people and can serve both bourgeois and Socialist culture. Is it not a fact that the Russian, Ukrainian and Uzbek languages now serve the Socialist culture of these nations no less than they served their bourgeois cultures before the October upheaval? This means that these comrades err profoundly in asserting that the existence of two different cultures leads to the appearance of two different languages and to a denial of the necessity for a single language.

In speaking about the two cultures, Lenin stated precisely from the premise that the existence of two cultures cannot lead to the denial of a unified language and the formation of two languages, that language must be unified. When the Bundists began to accuse Lenin of denying the necessity of a national language and of regarding culture as “non-national”, Lenin, as is known, sharply protested against this, declaring that he was fighting against bourgeois culture and not against national language, the need for which he regarded as indisputable. Strange that some of our comrades should follow in the footsteps of the Bundists.

As regards a unified language, the necessity of which Lenin is said to have denied, it would be well to pay heed to the following word of Lenin:

“Language is the most important means of human intercourse; unity of language and its unhampered development is one of the most important conditions for really free and broad trade, corresponding to contemporary capitalism, for the free and wide grouping of people in all the separate classes.”

It appears that these respected comrades have distorted Lenin’s views.

Finally, reference is made to Stalin. They quote Stalin to the effect that the “bourgeoisie and its nationalist Parties were

and remain in this period the main guiding force in such nations.” All this is correct. The bourgeoisie and its nationalist Party actually guide bourgeois culture, just as the proletariat and its internationalist Party guide proletarian culture. But what has this to do with the “class” language? Are these comrades not aware that the national language is a form of national culture, that the national language can serve both bourgeois and Socialist culture? Surely our comrades are acquainted with the well known Marxist formula to the effect that present-day Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other cultures are Socialist in content and national in form, i.e., in language? Are they in agreement with this Marxist formula?

The mistake our comrades make here is that they do not see the difference between culture and language, and do not understand that in content, culture changes with every new period of development of society, whereas language remains basically the same over a number of periods, serving equally both the new and the old culture.

Thus:

a) language as a means of intercourse always has been and remains uniform for society and the common language for its members;

b) the existence of dialects and jargons does not deny but confirms the existence of an all-people’s language of which they are offshoots and to which they are subordinate;

c) the formula of a “class” language is an erroneous, non-Marxist formula.

QUESTION. What are the characteristic features of language?

Reply. Language is one of the social phenomena which functions throughout the entire period of the existence of society. It has its origin in, and develops with, the birth and development of society. It perishes with the death of society. Outside society there is no language. That is why a language,

and its laws of development, can be understood only if it is studied in indissoluble connection with the history of society, with the history of the people to which the given language belongs, which is the founder and carrier of this language.

Language, is a medium, an instrument, by means of which people communicate with one another, exchange ideas and reach mutual understanding. Being directly associated with thought, language registers and establishes in words and combinations of words in sentences, the results of the working of the mind, the achievements of man's cognition, and thus makes possible the exchange of ideas in human society.

Exchange of ideas is a constant and vital necessity since without this, it is impossible to have common action by people in the struggle against the forces of nature, in the struggle for the production of the essential material benefits; it is impossible to secure success in the production activity of society—consequently, the very existence of social production is impossible. Consequently, without a language understandable to society and common for its members, society ceases production, disintegrates and ceases to exist as a society. In this sense, language, being an instrument of intercourse; is at the same time, an instrument for the struggle and development of society.

As is known, all the words in a language make up what is called the vocabulary of the language. The main thing in the vocabulary of a language is its basic word fund which includes all the root words as its core. This basic word fund is much more limited than the vocabulary of language, but it lives very long, for centuries, and provides the language with a basis for the formation of new words. The vocabulary is a reflection of the state of a language; the richer and more varied the vocabulary, the richer and more developed the language.

However, the vocabulary, taken alone, does not yet form the language—rather, it is the building material for the

language. Just as building material in the building trade is not the building itself, although without it a building cannot be erected, so the vocabulary of a language is not the language itself, although without it the language is unthinkable. But the vocabulary of a language acquires very great significance when placed at the disposal of the grammar of the language, which determines rules of inflexion, the rules of combining words in a sentence and consequently, gives the language an orderly intelligible character. Grammar (morphology and syntax) is a collection of rules governing inflexion and combination of words in a sentence. Consequently, it is due precisely to grammar that language is able to give material, linguistic form to human thought.

The distinguishing feature of grammar is that it provides rules of inflexion, having in mind not concrete words but words in general, without any concreteness; it provides the rules for composing sentences, having in mind not concrete sentences, say a concrete subject, a concrete predicate or the like, but sentences of all kinds, irrespective of the concrete form of one or another sentence. Consequently, abstracting itself from the particular and concrete, both in words and sentences, grammar takes that common feature which forms the foundation of the inflexion of words and the combination of words in sentences, and out of this builds the rules of grammar, the laws of Grammar. Grammar is the result of long-time, abstracting work of human thought, an indication of the tremendous achievements of thought.

In this respect, grammar reminds one of geometry, which establishes its laws, abstracting itself from concrete objects, regarding objects as bodies lacking concreteness, and determining relations between them not as the concrete relations of certain concrete objects, but as the relations of bodies in general, lacking all concreteness

In contrast to the superstructure, which is linked with

production not directly but through the medium of the economy, language is directly bound up with Man's activity in production, just as is the case with all other activity in every field of his work without exception. That is why the vocabulary of a language, as the most sensitive to changes, is in a state of almost constant change; moreover, language, in contrast to the superstructure, does not have to wait for the abolition of the basis—it introduces changes into its vocabulary before the basis is abolished and irrespective of the state of the basis.

However, the vocabulary of a language does not change in the same way as the superstructure changes, not by abolition of the old and construction of the new, but by being supplemented with the new words which have come into being with the changes in the social system, with the development of production, the development of culture, science and so forth. Moreover, although a certain number of obsolete words usually drop out of the vocabulary of a language, a far larger number of new words is added. As for the basic word fund, it is preserved in the main, and is used as the foundation of the vocabulary.

And that is understandable. There is no need to destroy the basic fund of the vocabulary if it can be used with success for a number of historical periods—to say nothing of the fact that destruction of the basic vocabulary fund accumulated over, a period of centuries, with the impossibility of creating a new basic vocabulary in a short space of time, would paralyse the language and completely disorganise communication between people.

The grammatical structure of a language changes still more slowly than the basic fund of its vocabulary. Having been developed in the course of epochs and become the very fibre of the language, the grammatical structure changes even more slowly than the basic vocabulary. Of course, it undergoes changes in the course of time, perfects itself improves it rules

and makes them more precise, enriches itself with new rules, but the foundations of the grammatical structure are preserved over a very long period, since, as history shows, they can serve society with success for a number of epochs.

Consequently, the grammatical structure of a language and its basic vocabulary constitute the foundation of the language, the essence of its specific characteristics.

History records great stability and tremendous resistance on the part of a language to forced assimilation. Some historians, instead of explaining this phenomenon, simply express amazement. But there are no grounds here for amazement. The stability of a language is explained by the stability of its grammatical structure and its basic vocabulary. For hundreds of years Turkish assimilators endeavoured to mutilate, destroy and wipe out the languages of the Balkan peoples. In that period the vocabulary of the Balkan languages underwent serious changes, quite a few Turkish words and expressions were adopted, there were “convergences” and “divergences”, but the Balkan languages stood their ground and survived. Why? Because the grammatical framework and basic word fund of these languages were, in the main, preserved.

From all this it follows that a language and its structure cannot be regarded as the product of any single epoch. The structure of a language, its grammatical framework and basic vocabulary are the product of a number of epochs.

It may be assumed that the elements of modern language go back to ancient times, preceding the epoch of slavery. Language then was not complex, having a very limited vocabulary, but with a grammatical structure of its own, primitive, it is true, but still a grammatical structure.

The further development of production, the emergence of classes, the appearance of a written language, the birth of the state which for its administration required more or less

organised correspondence, the growth of trade, which required even more so, organised correspondence, the advent of the printing press, the rise of literature—all this brought great changes in the development of language. During that time, the tribes and nationalities broke up into smaller units, diverged, mingled with one another and crossed, and as time went on, national languages and states came into being, revolutionary upheavals occurred, old social systems were replaced by new ones. All this brought still greater changes in language and its development.

However, it would be a great mistake to think that the development of language followed the same path as the development of the superstructure, by the destruction of that which exists and the formation of the new. Actually, language developed not by way of the destruction of the existing language and the formation of a new one, but by developing and improving the main elements in the existing language. Moreover, transition from one quality of the language to another took place not by means of explosion, not by means of destruction of the old at one blow and the construction of the new, but by means of a gradual and protracted accumulation of elements of the new quality, a new structure of the language. by means of gradual dying out of the elements of the old quality.

It is said that the theory of the development of languages by stages is a Marxist theory, since it recognises the need for sudden explosions as a condition for the transition of language from the old to a new quality. That is wrong of course, because it is difficult to find anything Marxist in this theory. And if the theory of stages does really recognise sudden explosions in the history of the development of language, then all the worse for this theory. Marxism does not recognise sudden explosions in the development of language, the sudden death of an existing language and the sudden formation of a new language.

Lafargue was not correct when he spoke of a “sudden revolution in language occurring between 1780 and 1794” in France (see Lafargue’s pamphlet “*Language and Revolution*”). No revolution took place in language in France at that time, and certainly no sudden revolution. Of course, in that period, the vocabulary of the French language was enlarged with new words and expressions, a certain number of obsolete words dropped out, the meaning of certain words changed—and that was all. But such changes in no way decide the fate of a language. The main thing in a language is its grammatical structure and basic vocabulary. But the grammatical structure and basic vocabulary of the French language not only did not disappear during the period of the French bourgeois revolution, they were preserved without essential changes and not only were they preserved but continue to live to-day in modern French. I say nothing of the fact that to abolish an existing language and to build a new national language. (“a sudden revolution in language”), a period of five or six years is ridiculously small; for that centuries are required.

Marxism maintains that the transition of a language from an old to a new quality takes place not by means of explosion, not by means of destruction of the existing language and creation of a new one, but by means of the gradual accumulation of elements of a new quality, consequently, by means of the gradual dying out of the elements of the old quality.

In general, it should be said for the benefit of the comrades who are keen on explosions that the law of transition from the old to the new quality by way of explosion does not apply to the history of the development of language, nor does it always apply to other social phenomena related to the foundation or to the superstructure. It is obligatory for a society divided into antagonistic classes. But it is not at all obligatory for a society which has no antagonistic classes. In the course of 8-10 years

we effected in the agriculture of our country a transition from the bourgeois individual peasant system to the Socialist collective farm system. That was a revolution which abolished the old bourgeois economic system in the countryside and created a new, Socialist system. However, this upheaval took place not by way of explosion, that is, not by the overthrow of the existing power and the establishment of a new power, but by means of gradual transition from the old bourgeois system in the countryside to a new system. And it was possible to do so because this was a revolution from above, an upheaval carried out on the initiative of the existing power with the support of the bulk of the peasantry.

It is said that the numerous facts of the crossing of languages which took place in history give grounds for supporting that, in the act of crossing, a new language is created by way of explosion, by means of an abrupt transition from the old to a new quality. This is absolutely incorrect.

The crossing of languages cannot be regarded as a single act of decisive effect, yielding results in the course of a few years. The crossing of languages is a long drawn out process, continuing for hundreds of years. Consequently, there can be no talk of explosion here.

Moreover, it would be absolutely incorrect to think that as a result of the crossing of, say, two languages, a new, third language appears, a language which bears no resemblance to the crossed languages and which differs in quality from either of them. Actually, in the crossing, one of the languages usually emerges victor, retains its grammatical structure, its basic word fund and continues to go forward in accordance with the inner laws of its development, while the other language gradually loses its quality and, in course of time, disappears.

Consequently, crossing does not produce some kind of a new, third language; it preserves one of the languages, preserves its grammatical structure and the basic word fund

and enables this language to develop according to the inner laws of its development.

True, during this process, a certain enrichment of the vocabulary of the victor language takes place at the expense of the vanquished language; however this does not weaken, on the contrary, it strengthens the language.

Such was the case, for example, with the Russian language, with which the languages of a number of other peoples crossed in the course of historical development, and which always emerged the victor.

Of course, the vocabulary of the Russian language was enlarged during this process at the expense of the vocabulary of the other languages, but far from weakening it, this, on the contrary, enriched and strengthened the Russian language.

As for the national character of the Russian language, this did not suffer in the least, because, having preserved its grammatical structure and basic word fund, the Russian language continued to go forward, perfecting itself according to its inner laws of development.

There can be no doubt that the theory of crossing of languages cannot provide Soviet linguistics with anything substantial. If it is true that the main task of linguistics is the study of the inner laws of the development of language, then it must be admitted that the theory of crossing not only does not solve this task, it does not even pose it—simply does not notice or understand it.

QUESTION. Was “Pravda” correct in initiating an open discussion on problems pertaining to linguistics?

Reply. Yes. it was.

The manner in which the problems of linguistics will be solved will become clear at the end of the discussion. But even now it can be said that the discussion has done a great deal of good.

