

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information Bureau  
of the Communist and Workers' Parties**



**NO 17 (233) FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1953**

Scanned/Transcribed by  
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus-London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk>



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November 2016

## CONTENTS

NOBLE MISSION OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES	5
MORE ECONOMIC SUCCESSES IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES.....	11
Poland.....	11
Hungary.....	12
Czechoslovakia.....	13
Rumania.....	14
STRUGGLE OF WORKING PEOPLE FOR BREAD AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS DEVELOPING IN FRANCE....	15
PANMUNJOM NEGOTIATIONS.....	17
TOWARDS MAY DAY.....	19
In Chinese People's Republic.....	19
In Albania.....	19
In Capitalist Countries.....	20
TALKS AND LECTURES IN MOSCOW DEVOTED TO V. I. LENIN.....	22
FOR GOVERNMENT OF PEACE AND SOCIAL REFORMS IN ITALY. Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary, Italian Communist Party.....	23
Criminal Intrigues of Enemies of Peace.....	23
There Is No Controversial Problem Between Countries Which Could Not Be Settled Peacefully.....	27
We Demand a Government of Peace.....	32
Our Path For A Bright Future For Italy.....	37
IN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES.....	41

National Council Of Italian Communist Party.....	41
Work Of Tchirpan District Committee Of Communist Party Of Bulgaria During Sowing Campaign.....	42
Volume III Of Mao Tse-Tung's Selected Works Published.....	44
Meeting Of Central Board, Communist Party Of Germany.....	44
AFRICAN WORKING PEOPLE FIGHT AGAINST COLONIAL SLAVERY.....	47
CONCERNING ECONOMIC SITUATION IN WESTERN GERMANY, Walter Poth, Member, Secretariat of Central Board, Communist Party Of Germany.....	52
ENEMIES OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.....	60
TITO-FASCIST CONSTITUTION OF LAWLESSNESS AND COLONIAL YOKE. Zygmunt Modzelewski, Member, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party.....	62
AGAINST PERSECUTION OF TRADE UNIONS IN EGYPT	72
TWO WORLDS - TWO WAYS OF LIFE.....	73
Social Welfare in People's Rumania.....	73
...And in Countries of Latin America.....	73
FACTS EXPOSE.....	75
One Brand of "Big Business".....	75
Tanks Instead of Houses.....	75
THEIR USUAL POSE.....	77
POLITICAL NOTES.....	78
Another Betrayal By Right-Wing Socialist Leaders of Austria.....	78
VICTIMS OF MILITARISATION IN WESTERN GERMANY.	83

## **NOBLE MISSION OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

The Communist and Workers' Parties basing their activity on the effective all-conquering teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, are the great motive force in the onward march of mankind. They are called upon to renovate the world on the basis of genuine democracy and Socialism. Their noble, selfless and valiant struggle for peace and for the happiness of the peoples, for the reconstruction of society, corresponds to the vital interests and aspirations of the broad masses.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded and nurtured by Lenin and Stalin, enjoys the greatest prestige and influence in the international revolutionary and working-class movement. The C.P.S.U. is the great Party of revolutionary action, the militant union of like-minded Communists consisting of people drawn from the working class, working peasants and working intelligentsia. In its ideological tempering and organisational structure, in its oneness, activity and discipline of its members, in their loyalty to the cause of the Party, in the development in its organisations of criticism and self-criticism and in its inviolable bonds with the masses the C.P.S.U. is the model for all Communist and Workers'

Parties.

The history of the C.P.S.U. is an inexhaustible source of revolutionary experience. Under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. the peoples of the Soviet Union won state power, abolished capitalism, build Socialism and achieved the world-historic victory over Hitler tyranny during the second world war and ensured unparalleled success of the postwar economic and cultural construction and in raising the material well-being of Soviet people. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the great guiding and leading force of the Soviet people in the struggle for building Communism. Unbreakable unity of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the people has been achieved in the U.S.S.R. All the Communist and Workers' Parties endeavour to follow the example of the C.P.S.U., learn from its rich experience and its militant traditions.

The glorious Communist Party of China, which opened for the people of China the pathway to Socialism, is successfully rallying the working people in the struggle for realisation of the first Five-Year Plan of national construction, for winning further successes in building a powerful people's democratic Chinese state. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China regards the further consolidation of the ranks of the Party as the main prerequisite for carrying out these tasks. The Communist Party of China demands that every member strictly observes Party and state discipline, takes an active part in the social-economic transformation of the country and resolutely implements the policy of the Party; it demands that every member places the interests of the people above his personal interests that he serves the people wholly and unreservedly, that he explains the policy of the Party to the masses and leads them forward in the struggle for realisation of this policy.

In the countries of people's democracy the Communist and Workers' Parties are the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle for laying the foundations of Socialism. Heading the

creative initiative of the masses they have ensured the winning of splendid successes in the sphere of socialist industrialisation, agriculture cultural construction and in improving the material conditions of the working people of their countries.

Profound and systematic study by Communists of the precious ideological legacy of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin of the history of the C.P.S.U. and the historic decisions of the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. powerfully stimulates intensification of all ideological work in the Communist and Workers' Parties. The development of activity, initiative and independent effort by the members of the Party in the countries of people's democracy is facilitated in no small measure by further development of inner-Party democracy: holding Party meetings regularly, electing the leading Party organs and holding them accountable to the Party organisations, developing criticism and self-criticism and combatting shortcomings in Party work.

The path to Socialism is not an easy path. Socialist construction in the countries of people's democracy is taking place alongside the existence of numerous social-economic formations, in conditions of sharpening class struggle. The tasks of further consolidating the people's democratic states and their defence-capacity, of ensuring rapid rates of socialist industrialisation and further success in reconstruction of agriculture, the organisation of socialist emulation and the training of the broad masses of the working people in the spirit of Socialism – all call for a substantial rise in the level of Party work, correct combination of political and economic work, closer links between the Party organisations and the masses, and the drawing in of the working people on a greater scale into the work of socialist construction.

The Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies have repeatedly drawn attention in their decisions to serious shortcomings in Party work and in educating the members. These decisions noted specifically that as yet there

are Party organisations in the factories which do not focus attention on production, that there are not a few members who do not conscientiously discharge their duties in relation to production. Political work in some of the enterprises is not up to the mark. The Communists do not always profoundly explain to the working people the decisions of the Party and of the Government, the significance and import of home and international events and do not rally public opinion against disrupters of production. In some countries there have been cases of Party members distorting the policy of the Party in relation to the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry; cases of violation of the voluntary principle in developing co-operatives in the countryside. In some Party organisations the political vigilance of the members is not at the necessary level. There are instances of complacency, negligence and gullibility, which enemies of the people's-democratic system are always ready to use to their advantage.

In inner-Party work, as noted in the press of the people's-democratic countries, there are also serious shortcomings. These include inadequate involvement of the members in Party education in a number of Party organisations and insufficient verification of the quality of educational work by the Party organs; in some Party organisations the attendance at Party meetings is still poor, membership dues are not paid on time, Party assignments are not fulfilled, etc. Self-criticism and criticism from below have not yet become everywhere the main method for disclosing and overcoming the shortcomings.

The Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy are waging a resolute struggle in order to get rid of these shortcomings, in order to raise the vanguard role of the Communists. They teach the Party members to carry out their duties, accurately and on time, to fulfil their duty before the Party and the people, to guard as the apple of the eye the unity of the Party and purity of its ranks, to strengthen



Party and state discipline, constantly to strengthen contact with the masses and to do everything possible to raise political vigilance.

With selfless courage and staunchness the Communist Parties in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are working and battling for the interests of their peoples in conditions of police persecution and fascist terror. In Italy, France, Britain, Belgium, Holland, Western Germany, in Japan, India, Indonesia, in Latin America and in other countries the Communist Parties are valiantly fighting against the imperialist yoke and reaction, for the democratic rights of the people, for the national independence and sovereignty, of their countries, against the machinations of the warmongers and their Right-wing Socialist, clerical and other hirelings, for ensuring united action by the working class and all the democratic forces. Communists take to the masses the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the truth about the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, about their steadfast peace policy, their peace initiative, based on the firm conviction that there are no controversial or outstanding questions which cannot be solved peacefully on the basis of mutual agreement of the interested countries.