Above all, the discussion has revealed that both at the

centre and in the Republics a regime not in keeping with science and with men of *science*, prevailed in the linguistic organs. The slightest criticism of the state of affairs in Soviet linguistics even the most timid attempts at criticism of the so-called “new teaching” in linguistics, were persecuted and cut short by the leading linguistic circles. For a critical attitude towards the heritage of N. Y. Marr, for the slightest expression of disapproval of the teachings of N. Y. Marr, valuable workers and others engaged in research in the sphere of linguistics were removed from their posts or demoted. People in the sphere of linguistics have been promoted to leading posts not on the basis of their professional qualifications, but, for their acceptance of the teaching of N. Y. Marr without any reservation.

It is generally recognised that no science can develop and flourish without conflict of opinion, without freedom of criticism. But this generally recognised rule was ignored and trampled upon most unceremoniously. A select group of infallible leaders came into being which, having insured itself against any possible criticism, began to act in an arbitrary and high-handed manner.

Take one example: The so-called “Baku Course” (N.Y. Marr’s lectures delivered in Baku), which the author himself pronounced defective and forbade their re-publication, were nevertheless, on instructions from the cast of leaders (Comrade Meshchaninov calls them “pupils” of N. Y Marr), re-published and, without any reservation, included among the recommended books for students. This means that the students were deceived, they were given a defective “Course” just as if it were a perfectly sound textbook were not convinced of the honesty of Comrade Meshchaninov and of the other men in linguistics, I would say that such conduct is tantamount to wrecking.

How could this happen? It took place because the Arakcheyev regime established in linguistics, cultivates

irresponsibility and encourages such excesses.

The discussion has proved extremely beneficial, first of all because it brought to light the Arakcheyev regime and smashed it. However the benefits of the discussion are not restricted to this. The discussion has not only smashed the old regime in linguistics it also revealed the incredible confusion of views prevailing among leading circle of this branch of science on the most important questions of linguistics. Prior to the discussion they maintained silence and obscured the unhappy situation in linguistics. But when the discussion was opened, silence was no longer possible—they had to state their views in the press. And what was the result? It turned out that the teaching of N. Y. Marr contains a whole series of gaps, errors, unresolved problems and undeveloped theses. The question arises—why is it that the “pupils” of N. Y. Marr spoke up only after the discussion opened? What were they not concerned about this before? Why is it that prior to this they did not speak up openly and honestly as befits men of science?

It appears that after admitting “certain” mistakes of N. Y. Marr, his “pupils” think Soviet linguistics can be developed further only on the basis of an “improved” N. Y. Marr theory, which they consider Marxist. From the “Marxism” of N. Y. Marr, deliver us by all means. N. Y. Marr really wanted, and strove to become a Marxist, but he was unable to achieve this. Like the “Proletkultovtsi” and the “Rappovtsi”, all he did was to simplify and vulgarise Marxism.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics an incorrect, non-Marxist formula regarding language as a superstructure and confused himself, confused linguistics. Soviet linguistics cannot be developed on the basis of an incorrect formula.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics another incorrect and non-Marxist formula regarding “class” language, and confused himself, confused linguistics. Soviet linguistics cannot be developed on the basis of an incorrect formula which

contradicts the entire course of the history of peoples and of language.

N. Y. Marr brought into linguistics an immodest, boastful, supercilious tone alien to Marxism, a tone which leads to wholesale and light-minded denial of all that preceded N. Y. Marr in linguistics.

N. Y. Marr bombastically denigrated the comparative historical method as “idealistic”. Yet it must be said that despite its serious shortcomings, the comparative historical method is, nevertheless, better than the truly idealistic four-element analysis of N. Y. Marr, for the former encourages work and a study of languages, while the latter encourages lolling at the fireside and consulting the tea-cups about the notorious four elements.

N. Y. Marr superciliously scorns every attempt to study groups (families) of languages as a manifestation of the “parent language” theory. And yet it cannot be denied that the language affinity of such nations as the Slav nations, for instance, is unquestionable, and that the study of the language kinship of these nations could be of great benefit to linguistics in the matter of studying the laws of the development of language. I say nothing of the fact that the theory of a “parent language” has nothing at all to do with this.

To listen to N. V. Marr and, particularly to his “pupils”, one would think that before N. Y. Marr there was no linguistics at all, that linguistics began with the appearance of N. Y. Marr’s “new-teaching”. Marx and Engels were far more modest: they believed that their dialectical materialism was a product of the development of sciences, including philosophy, during the preceding period.

Consequently, the discussion has also helped matters in so far as it has revealed ideological gaps in Soviet linguistics.

I believe that the sooner our linguistics rids itself of the errors of N. Y. Marr, the sooner it can be extricated from the

crisis it is now experiencing.

Abolition of the Arakcheyev regime in linguistics, repudiation of the mistakes of N. Y. Marr, and the inculcation of Marxism into linguistics—such, in my view, is the way of bringing Soviet linguistics to a healthy state

J. STALIN

ON THE EVE OF THE ALL-COLUMBIAN PEACE CONGRESS

In response to the call of the All-Columbian Peace Committee, the Stockholm appeal was signed by the following well-known political figures and persons in science and art: Dr. Enrique Perez Arbelacz, a Catholic Priest, naturalist and botanist; Deputy Jorge Uribe Markez, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party; Victor Amaja Gonzalez, a poet, Conservative; Luis Vidales, a poet and critic, and by other writers, political figures. Senators, deputies and actors.

The All-Columbian Committee is completing the preparations, for the All-Columbian Peace Congress which will be held on July 15, in Bogota, the capital of Columbia.

COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES TO THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL IN JAPAN

The newspaper "Akahata" reports that according to incomplete figures, 1,010,000 signatures have been collected in Japan to the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress between April and June 15. The greatest number of signatures was collected by a trade union council in the Kanagawa prefecture, 480,000; the League for the Defence of Democracy in Osaka, 240,500 and the United Patriotic Front in Kyoto. 150,000.

SUCSESSES OF PEACE SUPPORTERS IN AUSTRIA

The call of the All-Austrian Peace Congress to the people to extend the struggle for peace and to sign the Stockholm appeal meets with ever broader response in all parts of the country.

The partisans of peace, at meetings and rallies being held throughout the country, sharply condemn the attitude assumed by the Austrian Government, the reactionary leaders of the ruling Parties and the trade unions, as well as the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church, who declared signatures to the Stockholm appeal to be criminal activity and began persecutions and repressions against the fighters for peace.

Despite the ban and repressions on the part of the Figl Government, the collection of signatures is continuing throughout Austria.

After the Peace Congress, this campaign has been extended on an even wider scale. More than half a million, Austrian have already signed the appeal (including over 100,000 citizens or Vienna).

More than 300 local peace councils have commenced their activities throughout the country.

PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium was held June 10-11. The Plenum heard and discussed the report of Jean Borreman, Secretary of the Party, on the results of the recent, Parliamentary elections and on the basic tasks of the moment.

Edgar Lalman, General Secretary of the Party made the concluding speech to the Plenum, “The main conclusion to be drawn from the results of the elections”, Lalman said, “is that we failed to involve the masses in the struggle for the practical realisation of the political line of the Party because our slogans did not penetrate into the masses deeply and, in particular, into the ranks of the working class.”

Speaking on the basic tasks of the Party for the near future. Lalman pointed out that it was necessary to prevent the warmongers from using the election success. It is necessary, he said. to develop the decisive struggle against the return of Leopold III—puppet of the American imperialists—the struggle for peace, for national independence. A decisive condition for this is the strengthening of the links with the masses, ensuring of united actions with working people-Socialists, with Catholics and non-Party people. Pointing out that in the Party there still exists an underestimation of the war danger Lalman stressed the particular importance of the campaign for the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal.

VICTORY OF FRENCH C.G.T. IN ELECTIONS TO SOCIAL INSURANCE COUNCILS

A few days ago French working people elected representatives to the administrative councils of the Social Welfare and the Family Allowance Funds. These elections were distinguished by the complete defeat of the Gaullist candidates, by losses for the Catholic trade unions and by the failure, of the break-away “Force Ouvriere” candidates. At these elections the working people demonstrated their confidence in the General Confederation of Labour against which the press, subordinated to the government, the big industrialists and reaction, developed a wide campaign of slander.

The General Confederation of Labour is far ahead of all other organisations, winning 102 more seats on the Social Welfare Fund, and an absolute majority on the Family Allowances Fund.

EXTENSION OF NETWORK OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN HUNGARIAN COUNTRYSIDE

Wide-scale measures, aimed at raising the cultural level of the working peasantry and at extending the network of cultural institutions, are underway in Hungary in connection with the realisation of the Five-Year Plan. Forty new cinemas have been opened in the villages in the first quarter of the first year of the Five-Year Plan. Another fifty will open in the second quarter of this year. New cinemas will be opened in 216 localities by the end of the year. In addition; 97 mobile cinema units will demonstrate films in 658 villages. In the third year of the Five-Year Plan, every Hungarian village will have its own cinema.

CHINA NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE. Feng Wen-pin, General Secretary, Central Committee, China New Democratic Youth League

On January 1, 1949, when the perspective of an immediate victory throughout the country was opened up before the Chinese revolution, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China passed a decision concerning the formation of the China New Democratic Youth League—a leading youth organisation for the whole of China, the organisation which was to become a bulwark and reserve for the Communist Party.

The First Congress of the Youth League, held in Peking, April 1949, adopted, a Programme and Rules and elected a Central Committee. At that time the Youth League had 190,000 members; by the end of the year its membership reached 1,217,075. Gradually, League branches were formed in all regions throughout China—in factories, in villages, in schools and in the Army.

Members of the League working in industry show an example to other workers, drawing their comrades into the struggle for increased productivity of labour and for fulfilling production targets. They organise the political education of young workers and help them to raise their cultural level and to master modern technique. In the industrial centres which were earlier liberated, for example Dairen and Antung (North-East China), the youth League organised trade courses which have now become real technical schools..

In the countryside the League members help in developing agricultural production and actively participate in carrying out the agrarian reform aimed at abolishing the foundations of

feudalism. The Youth League plays an important role in the struggle to eliminate illiteracy. In addition, League members assist peasants to master modern methods of cultivation.

Members of the youth League display great activity also in the Army, conducting serious political and cultural work and military studies among their Army comrades.

In schools, the Youth League plays an important role in the ideological education of students. League members also help the comrades who are responsible for the ideological education of students.

Guided by the Youth League, the members of the League have always provided an example of an unshakable loyalty to the cause of the people in the factories, mines, villages, schools, offices and in the Army. For example, on the initiative of the young people, railwaymen repaired locomotives in their spare time. Several locomotives repaired in this way were given the name of "Youth". A League member, Chao Kou-yu, a young worker at an engineering plant in Mukdeh, broke a new production record by taking only an hour and sixteen minutes to produce a certain part. Under the Japanese occupation, this particular job took an average of four hours to do. The initiative of Chao Kou-yu was supported and a wide movement was begun for new records. All the young people today are familiar with the names of the woman tractor driver, Ling Chun; the woman locomotive driver, Tien Kouei-ying, and the peasant woman Kou Yu-lan who more than once has received the distinction of a heroine of labour.

The League members who work in the Tangshan ore mines valiantly participated in the struggle against the floods. A League member, Hsin Pao-chin, risked his life trying to save several barrels of oil for transformers.

Far from leaving their workshops, members of the Youth League working in docks, on the contrary, removed their tools and materials to a safe place when Shanghai was raided by

American-made Kuomintang planes—raids from which the valiant air-force units of the People's Liberation Army have now saved Shanghai.

In large towns League members and young workers, students and pupils of technical schools, voluntarily spent their school holidays in rehabilitation work.

All these examples testify to the fact that the younger generation is a mighty force in the building of a new China and a guarantee of a bright future for our country.

The ranks of the Youth League are constantly growing. Its propaganda-educational work is acquiring ever greater significance. At present, various federations of the League issue over 50 journals. The Central Committee of the League regularly issues a fortnightly journal "Chinese Youth". These periodicals educate League members and the entire Chinese youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In addition, the Central Committee has set up a Publishing House which has already issued a large number of books for the youth.

To train numerous cadres which the country needs, and to promote the youth movement in China, the Central Committee of the League has opened a central school for training leading cadres of the Youth League. In various provinces and big towns, courses to train cadres for lower organisations of the League have been organised.

The Youth League has set itself the task of organising patronage over children between the ages of 9 and 15. Last October, the Central Committee of the League decided to form a Young Pioneers' organisation. In January this year, three months after its inception, this organisation already had 100,750 members in ten large towns. The Youth League issues a journal entitled "Children of China."

The Youth League is spreading its influence among the masses by convening youth congresses, meetings, discussions, and so on. It rallies and educates the young people not only at

enterprises in the process of work and in the Army but also by setting up cultural, art and sport circles and by organising the leisure of the youth. It has created, in particular, a special school in Peking which trains young writers and actors who later will direct cultural and art youth groups in various regions throughout the country.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the New Democratic Youth League is daily taking a more and more active part in the struggle of the young people of all countries against imperialism, for peace and democracy.

In April 1949, the League sent a delegation to the World Peace Congress. In August it took part in the World Youth and Student Festival and in the Second Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, both held in Budapest.

During this time the League organised throughout the country meetings, lectures, photographic-exhibitions which popularise the international youth movement and proletarian internationalism.

Many young men and women have joined the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society. In many educational establishments, up to 90 per cent of the students have joined up.

The Chinese youth is studying the experience of the great Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in order to utilise this experience in building a new China. Following in particular the glorious example of the Komsomol, the activists and the rank and file members of the New Democratic Youth League are learning to devote all their efforts to the great cause of serving the homeland, the cause of proletarian internationalism.

PRESS REVIEW

WAR HYSTERIA IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Dutch newspaper “**De Waarheid**” recently carried a report from its special correspondent to the effect that the Tito clique is whipping up war hysteria. The correspondent writes: “During the past few days the Tito Government carried out a number of military measures in Yugoslavia with the aim of distracting the attention of the population from difficult economic conditions and to whip up a war-psychosis. Under the pretext of calling for further military training, reserve officers of all ages are being mobilised for active service without any reason whatsoever. The majority of the officers are sent to units located in Slovenia, Slavonia, Voevodina and Serbia, that is, in the regions bordering Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary. To fan the war hysteria, government offices and enterprises, in particular offices and war factories in Varazdin, Virovitica, Subbotica, Pozarevac, Zajecar, Nis, Skoplje and other places, have received instructions that should hostilities break out they are to evacuate to maritime regions. Because of this, an atmosphere of tension has been created among the people and in the Army.

“Incidentally, the measures of Tito are supported by foreign information agencies. For example, American correspondents are circulating the news inspired by the Tito clique that troop concentrations can be seen in the regions neighbouring Bulgaria and Hungary.

“All this is, done parallel with the dissemination by the Tito clique of a false thesis about the absence of the danger of war from capitalism. The aim of the war hysteria and the false

propaganda of the Tito clique is to carry out it a number of provocations against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.”

APPALLING CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Bulgarian newspaper, "Izgrevev", quotes new facts which expose the Tito gang as a tool of the Anglo-American imperialists, oppressing and exploiting the Yugoslav working people.

The newspaper points out that, last year, the standards of living of the working people of Yugoslavia slumped by 50 per cent compared with 1948.

"At the same time", the newspaper writes, "the wages fund was reduced by nine billion dinars, resulting in wage reductions for workers ranging from 18-36 per cent.

"Yugoslav workers work in appalling conditions for ten, twelve and sometimes fourteen hours a day. They cannot enjoy week-end leisure to which they are entitled and, in addition, they are obliged to work the so-called 'overtime' without any remuneration.

"Workers engaged on heavy work receive miserable wages. The average monthly wage of a skilled worker amounts to 3,900 dinars.

"The working people of Yugoslavia are doomed to hunger, while a considerable amount of food products are exported by the Yugoslav authorities to capitalist countries. The purchasing power of the dinar has decreased considerably. Prices in Yugoslavia are now 740 per cent above the 1945 level.

"According to 'official figures' of the Yugoslav Government, the number of workers who die of tuberculosis reaches 100,000 annually. The actual figure is much higher.

"Yugoslav industry is falling into decline; and the economic plan has proved to be an ignominious failure."

FOR PURITY OF THE PARTY RANK RANKS. G. Gheorghiu-Dej, General Secretary, Central Committee, Rumanian Workers' Party

The verification of the membership of the Rumanian Workers' Party, started in November 1948, was completed in May.

The verification was a most important event in the life of our Party. It strengthened the Party organisationally and politically, strengthened its links with the masses and increased the fighting capacity of Party organisations.

In its decision to verify the ranks of the Party, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, was guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin about the Party of a new type and by the great historic experience of the CPSU(B) which, more than once, confirmed the correctness of the thesis that a Party gains in strength by ridding itself of opportunity, alien and hostile elements. The Bolshevik Party unswervingly followed Lenin's directive: to rid the Party of those members who are not genuine Communists and who are incapable of consciously carrying out a proletarian policy. Our Party the party of revolutionary working class, Lenin pointed out, is the only governmental party in the world which is concerned not so much with increasing its membership as with improving their quality, with purging the Party of those "hanging on" to it.

When still underground and in conditions of brutal terror, our Party, although numerically small, was the initiators and leader of the struggle of the working people against the bourgeois-landlord system; the organiser of numerous actions

of the working class such as the miners' strikes, a general strike of railwaymen and of workers in 1933 and the struggle of the working peasants for land.

During the war, the Rumanian Communist Party was the only political force in the country which called upon the people to fight against fascism, and which organised this struggle.

In these battles the main cadres of our Party were tempered, cadres linked by thousands of threads with the working class.

After the liberation of Rumania by the Soviet Army—which secured for our country the possibility of free democratic development—thousands of conscious workers and other working people, many of whom sympathised with Communists even earlier, joined the ranks of our Party. This resulted in the rapid consolidation of the Party and enabled it, from the first days of the liberation, to bring the masses into struggle against the reactionary government.

Relying on the older Party members and on the revolutionary proletarian elements which joined the Party after it had emerged from underground the Communist Party launched a successful struggle for allies of the working class and, above all, for the working peasantry, to isolate and rout the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties—Liberals, National Peasants, Right Social Democrats—and to carry out democratic reforms and to remove all capitalists and landlords from the government.

The prestige and influence, which the Party won during the days of illegality, grew, and it became the leading, mobilising force of the working people.

However, together with the healthy revolutionary elements who joined the Party after the defeat of the reactionary governments, careerist and opportunist elements began to pour into its ranks, attracted by what Lenin described as the powerful temptation of joining a governmental party. During

this influx of opportunist petty-bourgeois elements who threatened to submerge the proletarian section of the Party and to bring petty-bourgeois influences into its ranks obviously hostile elements penetrated into the Party, seeking to camouflage themselves and to undermine Party organisations from within.

The weak development of vigilance and the insufficient political level of the Party members, as well as alien influences, resulted in the fact that many Party organisations accepted new members without serious verification, deviating from the principle of strict individual admittance. For some time, actually mass admittance into the Party was practised. The Party was experiencing an extremely rapid growth. By the end of 1947, the Party had 750,000 members, of whom only 40 per cent were workers, and the rest small and medium peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia and of urban petty bourgeoisie.

The line laid down by the Party in relation to the questions of Party building was violated and distorted, and the Party leadership failed to combine the struggle waged by it to bring about revolutionary changes with constant control over the carrying out of the line.

The unification of the Communist Party of Rumania with the Social-Democratic Party, in February 1948, played on the whole, a great positive role. At the same time, however, this unification led to a further deterioration in the composition of the Party. The point is that the Social Democratic Party which was a typical petty-bourgeois party and over a long period was at the whim of the bourgeois landlord parties—had an unhealthy social composition.

As a result of all this, elements alien to the working class, dishonest, morally corrupted people, careerists and finally openly hostile elements—fascists, bourgeois nationalists, exploiters, agents of the bourgeois—landlord repressive

apparatus—penetrated into the Party.

As a result of the infiltration of the Party by enemy elements, gross violations of the line and directives of the Party took place: force was used in relation to the medium peasant; the so-called strong farmers, that is, kulaks, were supported; elimination of small artisans and small traders was pursued and it liberal and conciliatory attitude towards the class enemy was adopted. The existence of hostile elements in the Party manifested itself, finally, in the application of alien methods of work in the Party organs: suppression of criticism and self-criticism, methods of compulsion. rejection of collective methods of work, bureaucratism, isolation from the mass and so on.

Our Party succeeded in eliminating these harmful manifestations which were contrary to the Party line, preserved the unity of its ranks rallied around the Central Committee. However. This could not lessen the full seriousness of the task confronting our Central Committee in view of the organisational state of the Party.

This state of affairs demanded that the slightest deviation from the Lenin-Stalin teaching concerning the Party should be eliminated, the rank of the Party rid of hostile and alien elements, the social composition improved, above all, the composition of its cadres, and its growth correctly regulated.

The need to consolidate the Party ranks by means of the verification was dictated also by the important tasks which the transition to building Socialism set before our Party as the leading force of the proletarian dictatorship.

Our first State Plans, 1949 and 1950, started the work of industrialisation of the country. Industrial production began to grow at a pace unprecedented under the bourgeois-landlord system. At present the first Five-Year Plan of the Rumanian People's Republic is being drawn up.

We are faced with the task of Socialist reorganisation of

agriculture. Under the leadership of our Party tens of thousands of peasant farms have taken the path of uniting in large-scale collective farms.

In the sphere of building up the State we are faced with the task of further strengthening the people's democratic State, of preparing for the elections to the People's Councils.

Finally, in the sphere of culture we must eliminate illiteracy, foster the further development of popular education at all levels, disseminate culture and science among the broad masses of the people, in other words, to carry out the cultural revolution which Lenin considered to be the indispensable condition for building Socialism.

The political and economic goals of the Party are indissolubly linked with the central task now confronting all Communist Parties, that of defending peace and rallying all forces against the policy of American and British imperialism which aims at launching a new world war for world domination.

Faced with these great tasks, which are being carried out in conditions when the class struggle is acquiring most varied and ever sharper forms. It is more essential than ever for the Party to be strong by internal unity, uniform in composition, ruthless to every alien influence in its ranks. The further strengthening of the Party and modelling on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), which is a model for all Communist Parties, are the main guarantees of the success of the struggle for Socialism and peace.

Now, after verification, it can be said that the tasks set by the Party have been carried out. Our Rumanian Workers' Party successfully withstood this serious test. We did not hesitate to remove from the Party a large number of members with the view to strengthening the advanced detachment of the proletariat which a genuine party of the Lenin-Stalin type must be.

During verification nearly 192,000 members were expelled—more than 20 per cent of the total membership before verification; of these more than half were expelled as exploiters as enemies and elements alien to the working class, as dishonest people and morally corrupted. The lesser part were people who were only formally Party members, who were not up to the standards demanded of Party members and did not take an active part in Party life.

The social composition of the Party improved as a result of verification. the percentage of workers increased. The leading Party organs (regional, district, etc.) were strengthened; the proportion of workers in the organs has grown. At present nearly 64 per cent of people working in the Party organ are workers. The percentage of workers occupying leading positions in the State organ has also increased considerably.

In connection with the verification, many Party activists and workers in the State organs were relieved of their posts as people who had failed to justify the confidence placed in them, who had become bureaucratic, alienated themselves from the masses, etc. They were replaced by ten of thousands of young, honest and tried comrades.

The verification has considerably enhanced the prestige of the Party and its policy among the masses. Thanks to the participation of non-party workers in the verification meetings, their faith in the Party and their esteem for it, increased, Many non-Party people who attended verification meetings expressed a desire to join its ranks. Very often non-Party working people helped the verifying organs to uncover disguised enemies and dishonest persons in the Party ranks, people unworthy of remaining in the Party. In a number of places the stream of working peasants into collective-farms increased as a result of verification and new collective-farms were established.

Not only our friends but also our enemies see that this verification strengthened the Party and consequently the entire

system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party was fully aware from the very outset that the class enemy would drive to hamper the work of verification of the ranks of the Rumanian Workers' Party. Such actually was the case. The class enemy tried on many occasions to use this verification as a means of compromising honest and loyal members of the Party and help the hostile elements to evade control by the Party organisations. In a number of places the enemy, frantic with hatred, turned directly to terrorism. For example, in the Jassy region kulaks murdered a member of the verification sub-committee. In the Timis district a non-Party activist, member of agricultural workers' union who took part in verification meetings, was murdered by the enemy. The class enemy understands that this verification is a fresh blow against his criminal designs and that it shatters his hopes of forming his agency within the Party.

This verification was a genuine school of vigilance for Party members and non-Party working people. As a result of the verification, Party organs, from the lowest to the highest, as well as Communists employed in the State organs and in the leading organs of the mass organisations, have analysed their work and disclosed serious shortcomings in regard to revolutionary vigilance. Verification has improved the work of the Party organs and Party organisations, intensified criticism and self-criticism. It was a powerful stimulus for the Party Active and for the mass of the membership to study Marxism-Leninism and to master fully the line of our Party and the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B).

The task at present is to avoid complacency in the Party ranks. It would be dangerously naive to think that the class enemy—the Anglo-American imperialists, their Tito agents, the expropriated capitalists, the landlords and kulaks will lay down their arms. On the contrary, there can be no doubt that enemies will multiply their efforts and will resort to ever new

means and methods of penetrating the Party.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, held on May 15-17, pointed out that the Party organisations must regard the struggle for purging the ranks of the Party not as a transient campaign but as the daily full-time task of every Party organisation, every Party organ and every member of the Party individually.

In connection with the completion of the verification, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party has decided to resume the admittance of new members into the Party.