The popular masses in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are becoming to understand more and more clearly that only the policy and actions of the Communists correctly express their basic interests.

In these conditions the Communist and Workers' Parties are focusing attention on the shortcomings still observed in the work of the Party organisations. Thus, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties in France, Italy, Great Britain and in a number of other countries point out that the members must devote their main effort to strengthening political and organisational work in the enterprises, that they must not confine themselves solely to organising the struggle for

immediate demands, but must link this struggle with the fight for peace, for national independence, with defence of democratic freedoms; they must explain to the workers the essence of the policy of the Party and its ultimate aims. The Communists must be active in the trade unions, in the peasant, women's and youth organisations, and they must never forget that only by united action can the masses rebuff the policy of war, poverty and fascism.

The Communists in the capitalist countries are being tempered in struggle, overcoming incorrect tendencies and shortcomings. They are combating the sectarians, who seek to isolate the Party from the masses, and the capitulators who deny the leading role of the working class and of its Party in the struggle for achieving its class aims.

Only a little way off is May Day – the day of international solidarity of the working people, the day of the fraternity of the workers of all lands. In their preparations for this great day the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries, the Parties loyal to their great historic mission, raise still higher the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of struggle for peace, for democracy, for Socialism, against the warmongers.

## **MORE ECONOMIC SUCCESSES IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES**

### **Poland**

According to preliminary data issued by the State Commission for economic planning gross output of socialist industry increased (unchanged prices] in the first quarter by 15 per cent compared with the corresponding quarter for 1952. Socialist industry fulfilled the plan for gross output 103.1 per cent. The figure for the Ministry of Metallurgy is 104 per cent, for the Ministry of Mining – 104 per cent and for the Ministry of Power – 101 per cent.

In the course of the first quarter considerable quantities of vitally important manufactured goods were produced in excess of plan. These included: rolled metal, electro-copper, refined lead, lorries, passenger cars, motor-cycles, bicycles, electric motors, tractors, dye-stuffs, penicillin, lyres, radio-sets, cotton, woollen, flax and silk fabrics, footwear, etc.

The number of factory and office workers in industry increased approximately 7 per cent compared with the first quarter of 1952. Labour productivity in socialist industry rose

approximately 8 per cent.

During the first quarter agriculture received 2,234 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p.), that is, approximately 21 per cent more than in the corresponding period last year. The total number of state machine and tractor stations reached 368 by March 31. During the first quarter more than 2 thousand agricultural co-operatives were formed, bringing the total to 7,034 by March 31.

Capital investments during the quarter amounted to 114 per cent compared with the corresponding period last year.

Sales of many basic food stuff and consumer goods specially meat, fats, flour, clothing, etc., increased considerably.

## **Hungary**

According to the Central Statistical Board industry in Hungary fulfilled the plan for the first quarter of 1953 by 100,5 per cent, producing 8.2 per cent more goods than in the corresponding period of 1952. Output of heavy industry increased 21.6 per cent including: the coal industry, 15.2 per cent; iron and steel, 17.7 per cent; machine-building, 21.7 per cent; building materials, 20.8 per cent and the chemical industry, 25.9 per cent.

The socialist sector in agriculture continued to expand. The area sown to crops in the producer co-operatives is 37 per cent greater than a year ago, while membership of the co-operative has risen 17.7 per cent. Today the socialist sector accounts for 39.2 per cent of all the arable land in the country (compared with 29.8 per cent in 1952).

A big increase was registered in sales of food and manufactured goods to the population. Compared with the corresponding period for 1952 food and manufactured goods purchased by the population increased as follows: sugar, 29 per

cent; meat, 36; confectionery, 11; furniture, 8; motor-cycles, 39; linen, 32; children's wear, 110 per cent.

A decree of the Council of Ministers which went into operation on March 1 provides for further improvement of mother and child welfare. On the basis of this decree, already during March, 28,490 infants received layettes free of charge (each costing 400 forints) and an extra eleven million forints were paid in aid to mothers of large families compared with the previous month. The number of beds in creches increased 38 per cent in the space of the past twelve months. The network of dispensaries in enterprises grew considerably.

Further success has been registered in all spheres of socialist culture. Fifty-three per cent more books were published compared with the first quarter of 1952, while total editions of books exceeded 14.2 million copies. Another 100 cinema were opened, most of them in villages.

## **Czechoslovakia**

The State plan for gross output for the first quarter of 1953 has been fulfilled by the industry of Czechoslovakia 97.7 per cent. Overall output, rose 9.8 per cent compared with the first quarter of 1952, including: heavy industry – 14.1 per cent and light industry – 3.8 per cent. Productivity of labour in industry rose 8.8 per cent, compared with the first quarter of 1952.

Industrial construction continued. The fourth open-hearth furnace was commissioned at the Klement Gottwald metallurgical works now under construction in Kunchitsy. An open-hearth furnace was put into operation at the V. M. Molotov metallurgical works in Trzhintsa. In Slovakia work on hydro-electric projects continued successfully.

The growth of the united agricultural co-operatives continued. There was an increase in the number of agricultural

co-operatives of the higher type. By April 1, there were 6,800 agricultural co-operatives of the third and fourth types.

Spring sowing was completed, in the main, by the end of the first quarter. Advanced agro-technique was applied on a considerably wider scale than hitherto.

State and co-operative retail trade sold more goods to the population: bakery products, 11 per cent compared with the corresponding quarter last year; flour, 3 per cent; meat items and sausage 5 per cent; lard, 28 per cent.

Nearly 5,000 new flats, mainly in the industrial centres, were built and occupied by working people.

## **Rumania**

Further successes were registered in the development of the national economy in the first quarter of 1953 – the decisive year for completing the Five-Year Plan in four years. Industry fulfilled the state plan in overall output by 101.1 per cent. Compared with the first quarter of last year gross output in socialist industry rose 23.1 per cent and labour productivity 10.3 per cent, output of steel increased 5 per cent, pig iron 30 per cent, generation of electric power 21 per cent, extraction of oil 11 per cent, coal 17 per cent, iron ore 46 per cent, etc.

In the course of the first quarter of this year a hydro-electric station in Moroeni and a number of other enterprises of the oil, metallurgical and other vital branches of industry were commissioned. The plan for excavation of earth on the Danube-Black Sea construction site was considerably exceeded. Preparations are underway for construction of the Bucharest Metro. The volume of capital construction is 135.9 per cent as against the first quarter of 1952.

Pronounced successes have been recorded in agriculture. The socialist sector in agriculture embraces 23 per cent of all

the arable land. The number of collective farms and societies for joint tillage of the soil has grown to 4,000.

In the first quarter of 1953 the population in the towns and industrial settlements purchased through the state and co-operative trade network 33 per cent more bread, 17 per cent more sugar, 30 per cent more fats, 89 per cent more flour products, 29 per cent more butter, 78 per cent more woollen fabrics and other items, and the rural population 61 per cent more ready-made clothing, 24 per cent more footwear, 116 per cent more flour products and other foodstuffs than in the same period last year.

## **STRUGGLE OF WORKING PEOPLE FOR BREAD AND DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS DEVELOPING IN FRANCE**

The struggle of the working people of France for their immediate demands, especially for higher wages, in defence of democratic freedoms and for release of the patriots unlawfully arrested is growing in intensity.

Among the more important actions note should be made of the renewed strike action by tramway workers in Toulon (fourth strike in ten days), the strikes in Marseilles, Toulouse, Lyons and Rennes and the token strikes by workers in the gas and electricity undertakings. The numerous brief strikes were followed by the "Action Day" held on April 16 in munition plants and in enterprises of the Ministry of the Navy. Responding to the call issued by the General Confederation of Labour and "Force ouvriere" metal workers in the "Bernard-Moteurs" plant (Paris suburb) downed tools three times in the space of one week. Strikes also took place in shipyards in Marseilles. In a number of enterprises the working people won substantial victories.

A feature of the struggle is the growing movement among the working people for unity of action. The unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, "Force ouvriere", the Confederation of Christian Workers and the autonomous union in the Renault works reached agreement on a programme of struggle for immediate demands. A referendum is now being held among 40,000 people employed in this important enterprise in the Paris District concerning forms of struggle for securing satisfaction of the demands. The National Conference of Railway Workers (workers in rail shops, depots and auxiliary establishments) which, in addition to delegates of the General Confederation of Labour, was attended by more than 200 delegates from the Confederation of Christian Workers, "Force ouvriere" and unorganised workers, afforded yet another example of the movement for unity of action. On the basis of a decision adopted by this Conference a "Week of Struggle" for immediate demands and democratic freedoms is being held throughout the country on April 20-27.