At present, after verification, our Party has a membership of 720,000. The social composition of the Party, as mentioned previously, has improved. However, there still remain people who do not meet with the requirement demanded from a Party member, who do not carry out the Party line on a number of important question of Party policy and who violate Party rules. Therefore the Rumanian Workers' Party regards the following as essential for strengthening its ranks: 1) To continue purging the Party of alien and hostile elements. 2) To strengthen the Party and to regulate its growth in such a way as will ensure predominance of proletarian elements over the non-proletarian.

In resuming enrolment our Party orientates itself mainly on the more advanced and revolutionary elements from among the working class and above all from among those workers who have been in industry for a long time; who actively struggle for the overfulfilment of the State plan and who have attained good results in production, thus proving in practice that they are carrying out the Party line.

The Party will take care that its Rules are strictly adhered to and particularly the principle of individual admission into the Party and the responsibility of those recommending new members for the Party.

According to the Rules, those newly admitted into the

Party will have to spend a certain time as probationers. Various periods have been fixed for the various social categories: six months for industrial workers; one year for workers employed in small enterprises and for small peasants and collective farmers; one and a half years for other categories. Workers should comprise no less than 60 per cent of the new members.

Following steadfastly the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the Party, studying profoundly the great historical experience of the Bolshevik Party and consistently applying this experience, our Party will achieve new successes in the titanic struggle of ensuring the victory of Socialism in our country.

ARMY OF PEACE SUPPORTERS GROWING IN INDIA

(Letter from Bombay)

More and more local and factory peace committees throughout India are being formed daily, despite government and police repression. All sections of the population are being drawn into the campaign which unfolded in response to the appeal of the Stockholm session of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

In Bombay, 500 peace partisans collected 42,000 signatures in the course of the "Peace Week" carried out on the decision of the Permanent Committee of the All-Indian Peace Congress. Bombay partisans of peace:—workers, office employees, doctors, teachers, writers, artists, journalists and scientists—sold 15,000 peace badges carrying the peace doves and distributed 65,000 leaflets in English, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Urdu.

Despite the ban on all public peace meeting and demonstrations by the Bombay Government, several successful meetings were held inside workers chawls (residential quarters).

Those who signed the appeal in Bombay include: editors of Gujarati dailies "Jame Jamsed", "Vante Mataram"; of the weeklies, "Chitrapat", "Chitra Bharat", "Veni", "Begum". "Vatan"; A. H. Kazi, President of the Urdu Journalists' Association, and Z. A. Abbas, Secretary; editors of Urdu dailies, "Inquilab" and "Itihad"; editors of the Marathi daily, "Prabhat" and of the weekly, "Mashal".

The following outstanding writers signed the appeal:

Dr. Mulkraj Anand, Kishen Chander, Ismat Chugati, Balwant Gargi, Kaifi Azmi, Bakulesh, P. K. Atre, Annabhau

Sathe, Shailendra, Nizhar Akatar, Vishwamitra Adil, Habid Tanwir, K. A. Abbas, Ramlal Vakil, Prahlad Parikh and others.

Following the lead of the Haffkins Institute a large number of other doctors and scientists signed the appeal. They include Col. Dagra, Assistant Director of the Haffkins Institute. Dr. L. J. Anand Narayan. Dr. K. Ganapathy, Dr. Santa S. Rao, Dr. A. Venkat Roman, Col. P. B. Bharucha, Head of the Tata Memorial Hospital and other staff members.

The list of film artists include some of the most outstanding actors—Prithvi Raj Kapoor, Raj Kapoor, Dulip Kamur, Dev Anand, K. N. Singh, Jagdish Sethi, Yakoob Khan, Maskar Khan, Mrs. Shebhana Samarth, Miss Suraiya Chaudhary, Gope, Motilal, Suraiya Kumar, Veera, Pramila and Sheikh Mukhtar. Among the directors and producers who signed the appeal are: D. D. Kashyap, Kedar Sharma, Tarachand, A. B. Lal, Sahid Latif, Prakash, Satish, H. D. Vedi, M. L. Anand, Makhanlal, G. K. Pandya, Shanti Kumar, K. P. Sahni and others.

The English language press in Bombay remained silent during the signature campaign. The “Free Press Journal” wrote that the popular campaign against the atom bomb was not “sufficiently newsworthy”. However, on May 2, after the peace week, when thousands of signatures were collected, the newspapers attacked the Partisans of Peace. The Free Press Bulletin” and the newspaper “Nava Kal” published vile slanders against the peace movement.

Diverse and significant are the experiences of the peace partisans. At Kale Wadi (Sewri), an agent of the leaders of the Indian National Trade Union Council remarked to the workers: “Why do you object to war? I would not sign any appeal against war”. A nearby group of textile workers replied: “We know who want war. It is your bosses. When war breaks out they won’t go. It is we and our sons who will be sent to the front. While we are starving, your bosses are minting money. It

is good that these people are gathering signatures against war.” The provocateur quickly slipped away.

A peace squad at Fergusson Road faced a barrage of questions from the Telegu speaking workers (Hyderabad and Andhra): They asked how was it possible to link the struggle for peace with the struggle for bread of which they have none. “Look.” they said, “our people at home (Telengana) have won land as a result of struggle. And they are fighting to keep it. If they stop the fighting, the landlords will come and take it back, This is what they want to prevent.”

The whole Telengana struggle is revealed as in a flash. “Yes, the struggle for land and bread.” the Peace Partisans explained “will continue. The imperialists and their henchmen in India are trying to unleash another war for the very reason that they want to drown this struggle in blood. And we want to stop this war.” The workers were satisfied with the reply and they all signed the appeal.

In refugee camps in Bombay, crowded with refugees from Pakistan, the response was wholehearted.

Scores of policemen in Sewri and Naigaum signed the appeal after they had been approached by women Peace Partisans. Several policemen in Kalyan (a suburb of Bombay) themselves approached the peace canvassers who were hesitating to approach them and gave their signatures.

Many soldiers and ex-service men signed the appeal. A soldier from Warrangal District of Telegana bitterly denounced the military operations against the people in that area and said: “I know that following this action of mine I shall be dismissed from the service. But I am determined to sign it because I hate this war in which I am involved.”

Dozens of Bombay organisations including the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, Indian People’s Theatre Association, Progressive Writers’ Association, Friends of the Soviet Union. Bombay Students’ Union, General Industries

Unions, Tata Oil Mill Employees' Union. Petroleum Workmen's Union, Municipal Kamgar Union. Sien Democratic Youth League and many others play a leading role in the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm appeal.

Ch. G. R.

PLENUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

The Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Denmark, held in Copenhagen on June 3-5, discussed the following questions; 1) The Party in the struggle for peace and freedom. 2) The struggle for the unity of the working class 3) About Party work.

Axel Larsen, Chairman of the Party, who spoke on the first item on the agenda, pointed to the disastrous consequences of the Marshallisation of Denmark and of its adhesion to the North-Atlantic Pact. As a result of the anti-popular policy of the Government, the country's economy is declining, as is evident from the 800 million krons fall in the Danish trade balance.

The speaker stressed that due to its geographical position. the imperialist warmongers have assigned to Denmark the role of distant outpost and spring-board for the aggression being prepared by the American imperialists.

On the tasks of the Party Larsen said: "Our aim is to bring the majority of the Danish people into active and organised struggle for the peace and freedom of Denmark, for democratic rights and for a better life."

POLISH PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE. Ostap Dluski, Member, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party

The collection of signatures for the historic appeal of the Stockholm session of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, organised by the Polish Peace Committee, turned into a grandiose demonstration of all Polish people in defence of a lasting peace. More than ever before, all sections of the Polish people unanimously demonstrated their will to struggle in defence of peace, independence and security of their homeland, and displayed their devotion to eternal alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Eighteen million signatures to the Stockholm appeal were collected in towns and villages! However, the number of signatures alone by no means gives an idea of the power, scale and profound significance of the campaign. The collection of signatures was a mighty means of deepening the political consciousness of the broad masses of the people—the starting point for a universal and continuous movement in defence of peace.

Referring to the memorable words of Comrade Stalin that the social forces standing for peace are too great for the Churchill disciples of aggression to overcome and turn them towards a new war, Comrade Bierut said last year at the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party: "From this it follows that the problem of war, under present conditions, will be decided not in the cabinets of the warmongers and or imperialist diplomats but on the field of struggle between the champions of peace and the instigators of war". "The struggle for peace," Comrade Bierut stressed "can

and must rally under a united banner all patriots, irrespective of their world outlook, religious convictions, etc.” He advanced the task of mobilising all “all-people’s front of workers, peasants and intelligentsia in the struggle for peace”.

The decisions of the Stockholm session of the Permanent Committee facilitated the strengthening of the work of the Polish Peace Committee in creating such an all-people’s front of struggle for peace. The collection of signatures was to serve as a means of mobilising all the people for active, creative work to consolidate people’s Poland, her political, economic and cultural forces, as a sector of the great world-wide peace front headed by the Soviet Union. The aim was, in the course of the campaign, to explain to the broadest masses of the people the real significance of the Stockholm appeal, to reach out to the broad masses, to those people not yet members of social organisations, to representatives of professional workers, artisans, traders, and to religious and non-religious, with **living words** of propaganda and agitation, to help the truth about the U.S.S.R. as a tireless champion of peace to penetrate the consciousness of the broad masses; to inculcate in the people the feeling of solidarity with the partisans of peace throughout the world, with the workers of France, Italy and other capitalist countries, and affection for the great Stalin, the leader of the world camp of peace and the great friend of Poland.

The movement for the prohibition of the atomic weapon embraced all people, regardless of their political convictions, and met with resistance only from imperialist agents. In the campaign for signatures for peace, the aim was to teach all citizens to recognise and hate the enemies of the Polish people, to distinguish friends from enemies; to become conscious of their duty in relation to the common cause of entire progressive mankind. One of the main tasks was to expose the knavish, insidious and hypocritical propaganda of the imperialists and their Tito-Trotskyite agents. It was necessary to raise to a high

level the political consciousness of all people of good will, to rally the Polish people in the work of carrying out the great Six-Year Plan which is the guarantee of the prosperity, well-being, culture and defence capacity of the Polish people.

Such a presentation of this task ruled out mechanical, bureaucratic methods of collecting signatures. The attempts made here and there to confine the campaign of signatures to the so-called voting “by show of hands” or by signing the Stockholm appeal collectively at the place of work, immediately met with a rebuff.

All attempts at administrative pressure were likewise rebuffed. **Each citizen signing the Stockholm appeal had to know and to understand life significance of his signature.**

Consequently, main attention was focused on **individual** explanatory work with each citizen. The collection of signatures was preceded by a large-scale explanatory campaign which lasted over a period of several weeks. The Polish Peace Committee addressed an appeal to the Polish people, which was circulated in millions of copies. The May Day campaign, the “education, book and press week”, the international Warsaw-Prague bicycle race, the preparations for International Children’s Day and for the Peasant Festival—all were closely linked in the struggle for peace and the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal. The Polish Peace Committee issued a million booklets explaining, in popular form, the problems of the struggle for peace, and also issued material for speakers and lectures; a considerable number of posters, peace badges and other materials were circulated.

The collection of signatures was preceded by meetings organised on a large scale. In all big towns throughout Poland, reports were made to large audiences. At every factory, in every village, in offices and in blocks of flats, peace meetings adopted resolutions on the struggle for peace. Many working people offered their services as propagandists and as collectors

of peace signatures. All mass public organisations: trade unions, the Polish Youth Union, the Women's League, peasant co-operatives, unions of writers, artists and students—took part in the work of collecting signatures. The scale of the movement is evident from the fact that the total number of peace committees throughout the country now amounts to 88,000. Local peace committees allocated groups of three to the job of going from house to house, from hut to hut.

Attempts, here and there, to secure signatures with the help of the officials from house managements were nipped in the bud. In very apartment, and in every cottage, the groups of three talked with the tenants, patiently explaining to them the purpose of the campaign, and convincing them. Wherever they failed to convince backward people or people deceived by the enemy, the groups returned once again and continued the explanation. Such cases took place particularly in the countryside where kulak influence still exists or where the reactionary clergy—as distinct from patriot priests who are for peace—deceived the people.

In the course of the campaign, 136,000 of these groups of three were formed. In all, 730,000 activists took part in the campaign. The majority are non-Party, and each group contains representatives of the women, youth and trade union organisations. Within three weeks of the collection of signatures those groups penetrated into every corner of Poland, into every village and into every house. Local peace committees also issued appeals, leaflets and posters.

The campaign for signatures embraced everybody. At the same time, tens of thousands of statements and letters poured into the peace committees. Hundreds of declarations by professors, scientists and writers were published. Five hundred and eighty seven higher school teachers addressed an open letter to American scientists calling upon them to enter into struggle against the warmongers.

Workers and peasants, assumed production obligations on a mass scale in the main of defending peace. The campaign of the so-called peace work-shifts also developed in a big way. Young scholars pledged themselves to study better.

The enemies of the people, agents of the American imperialists sought wherever they could—and they could do little—to retard the remarkable development of the movement for peace. In the course of the campaign concealed and masked enemy agents were exposed, such, for example, as religious sects (incidentally few in number) as “Jehova’s Witnesses”, which proved to be an agency of American imperialism. Kulaks and urban and rural speculators made attempts to conduct propaganda among certain groups of the population. The reactionary section of the Catholic hierarchy and also those priests under its influence tried, by demagoguery, to prevent a section of the laity from participation in the campaign for peace. But all these and similar attempts were nipped in the bud by the firm unanimous stand of the overwhelming majority of the public.

The majority of the clergy expressed itself in defence of peace. Nearly a thousand priests took an active part in the collection of signatures. Here are a number of typical statements by Roman-Catholic priests. Father Ksionzek from Koszolin writes: “I want to see my country rehabilitated and I love my country. That is why for me the struggle for peace is as important as for every other Pole. Certain Roman-Catholic priests in Western Germany who demand the revision of our Oder-Neisse border should realise that this border is a border of peace, the guarantee of the development of good-neighbourly relations between the Polish and the German peoples. I am in full solidarity with the peaceful decisions of the Stockholm Congress and I believe that by uniting the forces of all progressive mankind we shall secure a stable peace”. Father Berent, the Roman, Catholic priest, from Krotoszyn writes:

“As a Catholic priest, I am profoundly convinced that not a single one of my parishioners will remain aloof from the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal. This is a noble and wise appeal”.

The stand of active struggle for peace taken by the Catholic masses has frustrated all attempts of the Episcopacy to sow confusion among the laity. The latter branded the refusal of bishops to sign the Stockholm appeal, made under the pretext that in the Declaration of April 14 this year, concerning the agreement with the government, the Bishops stated that “in keeping with the teaching of the Polish Roman-Catholic Church, the Episcopacy will support all aspirations aimed at strengthening peace. It will oppose, as far as it can, any strivings to unleash war”. On the contrary, this declaration obliges patriotic Roman Catholic priests to take an even more active part in the campaign for signatures.

The arguments advanced by the whispering propaganda of the enemy clearly testify to the weakness of the imperialist agents faced with the firm stand of the peace supporters. They did not dare openly oppose the Stockholm appeal and, circulating rumours about the “end of the world”, they tried to convince peasants that it is not a matter of the atom bomb but of taxes and collective farms. Peace committees penetrated everywhere where such “propaganda” was circulated, and our “groups of three” exposed in calm and friendly discussion the lies of the saboteurs.

The splendid results of the campaign for signatures evoked joy and enthusiasm among the population. In towns and districts where these results were announced, great popular demonstrations took place, demonstrations which constitute a starting point for further work in connection with the preparations for the Polish peace Congress to be held on September 1, and also for the Second World Peace Congress. In Lodz, for example, 250,000 took part in the popular

festivities.

Thus, the completion of the campaign for the collection of signatures does not mean the weakening of the movement in defence of peace. Peace committees are now launching upon the preparations for the election of delegates to the All-Polish peace congress. The Polish Peace Committee is preparing a booklet on the results of the campaign for signatures and on the further tasks of the peace committees. This booklet will be issued in three million copies. Peace committees set themselves the task of consolidating the enormous successes of the movement for peace, of drawing broad masses of the people, particularly the section which has so far stood aloof, into active political life, into the work of economic construction and of developing people's Poland.

It is a matter of honour and pride for every Pole to consolidate as far as he or she can, and in the closest alliance with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and in friendship with the German Democratic Republic, the Polish sector of the world front of the struggle to strengthen peace for the happiness of all mankind.

**UNDER THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM. Stefan Bastovansky,
General Secretary, Communist Party of
Slovakia, Member, Presidium Central
Committee, Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia**

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia (C.P.S.), held at the end of May, was the Congress of the best builders of Socialist Slovakia, a great festival for the Slovak people. Two major facts made this Congress particularly significant. First, the Ninth Congress of the C.P.S. summarised the results of the struggle and labour which are giving birth to the new, happy, Socialist Slovakia, revealed the great successes achieved by the Slovak people under the leadership of the working class—at the head of which is the Communist Party—in the five years of free life in People's Democratic Czechoslovakia. Congress also laid down the further tasks of Slovak Communists in the carrying out of the general line of building Socialism in Czechoslovakia, put forward a year ago by Comrade Gottwald at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Second, the Ninth Congress of the C.P.S. marked the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the victory of the general line of the Party, consistently carried out in Slovakia by the Central Committee of the C.P.S., headed by Comrade Siroky, against the bourgeois-nationalist deviation which had its advocates also in the highest Party organs in Slovakia. The Ninth Congress displayed very convincingly the might and

indissoluble unity of the Party, closely rallied round the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, round Comrade Gottwald. The Ninth Congress brought great disappointment to the enemies of our people, to the enemies of Socialism, because it shattered all their hopes of sowing confusion in our Party. The Ninth Congress gave convincing proof of the fact that the C.P.S. was a loyal and reliable unit of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

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Appraising the big successes achieved in the development of the economy and culture of the Slovak people, Comrade Siroky, Chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia, pointed out in his report that compared with 1937, industrial output in Slovakia was 121.4 per cent in 1946, 167.8 per cent in 1947, 195.7 per cent in 1948, and 227.2 per cent in 1949. In the current year, industrial production will be almost three times the 1937 level. By the end of 1949, thirty two new large and medium enterprises went into operation in Slovakia and this year another 23 enterprises will be put into operation. The numerical strength of the working class has doubled, but, as pointed out by Comrade Siroky, figures fail to express the growth in consciousness and maturity of the working class compared with pre-war.

This is illustrated by facts such as the unparalleled development of the activities of the working people in production, the widespread use of new labour methods, the movement of innovators and rationalisers, the development of Socialist emulation and shock work.

Thanks to the patriotic movement of the working people, which unfolded in honour of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, labour productivity, since the beginning of this year increased by 16.6 per cent. Industrial

output tops the Plan by 10.2 per cent. In industry alone, there are now 31,000 shock workers.

The working peasants and the landless peasants received hundreds of thousands of hectares of landlord land. In the last three years, Slovak agriculture received considerably more tractors than in the previous 10 years. In 1949, crop yields of all cultures were higher than pre-war. The working peasantry, emancipated from speculators—middlemen, capitalist credits and exploiters, have increased their incomes several times over. The collective cultivation of the soil enables the small and middle peasant to increase considerably agricultural output and to improve their living conditions. By April 15, Slovakia had 956 unified peasant co-operatives and 528 preparatory committees. This means that the two forms now embrace 44 per cent of all the rural village. Eighty two thousand peasants have joined the unified co-operatives.

The successes in economic development have given a sound basis for big cultural development. The doors of all schools, from the lowest to the highest, have been opened to the children of the working people in Slovakia. In 1949-1950, Slovakia had 116,000 more school children than in 1937. The new Slovak culture, national in form and Socialist in content, is bearing fruit. Slovakia now publishes twenty times more books than before the liberation. Last year a total of 14,000,000 books was published. The demand is especially great for the classics of Marxism-Leninism, for the works of Comrade Gottwald and also for special literature.

The national income of Slovakia increased up to 142 per cent in the period from 1946 to 1949 and in the course of 1950 will rise to 163 per cent. The wage fund in 1949 was 108 per cent over that of 1946. The demand for consumer goods and foodstuffs is growing rapidly and continuously.

Such are the results of the movement along the new path which the people of Slovakia have taken, the results of the

correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Slovakia was able to take this joyous path of all-round development of national life, the path of building Socialism, only because Czechoslovakia was liberated by the heroic Soviet Army, only because of the experience and effective systematic aid rendered by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the brilliant leader and teacher of all working people.

That was why the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia expressed fervent affection, gratitude and loyalty to the mighty Soviet Union, the glorious C.P.S.U. (B) and to the great Stalin.

Slovakia was able to take this path to prosperity only because it found in the Czech working class, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a reliable champion of its national freedom and equality. In the unity of the working class of Czechoslovakia lies the guarantee of the fraternal, equal co-operation of the Czech and Slovak peoples, an equality based on the principles of the Lenin-Stalin national policy. As illustrated by the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Slovak Communists and working people are well aware that Slovakia was able to achieve such swift development of its material and cultural forces because Socialist industrialisation in Slovakia relies on the aid of the developed industry of the Czech lands, on the powerful technical resources of the Czech economy.

Therefore the Ninth Congress of the C.P.S. was a joyous manifestation of the inviolable unity of the Czechoslovak working class, a demonstration of affection and loyalty to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to Comrade Gottwald.

Congress also showed that the Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian population in Czechoslovakia have no desire for mistrust or animosity, that they want in friendly spirit and

under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to build up their country—Socialist Czechoslovakia.

At the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia there triumphed the idea of proletarian internationalism, of fraternal co-operation of the peoples, a determination to struggle resolutely and tirelessly against the imperialist aggressors, to strengthen the camp of democracy, Socialism and peace headed by the U.S.S.R. and Comrade Stalin.

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Slovakia was able to achieve these important successes in Socialist construction also because the Party has fought insistently and tirelessly against the bourgeois-national deviation in its own ranks.

The ideology of bourgeois nationalism was introduced into the Communist Party of Slovakia, by Comrades Husak and Novomesky who admitted their mistakes at the Congress; later, its adherents included the leading Party members, Clementis and Smidke. Bourgeois nationalists, who dominated the leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia right up to the Zilina Conference (August 11-12, 1945), caused serious harm to the people of Slovakia even during the national liberation struggle and the Slovak popular uprising. After the liberation of the country, the bourgeois national conceptions of Husak, Novomesky and Smidke led to the fact that in the struggle of the Slovak working class and working people against reaction, for ensuring the progressive development of Slovakia, the Communist Party of Slovakia did not fully rely on the Czech working class and on the Government in which the leading role belonged to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Bourgeois nationalists, on the contrary, helped reaction to weaken the influence exercised by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and by the Government in the Slovak national

organs. In this way bourgeois nationalists in the Communist Party of Slovakia combined their efforts with those of the representatives of Slovak reaction on the basis of “national interests” against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Simultaneously, the then leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia was scornful about the realisation of the Kosice Government programme, particularly in carrying out such important undertakings as the agrarian reform, nationalisation of industry and banks, establishment of National Committees and the solution of other vital economic and social problems.

The results of this incorrect policy were revealed in the flirt that after the liberation of the country the development of the progressive and democratic forces in Slovakia received a setback, and the insolence and activity of reaction increased, thus making Slovakia a weak link in the Republic.

Proceeding from the anti-Marxist assumption that there would be no class struggle in the liberated Republic, Comrades Husak and Novomesky in Slovakia adhered to the erroneous conception of a national front as a coalition of the two political parties. These comrades had forgotten the Lenin-Stalin teaching about the need to secure the hegemony of the working class in the national-liberation struggle and in the democratic revolution. Comrades Husak and Novomesky built the Communist Party of Slovakia not as a party of the working class, a party of the Lenin-Stalin type, but as that of the progressive petty bourgeois intelligentsia.

The adherents of the bourgeois-nationalist deviation did not understand the significance of a united planned economy administered from a single centre. They prevented the consistent application of the Bolshevik principle of democratic centralism in building the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. They learned nothing at all even from the February events of 1948. The great transformation in the life of Slovakia, as pointed out by Comrade Siroky, changed only their arguments,

the form, but did not eliminate the essence of their incorrect conceptions on the solution of the national question.

To-day, the nationalist deviation in the Communist Party of Slovakia consists in overestimating its own successes in Socialist construction and underrating the achievements of the Czech working class; in its indifference to general State problems and its failure to understand that its own achievements are conditioned by successes in Socialist construction throughout the Republic. Bourgeois nationalism, which is the greatest ideological danger in the present phase of the transition to Socialism, slurs over the sharpening class struggle, undermines the line of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside, leads to a harmful conciliatory and unprincipled practice on the question of training and allocating cadres, immobilises the Party and the working class and gives rise to injurious and dangerous moods and complacency and conceit.

The bourgeois-nationalist deviation of Comrades Husak Novomesky and also Clementis, has its roots in a non-Marxist, non-Leninist attitude towards the Party and the working class.

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia and in particular the analysis of the nationalist deviation made by Comrade Siroky and the discussions on the report constitute a great political school, a most important lesson for the entire Party. Congress showed that criticism and self-criticism are developing in our Party; that the Party is learning how to use this magnificent and effective Bolshevik weapon.

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The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia advanced vital tasks in the sphere of industry and agriculture, and also in the sphere of organisational building and ideological consolidation of the Party. It undoubtedly marked

an important stage not only for our Party but also for all the people of Slovakia on their path towards Socialism.