Responding to the call from the General Confederation of Labour the working people of France will mark May Day as the day of unity and struggle in defence of the immediate demands and peace, against reaction and fascism and for the release of imprisoned French patriots. Numerous demonstrations will be held both in Paris and in the provinces. In many places throughout the country organisations of different political trends issued joint May Day Calls.



## **PANMUNJOM NEGOTIATIONS**

All peace-loving humanity wholeheartedly welcomes the noble initiative of the Governments of the People's Republic of China and of the Korean People's Democratic Republic aimed at achieving a truce and at ending the war in Korea.

A peaceful and just settlement of the Korean question corresponds both to the vital interests of the countries, whose subjects are fighting on the Korean front, and to the basic interests of the peoples of the world. But while honest people throughout the world welcomed the prospect of ending the war in Korea, the covert and overt enemies of peace sought to complicate the negotiations. In the U.S., for example, rumours were circulated by some reactionary newspapers to the effect that the American side would link the Korean question with problems which had nothing in common with it, such as the war in Viet Nam, a demand for new borders for South Korea to the North of the present front lines, etc.

The Panmunjom negotiations, in which initial success has been gained already, testify that a just settlement of the Korean

question is possible. Complete agreement has been reached by the liaison officers on both sides on all concrete administrative details concerning repatriation of sick and wounded prisoners of war. On April 20 both sides in conformity with the agreement reached began repatriating sick and wounded war prisoners. Both sides agreed that all questions concerning the concrete administrative matters which may arise in the course of the exchange shall be decided by means of consultations on the part of the control officers from both sides in charge of the exchange.

At a meeting of the liaison groups General Lee Sang Cho, Chief of the Korean-Chinese group, on behalf of General Nam Ir, head of (he Korean-Chinese delegation, reminded those present that the proposal advanced by the Korean-Chinese side had been recognised by the whole world as being highly constructive. As is known, this proposal urges that the two sides to the negotiations undertake to repatriate immediately after the cease-fire all war prisoners who insist on repatriation and to transfer the remainder to a neutral state with a view to ensuring a just settlement of the problem of their repatriation.

General Lee Sang Cho pointed out that concrete measures for the realisation of this proposal can be outlined by means of joint consultations by the delegations of both sides during the negotiations.

Both sides decided that a plenary session of the delegations to discuss a truce in Korea would be resumed on April 25 in order to solve, by means of consultation, the entire problem of prisoners of war and to hasten the signing of a truce.

## **TOWARDS MAY DAY**

### **In Chinese People's Republic**

In China the preparations for May Day coincide with the preparations for the seventh All-China Congress of Labour which opens on May 2. "Let us develop wider labour emulation for pre-schedule fulfilment of production plans!" – such is the slogan with which the working masses of People's China greet the day of international solidarity of the working people.

The May Day emulation has developed on a national scale. It embraces the builders of the steel city of Anshan – the pride of the industrial construction – members of surveying and prospecting learns in Central and South-East China, and also peasants now engaged in spring sowing and preparing for a bumper-crop.

In response to the calls made by the national councils of the trade unions the working people of Shanghai, Peking, Mukden, Sian and in many other industrial cities have pledged considerably to increase output of materials needed for the industrialisation and also output of agricultural implements for the peasants. In assuming these obligations special stress is laid on improving the quality. In Mukden, for example, nearly 100 state-owned enterprises have joined the May Day emulation.

### **In Albania**

There is an atmosphere of labour enthusiasm in industrial enterprises in people's Albania. Enterprises in Tirana including a footwear factory, the Misto Mame wood-working factory, the December 21-st building enterprise, a tannery in Korce, drilling in the Patos oilfields and other enterprises which overfulfilled production plans for the first quarter of the current year by 5-10 per cent are now striving for pre-schedule fulfilment of the April plan and fulfilment of the pledges taken in honour of May Day.

### **In Capitalist Countries**

The working people in the capitalist countries will mark May Day with meetings, rallies and demonstrations.

The **Belgian** Communist Party which is organising May Day demonstrations throughout the country has published slogans for the occasion. The slogans are meeting with wide response among the working population. The workers of the Demoor plant in Forest adopted a resolution calling on the General Federation of Working People, which is led by the Right-wing Socialists, to organise a joint demonstration under

the banner of struggle for peace and against social regress.

The underground radio station "Independent Spain" broadcast the May Day call of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of **Spain**. In the conditions of monstrous fascist terror and of turning the country into a U.S. colony, the Communist Party of Spain firmly stands for a democratic republic and calls on the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, handicraftsmen, small traders and manufacturers to unite in the National Anti-Franco Front and fight against the fascist Franco regime, against attempts to restore the monarchy, attempts which are backed by the Right-wing Socialist and anarchist leaders, for national independence and sovereignty, for restoration of democratic rule, for a national front government, against the policy of subordinating Spain to U.S. imperialists, for the release of all political prisoners, for democratic freedoms and the immediate demands of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia.

The working population in **Japan** meets May Day in conditions of a fierce offensive by reaction against their living standard and democratic rights. The working people are preparing for the demonstrations under slogans put forward by the Communist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions.

Workers peasants, intelligentsia and all honest people in **Yugoslavia** are preparing for the international day of solidarity of the working people. The Tito gang has committed one more act of fascist arbitrariness. Popular demonstrations have, in effect, been banned. In the so-called "parade" in Belgrade only army units, Rankovic's U.D.B. units (secret police) and the militarised "sports organisations", cultivated by the Titoites, will participate.

## **TALKS AND LECTURES IN MOSCOW DEVOTED TO V. I. LENIN**

Talks and lectures devoted to the life and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, great founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of the Soviet state, were held in Moscow factories, offices and educational establishments in connection with the 83-rd anniversary of his birth.

Large crowds of factory and office workers and students visited the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. All in all, more than a quarter of a million Muscovites, visitors from various Republics, territories and region of the U.S.S.R. and from abroad have visited the Museum since the beginning of the year.

The numerous places in Moscow associated with the life and work of V. I. Lenin were visited by groups of excursionists.

**FOR GOVERNMENT OF PEACE AND  
SOCIAL REFORMS IN ITALY\*. Palmiro  
Togliatti, General Secretary, Italian  
Communist Party**

The present election campaign is developing around the decisive problems now facing our country. Some of these problems are problems of life and death for the Italian nation and for the democratic system won by it. These problems are: the question of peace and war; the question of whether the country remains united or is subjected to permanent and ever widening internal division with all the serious consequences

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<sup>†</sup> From Palmiro Togliatti's report at meeting of the National Council of Italian Communist Party on April 15.

arising therefrom; the question of whether the new social forces capable of renovating the life of the nation will assume political leadership and take part in it or whether the monopoly of political power remains in the hands of a narrow, arbitrary, intolerable, mercenary clerical clique.

## **Criminal Intrigues of Enemies of Peace**

For a number of years already the problem of peace and war, to our misfortune, has been hanging over our country and over the whole world. But there is not the slightest objective explanation why this problem should exist in Italy. I think that today absolutely no one believes in the much talked of danger of war and aggressiveness which, it is alleged, emanate from the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, and from the countries of people's democracy. Since the end of the war nobody has threatened Italy in any way whatever. Today for the Italian nation there are no questions which would ever require solution by resort to arms, and, indeed, it is impossible, even in the slightest degree, to imagine this. Why is it then that over our country there still hangs the danger of being again involved in war?

This danger threaten us because, to our misfortune, the old leading and privileged groups of capitalists, the old groups of exploiters for whom war was always an opportunity for profitable business, have appeared again and occupied their former place in the leadership of the country. Such was the case in the past too. The unbridled striving of these groups to plunge Italy into the gamble of war, has, on many occasions, led to tragic destruction of life in our country.

At the beginning of the present century a period set in of certain tolerance in relation to democratic aspirations and, consequently, a certain advance was made by the popular



masses and an improvement in their entire economic life took place. But all this came to an end when Italy was plunged into the colonial war which preceded the first sanguinary world conflict. There is no need to relate the history of the fascist tyranny or the fact that the provocation of new armed conflicts became the spring that catapulted fascism forward and brought Italy to catastrophe. Those who provoked these conflicts were, above all, the leading and privileged capitalist groups who banked on war, hoping thereby to put things right for themselves.

Today these groups are still experiencing in sufficient measure the consequences of the collapse of the fascist regime, which was their regime until they had established the clerical regime. They are not yet in a position to advance their own imperialist policy with their own demands and of compelling part of public opinion to accept this policy. But as is evident from the intrigues of de Gasperi and the Italian Government against Albania, they are searching for ways and means also in this direction. It should never be forgotten that in the past Albania was one of the starting point of the other terrible insanity.

In Italy the groups of war provocateurs pin their hopes on unleashing new world conflicts and even on unleashing a new world war which, they believe, may create favourable circumstances for implementing their own imperialist policy. They are already tearing about in search of war orders from France, Britain and the U.S.. They would like, through the medium of war orders, to build up prosperity of that section of industry which they control, ignoring the fact that our industry can and must produce everything needed for the requirements of our home market, for our agriculture, economic construction, in the interests of the people as a whole. They want to produce guns, munitions, rifles and tanks. It never enters their minds that Italy should take an altogether different

path, the path of building houses, of making tractors, ploughs and other implements for peaceful construction, the path of raising the standard of living of the entire nation.

This is the main explanation for the danger of war hanging over us.

There is another, even better known reason. In order to remain in power the clerical Party needed, on the one hand, the backing of the capitalist groups whose lackey it has become, and, on the other, the support of the ruling imperialist circles of the U.S. In the endeavour to meet the demands of these enemies of peace, the clerical Party has split the unity of the popular forces. It was precisely with the help of the enemies of peace that the clerical Party, by resorting to known methods, succeeded in carrying out the scandalous campaign of April 18 (the 1948 general election –**Ed.**). And in order to reward the enemies of peace for this, the clerical Party imposed on Italy the policy which confronts the country with the threat of war.

For the purpose of, making the whole thing still clearer we must refer to the past find recall the statements made by the leaders of the clerical Party and its allies on the question of war and peace not only in the first period, immediately after the convening of the Constituent Assembly, but also shortly before the election of April 18.

In those days when these Parties urged the people to vote for the them they promised peace. They alleged that they were concerned with placing Italy outside the struggle of the imperialist groups. In those days, when speaking about American aid to Italy, they went out of their way to declare again and again that this aid did not signify and could not signify conditions binding Italy to support U.S. imperialist policy. But things developed otherwise and precisely in the direction of which we gave warning. The “Marshall plan” gave way to the Atlantic pact; the Atlantic pact was immediately followed by military commitments, while the latter were

followed by establishing war bases of foreign powers in our country, and, to go farther along this path, would lead to our complete subordination to the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and to the loss of our independence.

For more than a year we discussed these questions with the foreign policy leaders of the clerical Government. Count Sforza indignantly rejected, as a vile insinuation and slander, our assertions that his foreign policy might lead to subordination of both our national territory and our army to the foreign imperialists. On July 2, 1948, Sforza stated in the House of Representatives: "Not for a single moment, not from any side, has there been a gesture, a word or a sign indicating the minimum connection between the concept of European economic co-operation and the Brussels or any of the other military pacts formulated elsewhere." Not a sign! Today everyone can see that there was not a grain of truth in what was said in those days.

On March 27, 1949, when the Atlantic Pact was put to the vote in the Senate, Sforza said: "It is perfectly clear that this peace pact involves no granting of any bases". And a few days earlier he declared even more solemnly: "We repeat once more that no one demanded bases from us nor have we promised them to anyone". Similar solemn statements were also made by de Gasperi. In this same period, that is, at the very moment Italy's affiliation to the Atlantic pact was being prepared, or, rather when it was decided by the Government, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party once again declared that "Italy must remain free from military commitments and maintain neutrality".

Today the war bases on our territory – in Naples, Livorno, Veneto – are a fact. Everyone knows this and everyone can see it!

The clerical is and their allies abjured all their promises to conduct a policy of peace which would enable Italy to remain

outside the clashes provoked by aggressive imperialism. They impelled Italy onto the path of war, the path on which it stands now and from which it must be removed.

### **There Is No Controversial Problem Between Countries Which Could Not Be Settled Peacefully**

The most grievous consequence of the Atlantic pact is, of course, the war in Korea. In this question, too, there are now very few people who still believe that this war was unleashed according to pre-arranged plan by China, North Korea and the Soviet Union. Everywhere voices have resounded, acknowledging the truth: in the British Parliament – out of the mouths of Conservative lords and authoritative representatives of the Labour Party, in France – out of the mouths of the Left Catholics and Radicals. The truth makes its way throughout the world. And the truth is that the U.S. imperialists, assured of at least moral support in the form of the Atlantic pact, tried in Korea to turn the “cold war” into a general hot war. But things went awry for them. They lost prestige there. The tension in international relations became extremely sharp, but at the same time the struggle of the peoples for peace developed on a new and tremendous scale. The war in Korea has resulted in irrevocable loss of human lives and material wealth. It has taken a toll of thousands upon thousands, including the heroic fighters of the peoples of Korea and China and also young soldiers of the United States and other countries. The desire of the peoples for an early end to this war became universal.

The latest confirmation as to who is responsible for this war was given a few days ago by the so-called President of South Korea who declared that he was against a just solution of the conflict and demanded annexation of a considerable slice of

North Korea. This demand for the dismemberment of North Korea, so heroically defended by its people who have no desire to submit to any foreigner or to any tyrant in the service of a foreigner, constitutes candid acknowledgement of guilt.

The Atlantic pact had other grave consequences also. It led to the formation of a purely military organisation which brazenly took the place of the previous so-called civilian aid organisation and has the clear tendency of suppressing the independence and sovereignty of the states of Western Europe. All the manpower and material resources of these states are designed to serve solely the interests of forming an army under the American imperialists, for realisation of their criminal aims. For a number of years we have said, and have shown, that the aims of the U.S. imperialists are criminal aims. In this respect no end of a hullabaloo was raised against us. But I think that today in the depths of their hearts large numbers of those who continue their policy of servility before the U.S. imperialists are convinced that we are right in this question and today they agree with us. Today the troubadours of American imperialism themselves openly proclaim its criminal aims. Not only do they wish, as we said before, to check and isolate the socialist world and, in this way, covertly prepare for war, they seek by active measures to wreck the socialist camp from within, that is, to extend the scale of their criminal intervention and provocative acts designed to lead to an armed conflict. From indirect preparation they want to go over to direct military provocations.

However, this criminal policy of the U.S. warmongers is now – and all can see this – on the brink of a crisis. After the election of the new U.S. President the more reckless of the leading groups of warmongers threatened directly to switch from the “cold war” to a hot war or to take measures that would inevitably lead to a hot war.

The peace-loving governments and peoples countered this

at the appropriate moment by fresh efforts in defence of peace. The first act in this were the statements of the great Stalin – his last political pronouncements on the international situation. These contained proposals for ending the “cold war”, for a meeting of the leaders of the great world powers with a view to concluding a Peace Pact and to creating a new, international situation devoid of tension. This was followed by new big detachments joining the peace movement. There followed the Peoples’ Congress for Peace in Vienna – a great manifestation bearing a new character, different from the previous Peace Congresses. The Peoples’ Congress was attended by men and women of all trends, by representatives with convictions very far removed from those of the Communists and Socialists, and even from the convictions of the leaders of the peace movement, by men and women united by the sole desire jointly to find a way out which would enable all peoples to avoid the catastrophe of war.

After the death of our great leader Comrade Stalin there followed on the part of the Soviet Union further acts in the development of the policy conducted, charted and envisaged by Comrade Stalin: the statement by Comrade Malenkov at Stalin’s funeral, his subsequent statements on behalf of the Government and the Soviet people at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Immediately afterwards concrete proposals were advanced by the Chinese and Korean sides for ending the conflict in Korea, first by exchanging sick and wounded prisoners of war, and afterwards by resuming the truce negotiations and, finally, by agreeing on a new plan, acceptable to both sides, for settling the controversial question of exchange of war prisoners.