YUGOSLAV ARMY IN THE POWER OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS. Mihaly Farkas, Deputy General Secretary, Hungarian Workers' Party

It can now be stated as a fact that during World War Two the Anglo-American imperialist military circles planted their agents in Yugoslavia, then suffering under German occupation, both in the Royal “resistance” forces and in the leadership of the heroic liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people. Both, the Royal General, Mikhailovic, and Tito were in the service of the Anglo-Americans. The first was assigned to defend the “Royal interests”. Tito received from his imperialist masters the task: **to prevent the leadership of the liberation struggle of the Yugoslav peoples from passing into the hands of honest Communists devoted to the people. As is known, by removing and murdering tried Communists, Tito carried out this task and by means of violence and terrorist methods he took the leadership into his own hands.**

The Anglo- American imperialists thus sought to kill two birds with one stone. In the event of Churchill’s “great strategic design” being realised, that is, if the Soviet Union had emerged from the war weakened and, in this case, the Anglo-American imperialists had been able to dictate peace, then Mikhailovic, or to be precise, the King, would have been restored to power in Yugoslavia and in this way the defence of the interests of the Anglo-American imperialists in Yugoslavia would have been secured. In the event of Churchill’s “great strategic plan” failing and the Soviet Union emerging the victor from the war against German fascism, winning for itself a place of honour in settling the post-war situation in Europe, the imperialists would have “relinquished” Mikhailovic and would have given the necessary help to another agent—Tito. With the help of Tito

and his gang the Anglo-American imperialists hoped, above all, to prevent the working people from coming to power in Yugoslavia. They wanted Yugoslavia to develop, not along the line of People's Democracy and Socialism. but in a reactionary direction. The imperialists wanted, with the help of Tito and his accomplices to send their agents into the camp of Socialism with the aim of undermining it from within.

And actually, when the valiant Soviet Army completely, irrevocably and radically changed the course of the war—as a result of the victorious realisation of the brilliant Stalin strategic plan in the historic battle of Stalingrad—the intelligence service organs of the Anglo-American imperialists also **changed their tactics** in Yugoslavia.

Thereafter, Mikhailovic began to get less help and Tito—I emphasise this—only Tito and his gang began to receive aid on **an ever increasing scale.**

I.

Even during the liberation struggle of the Yugoslav people, Tito and his gang, seized every opportunity **to exterminate true and tried Communists.** Tito deliberately directed his “military operations” in a way which ensured that units of the Yugoslav people's army, headed by reliable and faithful commanders devoted to the people and consisting in the main of old fighters experienced in the class struggle and loyal to the ideas of Socialism, should be sent to the most dangerous theatre of operations where they were bound to suffer the heaviest losses. By this treacherous “method” Tito and his gang eliminated thousands of the best and boldest Communists, excellent officers of partisan units, so that when the time came for open desertion to the imperialist camp, there should be no serious force in the army to prevent open treachery.

The “tactics” of mass extermination of Communist soldiers

and officers were taken by Tito from McLean, the British intelligence Colonel who was later given the rank of Brigadier General for his “service” in Yugoslavia, and also from Randolph Churchill—the hardened British spy and warmonger. On the “counsel” of the agents of the Anglo-American imperialists, Tito eliminated the best proletarian brigades by means of these tactics. Comrade Popivoda, in an article published in the journal “For a Socialist Yugoslavia”, proved this to the hilt.

During the national liberation war, Randolph Churchill spent a long time with the staff of the 8th Army Corps, which was commanded by the hero Colonel Vlado Detkovic. Vlado Detkovic was one of those Communist commanders who boldly opposed the Anglo-American intelligence officers and refused to carry out their orders. Just prior to the seventh offensive, Randolph Churchill insisted that Detkovic should, irrespective of the cost, defend the village of Ticevo. Aware that the enemy outnumbered his forces seven-fold, Detkovic ignored this instruction and ordered his troops to retreat.

Randolph Churchill’s aim was clear. He insisted upon Detkovic defending Ticevo to enable the attacking German fascist detachments to destroy the 8th Corps. Because Detkovic did not carry out Randolph Churchill’s order, Tito relieved him of his command and sent a plane to fetch him. On the way to Tito, the plane carrying Detkovic was attacked by British military aircraft and shot down. Alongside the plane was the body of Colonel Detkovic, hero of the Yugoslav partisan war. In this way Tito and his gang exterminated honest officers and soldiers of the Yugoslav people’s army who had no intention of acting on the orders of the Anglo-American imperialists.

But this was only the beginning. After the war, Tito and his gang elaborated a detailed, foul scheme—how, in the new situation, to purge the Yugoslav people’s army of those officers

who selflessly fought for the freedom of the people, for the Socialist future of Yugoslavia and for alliance with the great Soviet Union.

In the spring of 1945, the Yugoslav Government amnestied the bandits who had served in Chetnik units. At a meeting presided over by Tito, the Yugoslav General Staff ratified an order concerning the re-admittance into the army, following the amnesty, of former Chetniks and Royal officers who received their old rank. At the same time Communist officers devoted to the people were discharged en masse from the army, along with hundreds and thousands of other heroes of the liberation war. Certainly, all this was not accomplished without resistance. By terror and fraud the blood-thirsty fascist butcher, Rankovic, and the fascist “ideologist”; Djilas. carried out Tito’s fascist order. The Djilas propaganda machine explained “times have changed and, therefore, the experienced cadres should be switched over to civilian work.” In keeping with Tito’s orders, fascist-officers and Chetniks flooded the Yugoslav army at that time, that is, as early as 1945. For example, in this way rabid reactionaries were taken into the staffs of four Belgrade brigades and five brigades in Voevodina.

Lieutenant General Pjetr Drapin, Commander of the armoured and motorised units, resolutely objected to flooding the Yugoslav people’s army with fascist officers. In 1946, Lieutenant General Drapin died suddenly. He was killed by Rankovic’s janissaries on the order of Tito, and to avoid suspicion. Drapin was buried with full military honours.

In 1946, Tito and his gang delivered another blow of the Communist officers of the Yugoslav Army who were devoted to the people. Under the pretext of increasing their military knowledge, Tito issued an order under which officers were obliged, in a short period of time, to pass examinations according to the standards required by their particular rank. Tito’s order was followed by secret directives from Rankovic

and Lieutenant-General Vukmanovic, the essence of which was as follows: to be particularly strict with popular Communist officers, to do everything possible to see that they fail at the examinations.

This directive had catastrophic consequences. Hundreds of officers of worker and peasant origin, who had fought heroically during the war and had distinguished themselves by their valour, and who proved in many bloody battles that they were worthy of holding commanding posts in the Yugoslav people's army, "failed" in these examinations. Incidentally, in Hungary too, Rajk the inveterate enemy of the Hungarian people, and Tito spy, similarly, wanted to remove officers of working class and peasant origin from the Hungarian police. Thanks to the vigilance of the Party and of Comrade Rakosi, the fascist methods of Rajk were exposed in good time. Rajk failed to apply the Rankovic methods to the Hungarian police.

II.

Who are the people who took the place of the Communist officers driven out of the Yugoslav army?

Josip Cherny, admiral of the Yugoslav navy who, prior to the war, was an officer of the Royal navy. Following the capitulation he sought refuge with the British in Alexandria. On the instructions of the British intelligence service he returned to Yugoslavia in 1943. In 1947 there were many signs testifying that Josip Cherny was engaged in espionage for Britain. Written evidence testifying to his espionage activities was provided. But not a hair of Cherny's head suffered, and at present he is one of Tito's most trusted men.

During the war against the Soviet Union, an important role in the offensive of the German fascist troops at Kerch was played by Lieutenant-Colonel Bonaci, Ustashi and naval officer. In 1947 this fascist war criminal was arrested.

.However, immediately after the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, he was released and given a high post in the navy.

Voekoslav Krishanie, a colonel in the Royal army, worked directly with Pavelic and also took part in the war against the Soviet Union. At present, Krishanie has an important position in the Yugoslav army.

Suleiman Filipovic, a lieutenant-colonel in the Croat fascist army has been given the rank of colonel and is an instructor in the Yugoslav army.

Mirku Meric, a colonel in the Croat units which fought on the side of German fascists at Stalingrad, a fascist war criminal also occupies a leading post in the Yugoslav army.

Zdal, a Croat air force officer, now a leading commander in the Yugoslav air force—was decorated several times by Hitler for his “services” in the war against the Soviet Union.

Lieutenant-General Mikhailo Apostolsky—deputy chief of the Macedonian General Staff—was an Anglo-American agent even before the war.

Major-General Batja Milic, a trotskyite, was first a French and then a Gestapo agent. In 1941, with the help of the Gestapo, he returned to Yugoslavia to carry out a special assignment.

Major-General Vekoslav Klishanin is a former, lieutenant-colonel of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Royal army and Chief of Staff of a Pavelic army corps.

During the war he was captured by the partisans, with the help of Goshnjak, this lieutenant-colonel in the Royal army was accepted into the Tito party and given a responsible post in the Yugoslav army.

Even before their open treachery, the Tito fascists, as is confirmed by facts, had carried out a radical change in the officer corps of the Yugoslav Army and, following the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau, they

made even more radical changes. When the Information Bureau ripped the mask from Tito and his gang and, by numerous facts, had proved to the world that the present leaders of Yugoslavia are the most dangerous agents of Anglo-American imperialists and war provocateurs, the Tito fascists began the physical extermination of the Communist officers and Generals. They killed in cold blood Colonel-General Arso Jovanovic, the legendary hero of the liberation struggle of the people of Yugoslavia and one of the most talented army leaders. Colonel General Zuovic, popular leader of the working class and working people of Yugoslavia, one of the outstanding organisers of the war for national liberation, has been thrown into prison. Today, thousands of Yugoslav officers who refused to turn traitor, who valiantly upheld the principles of proletarian internationalism and who fought against the traitors—Tito and his gang—are languishing in prisons and concentration camps organised on the Hitler model.

III.

Having carried out these changes in the officer corps of the Yugoslav army, the Titoites are deliberately driving a wedge between the people and the army. They have filled the Yugoslav officer corps with Chetniks, fascist officer-adventurers, Anglo-American spies, with commanders of capitalist-kulak origin, for the purpose of using the army for the oppression of the working class and the entire working people of Yugoslavia.

But Tito and his gang are evidently far from satisfied with the number of fascist officers taken back into the Yugoslav army. Therefore, Yugoslav representatives in Western Germany have opened special offices for recruiting German fascist officers into the Yugoslav army. According to West German newspapers, over a hundred German fascist pilots

have arrived in Yugoslavia where they serve as officer-instructors. British, U.S. and French military “experts” have also arrived in Yugoslavia and have taken up their duties in the General Staff of the Yugoslav army.

All these facts show that the Yugoslav army is under the leadership of the fascist officers. With their help, Tito and his gang have actually succeeded in placing the Yugoslav army in the hands of the Anglo -American imperialists.

But the Titoites are not only replacing the officers’ corps; parallel with this they are making a radical change in the entire outlook of the army. By means of terror, Rankovic janissaries and Vukmanovic provocateurs are destroying everything that might link the officers and men of the Yugoslav army with the glorious Soviet Army, to whom the peoples of Yugoslavia are, in great measure, indebted for their liberation. Propaganda is carried on within the ranks of the Yugoslav army against the Soviet Union, the People’s Democracies and their leaders. The fascist bandits are now openly saying in the Yugoslav army that it is necessary to prepare for war against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies. Titoite officers are cynically framing their men in this anti-Soviet spirit.

The Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies are being basely and provocatively slandered in the Yugoslav army. Vukmanovic provocateurs resort to the most vile means “to prove” that the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies allegedly threaten the independence of Yugoslavia.

Soldiers are not told anything about the imperialist instigators of war. Vukmanovic’s so-called “political officers” portray the imperialist warmongers as friends and the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies as enemies. The rank and file soldiers of the Yugoslav army are being poisoned by nationalism in order to prepare them as cannon fodder for the Anglo-American imperialists.

Following the above-mentioned changes in the

composition of the officer corps, the Anglo-American warmongers began to equip the Yugoslav army. A secret agreement was signed between Tito and the American imperialists whereby Americans will supply Tito with a large amount of the German armaments which fell into American hands in Western Germany. The secret agreement is in operation: army equipment from Western Germany is being sent to Yugoslavia and Anglo-American officers are taking the leadership of the Yugoslav army more and more into their own hands.

IV.

To-day, Yugoslavia is not only an international espionage centre of Anglo-American imperialism. To-day, Titoite-fascist Yugoslavia is one of the most dangerous hotbeds in Europe of the warmongers. Relying on Titoite-fascist Yugoslavia and utilising it, American imperialism strangled the heroic struggle of the Democratic People's Army of Greece. Banking on the use of the armed forces of Titoite-fascist Yugoslavia, the Anglo-American imperialists wanted to overthrow the people's democratic system in Albania, Hungary and Bulgaria. With the help of their spies—Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj and Djilas—the Anglo-American imperialists wanted to begin armed intervention against the young People's Democracies. That all this has failed is due solely to the fact that the Communist Parties in the People's Democracies are following the directives of Comrade Stalin about Bolshevik vigilance. That is why it was possible to expose the foul designs of the Titoites and their imperialist masters in good time.