These acts and proposals amazed the world. They have been the subject of discussion and are still being discussed; they are the subject of articles and fantasy, but mostly for the purpose of sowing confusion in the minds of the common

people, of preventing them from understanding what has taken place. What, actually, has taken place?

In order to clarify matters it is necessary to recall certain things. In the first place it should be recalled that proposals aimed at ending the war in Korea have been advanced all the time by the U.S.S.R., by the Chinese and Korean side. The first proposal which, if it had been accepted, would have resulted in an immediate cessation of hostilities, came from Comrade Stalin two or three weeks after the outbreak of the Korean conflict. One year later the Soviet Union again proposed the opening of negotiations for a truce. In the course of the truce talks it became clear that one side – the Korean side – remaining true to the principles of settling relations between states, sought a way to peace, while the other side tried in every way, by means of unspeakable vilifications and suspicions, to prevent the war from being ended.

The present proposals were advanced precisely at a time when it was essential to advance them in order that they should have the maximum effect, that is, they should open up the concrete perspective of peace as sound as possible and durable. That is why these proposals were advanced at this time with the clarity and keen understanding of state problems and the feeling for reality that is typical of the leaders of the socialist countries.

Certain results have already been achieved. Agreement has been reached for the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war. We welcome this agreement and the fact that in this way hopes for peace have been kindled once more in the hearts of the peoples. We look forward to news about resumption of the truce negotiations, we all hope that new and decisive steps will be taken to secure a speedy end to this armed conflict so serious and dangerous for the entire world.

This marks the first victory in the fight for peace, concluded for many years by the entire peace front, which

includes nations, states and governments. We welcome this first victory and are explaining to the Italian people that it represents a triumph for the policy which we in this country have pursued for many years in close conjunction with all the forces throughout the world waging a consistent struggle against war, against the war provocateurs, for peace.

But if it is correct that hopes of achieving peace have again kindled in the hearts of the people, it is also correct that we do not entertain any illusions, at least, we do not entertain extravagant illusions. We know that the forces of war are far from being disarmed. Every passing day confirms this. However, it is a fact that at the moment there is a concrete perspective of an end being put to the international tension and to the "cold war" throughout the world. Can this perspective be realised automatically? Can it be realised only by means of regular procedure such as meetings at Panmunjom, by means of conferences or negotiations between diplomats, by exchanging Notes or press campaigns? We do not believe in this. Peace can be firmly won and any serious measures along the path of easing the international tension and achieving peace can be effectively and speedily taken only on the condition that the fight for peace develops. It must continue. The achievement of the first success must act a stimulus to further intensification of the fight for peace. The peace-loving governments will take further steps along this road, but we desire that also in the camp of the governments of capitalist Western Europe there should be advanced and clarified the proposals of those who realise that a new world conflict would be disastrous for all and, consequently, are anxious to avert it. We shall regard as positive all the steps taken in this direction. However, we know that we shall be successful in obtaining new solid results and in ensuring the success of the cause of peace only if the actions of the nations and of the governments are coordinated, because the peace front includes nations and states, the masses and



governments.

## **We Demand a Government of Peace**

It is from this angle that we regard the elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on June 7. What is Italy in need of at the present moment? Above all Italy needs peace. What is it that all Italians, with the exception of a handful of exploiters and lunatics, want today? The Italian people want peace. But in order to obtain peace we need, not pacifist declarations made in a whisper, as was the case prior to the election of April 18, 1948, and which were followed by unconditional adherence to the plans for preparing aggressive war. We do not want any declarations of this kind. We urge the Italian people to declare themselves in the June 7 election for an Italian Government that would actively combine its own efforts with the efforts of all others acting and fighting to ease the International tension and for peace.

We demand a government of peace! This is the first and the chief point in our election programme. We want a government that would pursue a foreign policy radically different from the policy hitherto pursued; we want a government that would be an active factor in easing the international tension and in establishing closer and firm peaceful relations between all the nations.

We demand that this government, associating itself with the clearly-expressed will of 17 million Italian citizens for peace, become the initiator of international action for the prohibition of the atomic and bacteriological weapons of mass annihilation. We demand that this government combine its own effort with the efforts of those striving for a meeting of the five Great Powers in order to conclude a Pact of Peace for a long period.

The policy of peace, which we welcome, for which we fight and which we put before the Italian electorate, is the only possible Italian policy in the sphere of international relations. There can be no other genuine Italian policy, because only a policy of this kind guarantees our independence, our freedom and our sovereignty in the system of international relations.

For many years now we have lacked a foreign policy that could be called an Italian policy in the sense that it represented and upheld the permanent interests of the Italian people. Such a policy has not been carried out in general, has not been pursued and is not pursued in concrete questions, since we cannot describe as Italian policy that foreign policy which is linked with the plans of the U.S. war provocateurs.

We cannot describe as Italian that foreign policy which blandly facilitates revival of German militarism and expansionism.

We cannot describe as Italian that foreign policy which, submitting to the U.S. diktat and to U.S. control, cuts off the routes for extending our trade with the European and Asiatic East.

It is impossible likewise to describe as Italian foreign policy the so-called European policy which is the essence of the propaganda of some elements in the government bloc. The present European policy is not Italian policy because it pursues the aim not of a united Europe, but of a dismembered Europe, because it is aimed at perpetuating its dismemberment into two parts which can lead to catastrophic consequences.

They want to unite Europe?! We shall be the first to support any initiative directed towards the unification of Europe, that is, at establishing between all the European countries relations of peaceful co-existence, greater mutual understanding, effective cooperation and closer and more fruitful exchange in the economic and cultural spheres: We would look with favour on any initiative taken in this direction.

But at present this is not what is being done. Today a bloc of certain states in Western Europe is being formed which includes Germany, not all Germany, only part of it, that part now being egged on to reckless revanchist and vindictive designs directed against the democratic forces which smashed Hitlerism. The blueprint of the aggressive alliance of a few countries of Western Europe, based on a military organisation headed by the U.S. warmongers for the purpose of provoking conflicts with other European countries, is not a plan for the unification of Europe. On the contrary, this is a political act aimed at perpetuating the “cold war” on the continent, and the “cold war” cannot go on for long without developing into a hot war. We know that on the day of a new major conflict in Europe Italy would inevitably lose its independence and its sovereignty. It would become a “base” for foreign armies. In the long run we cannot say whether or not it would be able to maintain its existence as a single national state.

One cannot describe as Italian that foreign policy which aims, by approving the notorious agreement on the European Defence Community”, at depriving Italy of its national armed forces, at depriving young Italians of the right to serve the necessary term in the national army, wearing our own uniform and serving under the banner of our homeland; such a foreign policy which aims at depriving the representative organs of the Italian people of the right guaranteed them by the Constitution: to decide the questions of war and peace.

One cannot describe as Italian the foreign policy which impels us to sign this treaty which, in particular, openly envisages use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons in a future war. And they still dare to say that we are carrying on a slander campaign when we lay bare the crimes of the germ war waged by the Americans in Korea, when they themselves submit to the Italian Parliament an international treaty in which, in Article 197, this war is envisaged in every letter.

This is not an Italian foreign policy. The foreign policy pursued so far by the clericals and their satellites runs counter to the general and particular interests of the Italian people. An end must be put to this policy and we want to put an end to it and to ensure for the people of Italy a new place on the international arena, with the occupation of which our country would not merely be towed in the wake of somebody else but would itself become the champion and would compel its government to act as initiator in forming a new international situation, a situation of peaceful relations among all nations, a situation of lasting peace, in which an end would be put to the “cold war” among the nations and the states.

Forward along this path! Forward, along the path which leads to the easing of the international tension, to prohibition of the atomic weapon, to a Peace Pact among the Great Powers, to a stable and lasting peace. Such is the first and chief part of the programme we advance before the people of Italy in the coming election.

To put an end to the “cold war” – this is our main vital aim in the sphere of international relations. But there is another aim closely linked with the first, and it is one of the main aims which we advance before the people in this election.

We demand an end to the “cold war” not only in the sphere of international relations but simultaneously and parallel with this in the internal life of our country, in the life of the people of Italy.

These two aims are closely linked. One follows from the other. One gives rise to the other and this is confirmed by the open declarations of our opponents, the architects of the foreign policy of preparing war and of the internal policy of splitting the nation.

Ever since 1947 we have lived in the atmosphere of “cold war”, the starting point of which is the aforementioned discrimination practised, and now being practised by the

Government, which tramples underfoot the Republican Constitution which not only proclaims and guarantees the equality of all citizens but also proclaims and declares that the Italian Republic is founded on labour.

In recent years circumstances have been created in Italy in which it is enough for a working man to display his affiliation to the ideals of labour, which are the ideals of Socialism, immediately to find himself under suspicion or even regarded as an enemy. It suffices for any major organisation to unite the advanced forces of the working class and the working masses of any category connected in any way with these ideals and fighting for better conditions and social progress to find itself under special suspicion and surveillance of administrative organs and police. It suffices for representatives of the Party of the working people to come to the leadership of any commune or province and the usual laws no longer apply to them and a special regime is established in relation to them, a regime of persecution. A considerable part of the nation constantly experiences police pressure. I recall election meetings at which I spoke where perfectly calm audiences were surrounded by tanks with machine-guns pointed at them, because they were working people.

Street demonstrations, which according to the Constitution can be held freely provided they are of a peaceful nature, are, according to the practice of the “cold war”, no longer free if the Left Democratic Parties take part in them. Expression of opinion cease to be free whenever it concerns not the viewpoint of the government Parties but of the Parties in opposition to the Government – the parties of the working people, the workers’ parties.

**Our Path For A Bright Future For Italy**

There are two altogether different paths. The path suggested to Italy by the clericals, that is, the path of extreme aggravation of the "cold war", of fomenting discord within the nation, of intensifying the police nature of the state and the Government. The path suggested by us is the path of returning to constitutional law, of ending the "cold war" between citizens, the opportunity of freely, expressing and fighting for one's own interests and ideas in the course of free discussion, of finding a basis for agreement which would enable our country to take the pathway of effective economic, political and social renovation.

The means for developing our industry and trade and consequently for improving our entire economic situation can and must be found in the sphere of trade relations with all parts of the world, which can be ensured by rejecting all trade bans and restrictions between our country and all countries both in the West and in the East, in Europe and Asia. This is the decisive way both for upholding our independence and for developing our economy. We suggest that the public wealth be used not in the interests of a privileged minority of exploiters, but in the interests of the people as a whole.

What we demand, and for this we address ourselves to the Italian electorate, is to achieve through the medium of the election a situation which would permit the formation of a government capable of launching and of carrying through a great, incessant and effective struggle against poverty, against the growing privations of the worker, office employee, handicraftsman, peasant, against the economic degradation of Southern Italy and the islands, the mountain areas and other poorly developed areas.

The economic measures envisaged by us go in the direction of social renovation, a direction which we unhesitatingly recognise as the road to Socialism. Socialism is exactly what Italy needs. Not until such time as we, in our onward march

break with the old capitalistic order, not until we resolutely turn against the interests of the old privileged groups, not until we achieve supremacy of the interests of the people as a whole over their interests, will Italy be able to achieve prosperity, will it be able to shake off the state of depression and rid itself of privation. This is exactly what Socialism offers and envisages.

What is the primary condition which will enable us to a greater or lesser degree advance along this path, in keeping with objective circumstances? The primary condition is to break the political monopoly of the clerical Party and its petty satellites. This political monopoly is based on the votes of which the people were cheated on April 18, 1948. But those who voted then for the Christian Democrats have begun, little by little and ever more clearly, to understand that they erred. The political domination of the clerical Party has become now, in my view, oppressive and unbearable for the majority of the Italian population. The people have had enough of this domination. The people want to breathe freely once more in a political atmosphere where there will be no arbitrary action of a party bent on excluding all others from leadership of political life, in a political atmosphere, where an end will be put to this regime, which has the same specific features as the corrupt clerical clique which trusts no one.

Breaking the political monopoly of the Christian Democratic Party signifies putting an end to the attempts of the clericals to become in fact and for long the dominant force in Italian society as a whole.

The clericals represent a political trend, which if it were to tip the scales, might prove fatal. Italy was founded in struggle against clericalism. Clerical supremacy for a long period can only lead to the destruction of Italy. Overwhelming domination by the clericals signifies decline of economic life, decline of parliamentary activity, of education and culture, a return to the hated forms of censorship, police control over thinking and the

spread of obscurantism. Overwhelming domination by the clericals signifies rejection of all the best Italian traditions in the realms of culture, literature and art. The finest Italian traditions in these spheres are anti-clerical; what is more, they are traditions of open struggle against clericalism.

Let not the clerical leaders and those who support them imagine that any result which they may succeed in achieving in the election campaign by means of intimidation, corruption and fraud, by rigid application of the fraudulent electoral law, let them not imagine that the Italian people will regard this result as in any way blinding.

I do not say this as a threat, but with due consideration to what may happen in the coming years. There is one thing I want specially to warn against. Let not the leaders of the clerical Party think that if tomorrow there should be an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, a majority not elected by the people but formed on the basis of the fraudulent electoral law, and that if tomorrow this majority by its vote should sanction Italy's entry into war, let them not think that this vote would be regarded as in any way binding by the working people, the youth and the Italian people.

We all hope that this perspective will not materialise. We are sparing no effort and call on the working people and Italian citizens to do all in their power to prevent this perspective from materialising. Let the political monopoly of the clerical Party be broken. Let the road to clericalisation be barred. Let an end be put to the advance to war. Let an end be put to the "cold war" inside the country. The means for achieving these results are in the hands of all. The need is to vote in a way that the clerical Party and its satellites will not succeed in getting 50 per cent plus one vote, and then the fraudulent electoral law cannot be applied. The need, consequently, is not to vote either for the Christian Democrats or for any other party acting in accord with it.



The aims which we put before the electorate, aims which follow from the basic aim of ending – by ensuring the defeat of the fraudulent electoral law – the monopoly of the Christian Democratic Party are clearly defined in our programme. These are democratic, national and socialist aims. We demand the formation of a government of peace, an end to the “cold war” in our country, a policy of social reforms in the interests of all working people and complete adherence to the Republican Constitution.

Let June 7 be the last day of the political monopoly of the clerical Party, the day of the beginning of a new period for Italy, the period of genuine, democratic and social renovation. Let these elections mark a new advance by Italy along the road of democracy, progress, freedom and Socialism.

## **IN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

### **National Council Of Italian Communist Party**

On April 15-17 a meeting of the National Council of the Italian Communist Party was held in Rome.

The morning session was devoted to the 60th birthday of Palmiro Togliatti. Luigi Longo, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party, described the life and work of Palmiro Togliatti, his role as leader of the working class and entire democratic movement in Italy. A number of comrades delivered congratulatory messages.

At the afternoon session on April 15 Togliatti made a report

on the “Programme of the Communists in connection with the parliamentary election”.

Speaking in the discussion Pietro Secchia, Deputy General Secretary of the Party, pointed out that the candidates of the four parties of the government coalition include the representatives and trustees of the industrial monopolies, big landlords, bankers, former fascist leaders and fascist criminals. The Communist Party has nominated 811 candidates for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, including 224 workers, 118 trade unionists, 59 farm labourers and peasants, 81 office employees, 40 technicians and engineers, 42 handicraftsmen and small traders, 30 professors and teachers, 217 representatives of the intelligentsia, of the free professions and journalists.

Mauro Scoccimarro, Secretary of the Party, exposed the mercenary and corrupt nature of the Christian Democratic Party, whose representatives are closely linked with business circles. Scoccimarro outlined the programme of reforms proposed by the Communist Party. He dwelt at length on the draft of the tax reform which provides, in particular for increasing the revenue from the taxes of the rich from 15 to 50 per cent and for cutting the revenue from the taxes of the lower income groups and of the working people from 85 to 50 per cent.

Giuseppe Di Vittorio, member of the leadership of the Communist Party and General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour (I.G.C.L.), said that the I.G.C.L. would give active support to the candidates of the people’s parties and that during the election campaign too, it would continue its struggle for satisfaction of the economic demands of the working people, for adherence to the collective agreements.

## **Work Of Tchirpan District Committee Of Communist Party Of Bulgaria During Sowing Campaign**

The Tchirpan district ranked among the first in Bulgaria for fulfilment of the spring sowing. The sowing of early crops was completed in a brief space of time.