Alsop, the foreign affairs commentator of the "New York Herald Tribune" wrote from Belgrade recently that, for America, Tito is a more loyal ally than other countries in Western Europe. In Alsop's view this is easily explained, in the West European countries, parties sympathetically disposed

towards the Soviet Union may come to power and, in view of this, governments might be formed which would conduct a policy of agreement with the Soviet Union. In the case of Tito this danger does not exist, writes the American correspondent, since he is the enemy of the Soviet Union in the real sense of the word, he cannot and does not wish to come to an agreement with the Soviet Union. This assertion of the American journalist hits the bull's eye. But Alsop errs when he contuses Tito with the people of Yugoslavia. Tito and his gang really are the enemies of the Soviet Union, enemies of the People's Democracies, enemies of peace and human progress. But the peoples of Yugoslavia do not want to serve the interests of Anglo-American imperialism. The peoples of Yugoslavia want peace and progress. They wish to live in close friendship and in alliance with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

There are increasing signs to show that the struggle of the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia is not slackening even in the army. Tito and Rankovic can re-admit into the army hundreds and thousands of fascist officers, but this will not save the Tito clique from their doom. By doing so they only add fuel to the flames, for this must inevitably sharpen, and has already sharpened, animosity between the soldiers and the re-admitted fascist officers on the one hand, and on the other, leads to the formation within the officer corps of two hostile camps. Soldiers and officers in the Yugoslav army who are loyal to the people, who think and act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, are gaining strength and forming their organisations. The future belongs to the ever-growing anti-imperialist and anti-Titoites forces. To support and encourage the soldiers and officers of the Yugoslav army who remain loyal to the people, to create militant antifascist organisations in the Yugoslav army—these are decisive conditions for the victory of the Yugoslav working people over the Tito-fascist gang.

FAILURE OF TITOITE PROVOCATION IN PARIS

In France, where the police beat up democrats and take fascists under their wing, it is not at all surprising that the Titoites, too, enjoy police protection. The close contact of the Tito clique with the imperialist intelligence services is now an open secret, and also the fact that this fascist clique can “increase” its influence in the West only with the assistance of the bourgeois State apparatus.

Recently, the hirelings of the Belgrade fascist clique have more than once attempted, with the direct participation of the Yugoslav Embassy, to hold their so-called “public meetings” in Paris. But all of these failed despite the assistance of Zilliacus, former member of the British Parliament and ill-famed agent of the warmongers, who was specially summoned to Paris for the occasion.

The other day, Tito’s hirelings made a fresh attempt to hold a “public meeting” in Paris in the premises of the Scientists’ Society. The meeting was to serve the aims of propaganda tours by French youth in Yugoslavia. Nearly one hundred Titoites turned up at the meeting. A strict check was made upon all who attempted to enter and only known supporters were allowed in to attend the “public meeting”. On learning of this fascist-Titoite meeting a crowd of several hundred democrats and peace supporters demonstrated outside the hall.

Nearly a thousand policemen were quartered in the vicinity of the hall. When cries of “Tito the murderer!”, “To the gallows with the fascist Tito!” resounded from the crowd, the police fell upon the demonstrators and began to baton them. However, the crowd of hundreds reassembled on a nearby boulevard, shouting with renewed vigour. “Tito the murderer!”, “We want peace!”. The police again attacked the

demonstrators, beating up all who came in their way, including passers-by. As a result of these brutalities, 35 people were injured and 15 arrested.

The anti-Tito demonstration of the Parisians continued on the Boulevard Saint-Germain until late at night. During all, this time, the Titoites were kept in the hall, barricaded and guarded by the police. Finally, they left through the rear exit, escorted by police.

There were about ten policemen to every Titoite! This extraordinary proportion speaks volumes, and, above all, first the fact that despite frantic efforts by the imperialist intelligence services, not more than a hundred Tito agents could be mustered in the whole of Paris. Second, this proportion shows quite clearly that the Tito agency is fully exposed. Third, it testifies to the strength of the people's indignation, and that in future, too, every attempt of the Titoites to deceive the people will be frustrated even should every Titoite be guarded by a whole police battalion.

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE ORGANISATIONAL WORK OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY. Auguste Lecoeur, Secretary, French Communist Party

The urgent task of the moment in France is to transform the unmistakable desire of the masses of the people for peace into resolute and all-round action against the imperialist aggressors and their war preparations.

Everything testifies to the fact that the policy of the French Communist Party exercises great influence, among the masses. But the general activities of the Party in the struggle to save peace do not correspond to the urgent requirements of the moment. There is a disparity between defining the policy of the Party and carrying it out. One of the reasons for this is the shortcomings in organisational work.

We have a Party with hundreds of thousands of members, with capable, selfless, devoted and staunch Party cadres. Our Party has a firm basis among all strata of the population and in the most remote villages. We must make better use of this wealth, striving for an even greater coordination between policy and practice, between decisions and their realisation.

The Twelfth Congress of the Party showed that the posing of the question of organising work now would help not only to rectify the situation in one or another sphere of the Party's activities but brings about an improvement and a complete renewal in the methods of work, puts an end to routine, aimlessness and abstract methods of leadership.

In a number of federations there are Communists who, instead of being popular leaders closely linked with the basic organisations and the people, and of finding concrete organisational forms to carry out the Party's policy, devote themselves to a thousand and one bureaucratic details.

These shortcomings are even more pronounced in the countryside. In certain cantons, Party organisations work irregularly. From time to time a few posters and leaflets are issued and meetings organised, after which life comes to a standstill for months.

At present, when it is necessary to make the utmost effort in explanatory work, for mobilising the masses, and for unfolding the struggle for peace, the Party and its members must do everything possible to rectify these shortcomings.

In the struggle for peace (and this should be stressed above all) the best possible results can be achieved only when all forces of the working class resolutely join the struggle. This means that Communists should develop their work, above all, wherever there are workers. That is why one of the main tasks of the Communists is to ensure the work of the factory branches and to form new factory branches wherever they do not exist. The Communist Party is the party of the working class. Without a factory organisation the Party cannot successfully fulfil its tasks. In the struggle for peace, the Party which has no factory organisation is deprived of its main weapon.

The Twelfth Congress of the French Communist Party disclosed considerable shortcomings in this sphere. For example, at the beginning of 1950 there were 314 fewer factory branches in the Seine Department than in 1947; in the Bouches-du-Rhone, 256 less than in 1945. These figures reflect a general tendency.

What is the reason for this? Is it only a matter of organisation? The main reason for this is the hangover mistakes of an "economist" nature which lead to obscuring the need for political struggle in the factories. True, substantial results were achieved on the basis of economic slogans. In the course of the economic struggle, workers succeeded in establishing a link between the policy of war preparations

pursued by the Government and the Marshallised parties and the worsening in the conditions of the working people.

The struggle for economic demands is but part of the struggle which must be waged in the factories; the trade unions are successfully directing this economic struggle.

But it would be a serious mistake for Communists to regard economic demands as the sole means of political struggle against the Government and the capitalist system. The main task of the Party branches, including the factory organisations, is to wage struggle proceeding from political tasks. It is necessary to rally the working people, to effect unity of action, to show to the working people the perspective of struggle, not restricting oneself to demands for higher wages but always having in view the destruction of capitalism, the re-organisation of society on a Socialist basis.

This is precisely what workers expect from us and this is precisely what we deny them when we neglect the formation of factory branches wherever possible, or when we let the existing branches wallow in mistakes of economism and become substitute trade union organisations.

Are the working people ready to effect united action on the basis of political slogans? Numerous examples, for instance, Communist Party the results of the recent elections in Aiguebelle, Luzarches, Houdain and other places enable one to reply to this in the affirmative. In these cantons, thousands of working people secured the election of our candidates in the second round of the cantonal elections. It is clear that the working people who voted for our candidates and for our programme want to end the policy of subordination to the American imperialists; they want a government which will take care of the needs of the people, a government of peace and democratic unity.

This is also evident from another example: in Lyons, the factory workers who had not participated in the struggle for a

3,000 franc increase in wages, declared a strike in protest against the foul laws and against the removal of our Comrades Musmeaux and Duprat from the sessions of the National Assembly.

These facts show that workers want actively to participate in every political event. At the same time they show that factory branches must help workers to orientate themselves in all political questions arising in the struggle for peace, in the struggle against the unloading, transportation and production of war materials; in the unfolding struggle for the prohibition of the atomic weapon—this weapon of oppression and mass extermination of people.

Of course, practical difficulties can arise, particularly during repressions, which will hamper the work of factory branches. However, at some enterprises, factory newspapers and leaflets can be circulated at factory gates by members of the street organisation or by the workers of another enterprise. In those enterprises where, according to the section and federation leaders, there are no Party members, it is necessary to ensure that Communists get work there and to place before the street organisation or the local branch of the Party the task of forming a factory branch.

In this respect the decisions of the Twelfth Congress are beginning to yield their results. For example, the federation in the Seine Department reported recently on the formation of 106 new factory branches in the Paris region and that several dozens more will be formed shortly. These are substantial results. However, in the Seine Department there are thousands of enterprises (among them 1,800 factories each with 50 and more workers) where there are no factory branches. Thus, the work started in this direction must be resolutely continued.

The improvement in the work of the Party in enterprises will result in a favourable change in the proletarian composition of our leading organs and the quality of our Party

cadres. The work in a factory branch, that is the daily struggle face to face with the class enemy, steels the Party cadres, developing in them the necessary qualities of working class leaders. The improvement in our work at enterprises will also make it possible to re-invigorate the Party with young revolutionary-minded workers, as is the case, for example, at the Renault Works where, during the Stalin birthday celebrations, factory branches accepted into the Party nearly 262 workers, most of whom are under 25.

The new members accepted into the Party during the Stalin birthday celebrations are healthy, militant and revolutionary elements of the town and countryside. For the first time in several years, the recruitment into the Party considerably exceeded the number of representatives of medium, non-proletarian sections which left the Party. This replenishment has not only contributed to the numerical growth of the Party but has improved its social composition and brought new young and healthy forces into the Party.

Thus, our Party is now better equipped to deliver decisive blows at the instigators of a new war and those responsible for poverty, who, in a desire to save their capitalist privileges, do not hesitate to shed the blood of the enslaved peoples in an aggressive war against the Soviet Union—the stronghold of peace, democracy, and Socialism.

The French people do not want war; workers, peasants, artisans, shopkeepers, brain workers—all people of good will hate war.

In the campaign for signatures to the demand for the prohibition of the atomic weapon, it is necessary to rally all French people, irrespective of their political convictions and religion. When we explain to them the full danger of war-threatening the world and consequently, themselves, all will rise in defence of peace. As the campaign for signatures develops more and more, peace committees are being set up

throughout the country. But their numbers, as yet, does not correspond to existing possibilities.

To secure the necessary results as quickly as possible, all Communists should be in the vanguard of the movement in defence of peace and democracy.

HENCHMEN OF CUBAN REACTION SUFFER DEFEAT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Elections for half the seats in the Chamber of Representatives and for mayors and councillors in 126 municipalities were held throughout Cuba on June 1. Election results testify to the defeat of the Government candidates and to the victory of the popular coalition headed by the Popular Socialist Party.

In Havana, the capital, a leading political progressive figure, Nicolas Castellanos, defeated the official government candidate, brother of the President of the Republic.

The Popular Socialist Party also won a brilliant victory in Yaguajay (Las Villas Province) where the extremely popular Jose Ruis—a member of the Party and outgoing Mayor—was re-elected for another four years. Election results show that the candidates of the popular coalition were also successful in many other towns in Cuba: in four towns of the Havana Province, in three of the Pinar del Rio Province, in seven of the Montanzas Province and in eighteen towns in Las Villas Province.

The success of the Popular Socialist Party was considerably greater than in previous elections. It was achieved in the teeth of countless machinations by the Government, and despite violent anti-Communist propaganda and the attempt to play on the religious sentiments of the electorate. The consciousness of the people proved to be too great for the crafty designs of reaction and the people triumphed.

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S UNION OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC



The Second Congress of the Democratic Women's Union of the Rumanian People's Republic was held in Bucharest on June 14-16. Above: A group of peasant delegates.

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UNDER THE BANNER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The Congress of the Rumanian Democratic Women's Union took place on June 14-16 in Bucharest. Congress was attended by 713 delegates, among whom were women who had distinguished themselves in production, small and middle peasants, members of collective farms, housewives and also women workers in science and culture.

Delegations of women arrived from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, France, Belgium Austria, Britain, Finland, Greece and Spain. The speeches of the representatives of these countries were a powerful demonstration of international solidarity of women in the struggle for peace.

Comrade Ana Pauker, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic, greeted Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party. The Rumanian woman, she said, is no longer what she was in old days. She has become conscious of her power and has become an active participant in the struggle for strengthening the new system, for building Socialism, for peace.

It would seem that there should be nothing more natural than that the people and the nations should live at peace, friendship and in agreement, building a better, a more beautiful life. And yet we are compelled to struggle and make sacrifices, in order to gain peace. Why? Because, there exist people in the world who have lost all human semblance, because there are imperialist circles, headed by the Anglo-American imperialists—enemies of mankind who hate life and encroach upon it.

The speech of M. Kazantseva (Soviet Union) was greeted with loud cheers. The warm welcome accorded the Soviet guests by the delegates was an expression of the great affection of Rumanian women for the Soviet Union and for Comrade Stalin, an expression of desire to strengthen eternal friendship with the Soviet Union.

Messages of greetings were received from Eugenie Cotton, Chairman of the Women's International Federation, from women in China, Korea and other countries.