This success was, in large measure, the result of the constant attention shown by the Tchirpan district committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria in the matter of strengthening the lower organisations in the agricultural co-operatives and in the machine and tractor depots, a result of its aid to the state and economic organs directly guiding agricultural work. On the instructions of the district committee the lower organisations allocated members in good time to the decisive sectors – to the teams and brigades of the co-operatives and to the tractor teams of the machine and tractor depots. Additional agitators from the ranks of those who showed good results during the December election campaign were allocated for improving mass-political work in the countryside. Prior to the beginning of the sowing there were 2,115 agitators, including 479 women. Most of them had completed courses for agitators.

During the first half of January the district Party committee worked out special organisational and political measures for preparing and carrying out the sowing. In conformity with this plan a joint plenary meeting of the district committee and the district people's council was held, with leaders of the mass organisations and the best agricultural workers present. The meeting drew conclusions from the experience accumulated during 1952 and outlined concrete tasks.

The lower organisations of the Party in their turn held meetings and also joint meetings with the village councils. General meetings were held of the members of the co-operatives, of all the mass organisations in the countryside, the

trade union organisations in the machine and tractor depots and on the state farms. These measures resulted in a considerable increase in the political activity of the working people. Keynote of the struggle for model sowing was fulfilment of the promise made by the working people to Comrade Tchervenkov to achieve high yields.

Taking into account the decisive role played by the machine and tractor depots in the sowing campaign the bureau of the district committee gave constant help to the managers and Party organisations of the machine and tractor depots, helped in the work of signing the agreements between the machine and tractor depots and the co-operatives and at the end of January heard a report on the progress of repairs in the machine and tractor depots and their degree of readiness for the sowing.

The district committee directed the sowing campaign through the medium of the people's councils, the managers of the machine and tractor depots and the Boards of the co-operatives, not by substituting them but by giving them constant help. As a rule, the secretaries and members of the bureau of the district committee attend meetings of the Party and of the economic activists in the villages, delivering reports and taking part in the discussion.

At the same time, the Party committee reminds the branches of the need to carry out daily work among the individual peasants and of the fact that Party members must set an example in fulfilling their obligations to the state.

At present the majority of the bureaus of the lower Party organisations meet every week to discuss their work, analyse the factors in the successes and the reasons for the shortcoming. Unfortunately, as yet, the Tchirpan district committee inadequately studies and generalises the experience of the leading Party organisations and does not make proper use of this experience for teaching the lagging organisations.

**From D. Kalev  
“Rabotnichesko Delo”**

### **Volume III Of Mao Tse-Tung's Selected Works Published**

Volume III of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung's selected works which has just come off the press in China, contains his major articles and speeches from March 1911 up to August 1945.

Printed in an edition of 1.5 million copies the volume, which is in great demand throughout the country, is obtainable at all bookshops of the “Hsinhua” book-selling company.

### **Meeting Of Central Board, Communist Party Of Germany**

At the 8th plenary meeting of the Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany, held in Düsseldorf on April 12, Comrade Max Reimann, Chairman of the Party, delivered a report on the “struggle of German patriots against implementation of the Bonn and Paris military treaties and the tasks of the Party”.

Max Reimann stressed that the Adenauer policy of rattling the sabre and of military threats is directed not only against the democratic and peace-loving peoples of the countries of Eastern Europe but also against the West European countries, against the French people in particular, and, above all, against the German people. In these conditions increasingly bigger sections of the German people and the working class in the first instance are uniting in struggle against the war policy.

Addressing his remarks to the Social Democratic workers

Comrade Reimann said:

“You, Social Democratic workers and working people, realise, just as we Communists do, the extent of the danger stemming from the fascist course taken by the Adenauer Government. You, like we, also understand that the victory of fascism in 1933 became possible due solely to the split in the working class, that had the working class been united it could have prevented the establishment of the fascist dictatorship and the misfortune of the second world war. Let us learn the lessons from the history of the German working-class movement! I Let us unite in the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms, in the struggle against the war danger, against implementation of the military treaties, for a united, peace-loving and democratic Germany!”.

Pointing out that in recent months the Communist Party of Germany had won a number of successes in developing mass work, Max Reimann stressed that the patriotic movement would have had greater success had the entire Communist Party fully grasped the significance of the “Programme for National Re-Unification of Germany”, had it realised this programme in all questions of its policy. Referring to the forthcoming Bundestag elections the speaker said: “We can conduct a successful election campaign on the sole condition that it is based on the ‘Programme for National Re-Unification of Germany’”.

After the discussion of Max Reimann’s report the meeting made a number of decisions for improving work in the enterprises and for preparing for the Bundestag elections.

**AFRICAN WORKING PEOPLE FIGHT  
AGAINST COLONIAL SLAVERY**



The World Federation of Trade Unions has published a booklet entitled “Conditions of life, labour and struggle of transport workers and dockers in Africa and Madagascar”\*. Although small in volume, the brochure contains facts and documents which lay bare the ruthless violence of the colonisers who have turned Africa into a hell of imperialist slavery for the 180 million Africans. Simultaneously, it vividly shows that the working masses of Africa, in increasing numbers, are rising in struggle against the colonial yoke.

It reveals that the population of Madagascar has shrunk from 10 million to 4.5 million in the period since the brutal French colonisers first seized the island. During the past 8 years famine has raged five times in different parts of Tunisia. According to official data alone, the number of unemployed in Algeria exceeds 300 thousand, while 450 thousand have been forced to leave for France in search of means of existence.

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\* “Les conditions de vie, de travail et de lutte des travailleurs des transports et des ports en Afrique et à Madagascar”. Fédération syndicate mondiale. 1952.



There, however, they again found themselves on the brink of starvation. The booklet stresses that the rule of the European and American colonisers in Africa “spells plunder of the natural resources, ruthless exploitation of the native population, brutal repressions against the working people, racial discrimination, unemployment, poverty, foul hovels, disease and illiteracy.

But in Africa, as in the other colonial and dependent countries, powerful social forces are awakening which seek to smash the gigantic prison of the peoples into which their homeland has been converted. These forces are the working class and the peasantry. Numerically the African proletariat grew considerably during the years of the second world war and in the postwar. For example, in the French colonies of North and Black Africa there are hundreds of thousands of industrial workers; in the Belgian Congo, there are 800 thousand factory and office workers, and there are nearly two million industrial workers and farm labourers in the Union of South Africa.

Numerical growth of the African proletariat is accompanied by rapid development of political consciousness and organisation. Since 1945 trade unions have made their appearance in nearly all African territories. In South Africa, Algeria and Nigeria the trade unions unite hundreds of thousands of factory and office workers. Increasingly, the working-class organisations act as heralds of the general popular demands and more and more resolutely lead the national liberation movement.

The booklet points out that the conference of trade union representatives of 13 territories of the French colonies in West and Equatorial Africa and the Cameroons, held in 1951 in Bamako (Sudan), laid down the vital tasks for the African trade union movement such as “Defence of all demands and of all rights of the working people and of all peoples of Africa;

struggle for the liberation of the people of Africa from colonial exploitation; struggle for peace, in keeping with local conditions, with the help of peace committees formed at the place of work; struggle for equality, including the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination; development of the natural resources of the African continent for the well-being of the peoples”.

Another big event in the life of the African working people was the convening in Algiers in 1952 of the conference of representatives of transport workers and dockers of North, West and Equatorial Africa and Madagascar. The work of the conference is closely analysed in the brochure. This conference dealt thoroughly with the conditions of life, labour and struggle of the transport workers and dockers and elaborated a concrete programme of action calling on factory and office workers to fight might and main against the war preparations of the imperialists on the African continent.

It is worth noting that the immediate postwar years were marked by strikes, demonstrations and other mass actions of the African working people against the colonial yoke, actions which took on a more organised and militant character. Some 250 thousand people in Algeria took part in a total of 300 strikes, demanding higher wages, abolition of racial barriers and the satisfaction of other vital demands. A three weeks strike of 39 thousand mine workers in Northern Rhodesia at the end of 1952 ended in success, the strikers won a wage increase. At the end of 1952, as a result of years of resolute struggle, actively supported by the French Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labour, the working people of the French colonies in Africa succeeded in getting Parliament to adopt a “Labour Code for the Overseas Territories”. This code annulled forced labour and won for the African working people right such as the 40-hour working week, the freedom for trade unions, etc. The African working people are continuing their

struggle against the French colonisers, who are sabotaging realisation of this Code.