There was only one item on the agenda—the “Struggle of Rumanian women for peace, for well-being and for the construction of Socialism”. The report was submitted by Constanta Creciun, Chairman of the Democratic Women's Union of Rumania.

Congress was preceded by intensive preparations throughout the country. In the factories, women joyfully worked special shifts in honour of ‘the Congress. More than a thousand women were honoured for distinguished work during this period. Peasant women accomplished better work in the fields.

Amid exclamations of approval, Frusina Merecine, member of the collective farm in the village of Paicu, exhibited ears of wheat gathered on collective and individual farms to indicate the better quality of grain from the collective-farm. She described how the example of their collective-farm and the explanatory work carried on among women have increased the number of people wishing to unite in collective-farms.

During preparations for Congress, women took an active part in collecting signatures to the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, Stoiana-Stolan, from the village of Ilesti, Suceava district, mother of twelve children and delegate to the Congress expressed the longing of women for peace when she said: “For me, most precious of all, are children. Only now has the road to happiness been opened for

them. For their sakes I am ready to work might and main and to fight for peace.”

On behalf of two million women organised in the Democratic Women’s Union, Congress called upon all working women of town and countryside to fight with even greater determination for peace and Socialism.

Congress also sent a fraternal appeal to the women of Finland calling upon them to increase the struggle for peace.

A meeting, attended by over 150,000 women, was held in Bucharest after the Congress.

FREEDOM FOR DENNIS!

Nationwide protests in the United States against the imprisonment of Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the American Communist Party are taking many forms.

Thousands of letters and wires, demanding the immediate, unconditional release of Dennis, are pouring in to President Truman's offices in Washington.

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the President, during his national tour, was "greeted" by several hundred demonstrators who demanded freedom for Dennis, as well as the outlawing of the atomic weapon.

In Cleveland, Ohio, more than 500 picketed the Federal government building demanding "Release Dennis", while a Pennsylvania conference on jobs, peace and civil rights—attended by delegates from 500 organisations—also urged that Dennis be freed.

In the Negro district of Harlem, New York, a thousand people attended a "Free Dennis" rally two days after he was jailed.

Similarly, thirty-eight leading members of the 60,000-strong Ford local of the C.I.O, automobile workers' union have likewise petitioned for the freedom of the General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party.

The Canadian Labour Progressive Party's National Committee wired the American embassy demanding the "unconditional release" of Dennis.

In Mexico, thousands of Mexican workers and peasants, marching on May Day, demanded that persecution of Dennis be ended.

In all countries the mass movement of the working people to "Free Dennis!" is growing and extending.

CORRUPTION AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE DE GASPERI CLERICAL-FASCIST REGIME

Light was recently thrown on a scandal in Italy, the consequences of which it is, as yet, difficult to estimate. After much hesitation Deputy Viola, Secretary of the National Association of ex-Service Men and a member of the Christian-Democratic group, raised this matter in Parliament.

Involved in this affair are Spataro, a Christian-Democratic Minister and many deputies from the Christian-Democratic Party, including Paolo Bonomi who, being Secretary of the Smallholders' Association, was commissioned to foment strife and discord among the peasants. The disclosures made by Viola show that this Minister and his friends who call themselves "democrats and Christians", give readier ear to the rustling of money than to the teachings of Christ; they use their positions to make a business of everything: contracts and import licences, hemp and bran, and also an "affair" concerning tanks. They are building a port in the hometown of Minister Spataro, a port which nobody needs and which has cost the people millions of lira, to say nothing of the bribery, "assistance to relatives", blackmail, tax dodging, getting around the law, to suit the wishes of this or that Minister and in the interests of his friends.

In accordance with Parliamentary tradition, the first thing that those individuals charged by Deputy Viola should have done was, to have remitted this case for examination to a Parliamentary commission. However, fearing that the scandal would become known to broad sections of public opinion, the Christian-Democratic majority in Parliament acted otherwise.

They sought to hush up the scandal by de Gasperi's vague mumblings and by ridiculous arguments, advanced by the accused Minister to justify himself.

Observing the behaviour of the Christian-Democrats in this scandalous affair, every honest Italian citizen is becoming increasingly convinced of their full culpability. It is impossible to investigate this affair that throwing light on a lot more, without raising the question of the activities of the Christian Democratic Party as a whole, and about the regime of corruption which it has established. With the exception of Saragat, who remains true to his motto "to serve the Christian Democrats until death", and the Republican Minister, la Malfa, all other political parties and groups have resolutely and vigorously condemned the clerical regime of corruption and scandals.

All these facts provide further evidence of the growing disintegration of the anti-Communist coalition formed on April 18, 1948. Now it is becoming more and more evident that the de Gasperi clerical regime is, in many respects, akin to that of Mussolini. One resorted, to violence to enslave the people, the other, in addition to the well-known Scelba methods, resorts to lies and shameless hypocrisy. Both, in equal degree; are the servants of Italian and foreign monopolies with this: difference only, that the de Gasperi regime, more rapidly completes its ascent and descent.

The de Gasperis, Scelbas, Spataros and Saragats who are responsible for shootings of the working people for embezzling public money, must answer for their crimes. This is the demand of all honest forces in the country—from Communists and Socialists to honest Catholic working people who are uniting in the common struggle for peace and work, for freedom and national independence of the country.

Jan MAREK

CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN JAPAN

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The statement on the situation in Japan by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said

“On June 6, American imperialist MacArthur, abusing his powers as Supreme Commander of Allied powers in Japan, ordered the Yoshida Government of Japan to ‘purge’ twenty-four members of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, including Kyuchi Tokuda and Sanzo Nosaka.

On June 7, he further ordered the Yoshida Government to ‘purge’ another 17 persons including the personnel of “Akahata”, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, and Katsumi Kikunami, Communist member of Japan’s Lower Chamber.

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China regards this action on the part of the American imperialists and their Japanese jackals as utterly illegal, because it is a complete violation of the Potsdam Declaration on Japan in 1945, jointly issued by China, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom and the United States of America, and a complete violation of the basic policies announced by the Far Eastern Commission regarding Japan after her surrender. While the Communist Party of China firmly denounces the lawless brutalities of MacArthur and the Yoshida Government, it warmly sympathises with the Japanese Communist Party and Japanese patriots in their just resistance to these brutalities, and urges all the people of China, of Asia

and of the world to support them unanimously.

“American imperialist policy towards Japan is one directed to turning Japan into an American colony and base for a new war of aggression. This policy endangers the common interests of the Japanese and Chinese people and of all the peoples in Asia and the world. In response to the call of the Japanese Communist Party, Japanese patriots are uniting against the American aggressors and Japanese traitors, with the aim of achieving an early, all including peace settlement with the Allied powers and liberation for the Japanese people. This was the real reason which motivated MacArthur and the Yoshida Government in oppressing the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese patriots.

“Impelled by the same motive, the American imperialists are instigating reactionary governments in Australia, Philippines, Western Germany and South Africa to outlaw those Communist Parties, as they have ordered the reactionary governments in Bolivia, Panama and Venezuela to do recently.

“The reason for the brutal persecution of the American Communists by the American imperialist government, and for the sentencing of its General Secretary, Eugene Dennis, was that the American Communist Party stands in the forefront of the American people’s opposition to the aggressive policy of the American imperialism.

“The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party holds that the advance of the great and righteous world movement for lasting peace, people’s democracy and social progress cannot be halted by attempts of the American imperialists to drive the Communist Parties underground in every place that lies within their grip, in order to clear away all obstacles to their preparations for a new aggressive war.

“History, since the appearance of the Communist movement, and particularly since the Second World War, has proved the reverse of dreams entertained by all the

reactionaries there have ever been, by all imperialist powers and present-day American imperialism.

“The history of the reactionaries has proved to be a fiasco; that of revolutionary people, a victory.

“There are times when the reactionaries appear rampant and win some ‘victory’ in suppressing the people but in the end they all fail. Again, there are times when revolutionary people meet some frustration, but in the end they are victorious. All world history runs like that and there are no exceptions. The victory of the Chinese people’s revolution can serve as the latest testament.

“The strength of the peaceful, democratic camp to the world is growing ever greater and the united front of the oppressed peoples in various countries against imperialism develops daily. These facts assure everyone that American imperialism and its jackals—vicious in desperation—must finally fall and that the revolutionary struggles of the Japanese people and of the other peoples of the world will be victorious in the end.”

STATEMENT BY SHIINO ETZURO, CHAIRMAN OF CENTRAL LEADING ORGAN OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

The special session of the central leading organ of the Communist Party, of Japan which took upon itself the functions of the Central Committee, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, after the old Central Committee of the Communist Party had been outlawed, was held on June 9.

After the session, Shiino Etsuro, Chairman of the Central leading organ of the Communist Party of Japan, made the

following statement to the correspondents to the newspaper “Akahata”:

“1. The pressure on our Party.

“A profoundly mistaken tendency to regard the purge of the members of the Central Committee of our Party and leading workers of the newspaper “Akahata” as evidence of the considerable strengthening of home and foreign reaction, has made its appearance. However, a sober estimation of events will lead to the conclusion that the assertion regarding the consolidation of home and foreign reaction as a result of the purge of the Communist Party is absolutely groundless. The situation throughout the world over, and particularly in all areas of Asia, testifies to the collapse of the policy of international monopoly capital and also to the considerable difficulties it encountered in the internal life of Japan. The suppression of the Communist Party testifies to the fact that the Yoshida cabinet is in a blind alley. The government has taken this path of suppression in the interests of preparing for a new war and for the colonisation of Japan. Preparations for war and the colonisation of Japan entail unemployment and the impoverishment of the popular masses. History teaches that plans based on the sacrifices of the masses of the people are doomed to inevitable failure.

“In these conditions not only must we not fear the enemy but, firmly resolved and in alliance with the masses, must intensify still further the struggle for national independence, for peace, stabilisation and a better standard of living.

“Unity with the popular masses is now more essential than ever before. During the Second World War, while our Party protested against the bloodshed, it could not prevent this war because it lacked sufficient contact with the masses. Faced with the danger of a new world war, we must secure that unity with the people which was lacking during the last war, win the confidence of the masses and together with them prevent war.

“2. The lessons of the elections to the Chamber of Councillors.

“The recent elections are of historical significance for our Party. The election campaign, carried out under the slogan of national independence, defence of peace and protest against war, was of exceptional significance. Naturally, the attacks of the reactionary forces were concentrated against our Party, but the popular masses, despite pressure, demagoguery and corruption, with unprecedented resolution, voted solidly for our Party.

“The number of votes cast for our candidates and for the candidates of the united front put forward by our Party in Tokyo and Kyoto, counting only local election areas, amounted to approximately 2,830,000.

“Although this is a lower figure than the 2,980,000 the Party received at the last elections to the Chamber of Councillors, it can be said that these votes are more stable in character. But with respect to our activities during the elections, it can be said that despite widespread propaganda for national independence and peace, the connection between the concrete demands of the masses on questions of low wages, intensification of labour, heavy taxation and the daily struggle of the masses, was inadequate. Our greatest shortcoming was that we ignored the day to day struggle. And therefore the propaganda we conducted failed to indicate the path of class activity, i.e., it did not explain to the masses their concrete tasks and furthermore did not fully accomplish the task of getting the people out to vote for our Party. As a result, our election fight was indistinguishable from the propaganda of the Socialist Party and the very content of our propaganda was abstract, general and not concrete.

“It was difficult for the masses to draw a clear line between the demands of our Party and those of the Socialist Party. As a result we lost at least 3,000,000 votes which went to the

Socialist Party.

“Our second shortcoming was disregard of tactics on questions of the organisation of the masses in order to achieve national independence and defence of peace. Thus, for example, we gave all our attention to strategic aims and ignored tactical tasks.

“However, the two tendencies considered above are not only mistakes which we committed during the election campaign, in practice they are shortcomings in the entire work of our Party. One of the most important tasks of our Party activities at present must be the complete elimination of these shortcomings. With this end in view we must make full use of the achievements of theory and practice resulting from the long struggle of our Party; we must, in particular, completely get rid of boasting bombastic phraseology, carelessness, pettiness and dubious tendencies.

“3. The struggle against the splitters.

“One of the shortcomings which found expression in our election fight was the large number of disruptive viewpoints and action which became manifest. Clearly, the disregard of the everyday struggle and the theory of petty ideas upon which the splitters insisted during the election struggle, could not but lead to an ever greater isolation of our Party and to immobilisation of the masses.

“At present, home and foreign reach together with forced measures of suppression, is trying to take advantage of splitting activities within the Party. Reaction using the disrupters as their agents, is trying to break up the Party from within. It is precisely, factions which are weapons of suppression and which are utilised the ruling classes.

“We must consolidate the Party for an even greater development of the struggle which is growing all the time and for the fulfilment of those tasks facing our Party. To achieve this we must observe even more strictly the laws of our Parties

intensify class vigilance and finally the splitters.

“Consequently, we must wage a ruthless struggle against the splitters, combine the thoughts and actions of the entire Party around the new leadership and march forward towards victory.

“We can count on the resolute of the whole Party and the working class.”

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