The struggle of the people of Africa against the imperialist designs to use the continent as a springboard and a source of cannon fodder and of strategic materials in a new world war is gaining momentum. The booklet points out that a brilliant example has been shown in this respect by the heroic dockers of Algeria. For more than three years, in teeth of police repression and poverty, they have boycotted the unloading of American armaments and loading of strategic materials earmarked for Viet Nam.

The majority of African trade unions are affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions whose prestige and influence are steadily increasing also in those unions which, as yet, are not affiliated to the World Federation. On the other hand, the agents of the colonisers – the splitters of the yellow international in the British Trade Union Congress and in the French yellow unions – are suffering failure after failure.

The colonisers seek to suppress the mounting protest of the African working people against the imperialist slavery by resorting to ruthless sanguinary repressions. Forty thousand people were killed in Algeria in 1945, 90 thousand fell victims of the butcheries organised by the French colonisers in Madagascar in 1947-48; brutal shootings of strikers and demonstrators by the British imperialists and their accomplices took place in Nigeria, in the Gold Coast, in Uganda, in the Union of South Africa and in Egypt; repressions continue against the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya and other countries. Such is the far from complete list of atrocities committed by the colonisers against the African people in recent years.

But no repressions can kill the confidence of the peoples in the victory of their just cause. The delegates to the conference of transport workers and dockers of North, West, Equatorial

Africa and Madagascar, unanimously declared: "... Despite all difficulties, all obstacles, despite police shadowing, blackmail, corruption, administrative sanctions and dismissals, despite police repression, prison, assassination, the working class and the courageous peoples of Africa are going ahead with their struggle for a higher standard of living, for freedom and liberation from colonial yoke".

**Robert LEROY**

## **CONCERNING ECONOMIC SITUATION IN WESTERN GERMANY, Walter Poth, Member, Secretariat of Central Board, Communist Party Of Germany**

The basic economic law of modern capitalism formulated by Comrade Stalin in his brilliant “Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.”, enables us to get a deeper understanding of the processes taking place in economic life in the capitalist countries and particularly in Western Germany.

Knowledge of the basic economic law of modern capitalism enables us better to reveal the very essence of the policy of enslavement of Western Germany pursued by the U.S.-British and French imperialists, the policy of reviving predatory German imperialism. Relying on knowledge of this law we are able to disclose the reasons, the real aims and the fatal consequences of the aggressive policy of monopoly capital, able to expose before the population of Western Germany the national betrayal of the Adenauer regime, a betrayal manifested above all in the policy of the militarist “general contract”.

Knowledge of this basic law of modern capitalism also enables us, better than hitherto, to expose the treacherous role of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade unions as accomplices of German and foreign imperialism.

By means of the basic economic law of modern capitalism we can, as stated by Walter Ulbricht at the tenth plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, “... explain to the working class and working people in Western Germany why capitalist rule has lost all perspective, why the attempt to overcome the capitalist contradictions by means of war production can but further aggravate the crisis phenomena.

The basic economic law of modern capitalism enables the vanguard of the working class in Western Germany to explain to the working population the reasons for the intensified exploitation, unemployment, price increases and the burdening of the working people of town and countryside with rising taxation”.

## I.

Our economic life provides daily confirmation of the disastrous consequences of the functioning of the basic economic law of modern capitalism.

By means of capitalist rationalisation the exploiters have, on a monstrous scale, stepped up intensification of labour, which ensures for the capitalists huge profits. The U.S. monopolists, in particular, excel in this respect, imposing their methods of sweating the working class in all countries where they are engaged in military preparations. By means of this sweating system hourly productivity of labour in Western Germany rose, in the period from 1949 to September 1952, on an average by 34 per cent. Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, had to admit at the Dortmund congress of this Party that the “broad masses lack or practically lack the subsistence minimum”.

Simultaneously the profits of the monopolies have soared. Whereas in June 1948 they comprised one-Fifth of the wage fund, by Jun 1951 they were treble the wage fund and continued to soar.

During the exchange of the old German mark for the new mark the owners of the West German concerns again ensured for them elves in the Bonn federal republic the same maximum profits that they got during the Hitler war. While the small savings of the working people were exchanged at the rate of ten old marks for one new mark, the capital of the bulk of the

joint stock companies was re-evaluated at the rate of one for one, and magnates like Hugo Stinnes exchanged their capital at the rate of one old mark for four new marks.

The tax system is also framed in the interests of the capitalists in 1951 the total sum from basis taxes imposed on the working masses was more than treble the amount derived from the property tax. Compared with 1913 the national income has risen 3.5 times and the tax burden 12 times.

Prices for essential food items have soared enormously, Between 1949 and “1952 the price of brown bread rose 63 per cent; wheat flour, 57 per cent; oatmeal, 62 per cent; carrots, 153 per cent; beef and low grade pork, 83 per cent. Only recently consumer co-operatives raised the price of bread 12-18 pfennigs a kilogram and a litre of milk by 10 pfennigs.

Prices for manufactured goods are also rising, which is detrimental first of all to the peasants. According to some calculations real income of peasants is now 50 per cent below prewar. The overall debt of West German agriculture by the middle of 1951 was 4.27 billion marks.

In his work “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism” Lenin wrote: “We see here the monopolies throttling those which do not submit to them, to their yoke, to their dictation”.

This thesis of Lenin finds clear confirmation in numerous facts taken from everyday life in Western Germany and particularly in the large number of bankruptcies. Annually more than 4,000 handicraft enterprises close down in Western Germany as a result of bankruptcy. Since 1949 alone, 40 per cent of all handicraft workshops went into liquidation.

The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders are doing all in their power to ensure and to add to the profits of the concerns. The Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany particularly demand subsidies for the monopolies. They want to make the German monopolies a present of billions at the expense of the millions of workers, peasants,

handicraftsmen, of small and medium manufacturers.

## II.

As is known, maximum profit is secured through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarisation of the national economy, which are utilised for the obtaining the highest profits.

The rulers of the U.S., Britain and France waged war against Hitler Germany not for the liberation of the German people from fascist tyranny, but, as the “Programme for National Re-Unification of Germany” states, to put Germany “out of commission as a rival, to grab and exploit its wealth, and to use our people and our country for preparing a new war for world domination”.

The U.S.-British-French imperialists are dismembering Germany, frustrating the signing of a peace treaty and refusing to withdraw their occupation troops. Having failed to enslave the whole of Germany they are doing their utmost to prevent mutual understanding between Germans in Eastern and Western Germany. Taking advantage of the temporary weakness of Western Germany and aided by the German imperialists and their Bonn accomplices, they seek to prolong for decades the enslavement and plunder of our people by means of the “general contract” and the Paris military pact.

The “Programme for national Re-Unification of Germany” points out in this connection:

“The Western Powers take advantage of the occupation regime in order to squeeze maximum profits out of Western Germany. They dictate to Western Germany treaties such as the Marshall Plan, the Schuman Plan, ‘the Green Pool’ and other agreements which are diametrically opposed to German



interests and are directed against the Potsdam Agreement of the Four Powers. They have entrenched themselves in the coal, steel and chemical industries and are penetrating more and more to other branches of German industry; they arrogantly act the master in relation to West German exports and imports, fix prices in accordance with their interests, allocate raw materials in accordance with their war plans and in every way frustrate the development of German civil industry”.

In their drive for maximum profits the German imperialists do not confine themselves to intensified exploitation of the working people in Western Germany; they make use of every opportunity in order again to take part in plundering the peoples of other countries. For instance, the visits made by Schacht, the Hitler President of the Imperial Bank and war criminal, to Iran, Egypt and Spain were clearly designed to find for the German imperialists new markets and sources of raw materials.

Subsidiaries of the “Heinkel” aircraft firm, the “Wolfsburg” and “DKW” automobile companies and of the “Hentschel und Sohn” firm are again functioning in South Africa. The “Mannesmann” firm is building a new foundry in Brazil. In this connection the German imperialists play a big role in the American “European Union”, elaborating a “colonial plan” which as the “Stuttgarter Zeitung” wrote on September 26 last year, “is to provide for those member-countries of the European Council lacking colonial possessions (that is, for the German imperialists—**W. P.**) an opportunity for active cooperation in exploiting new sources of raw materials in the economically backward areas”.

The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders – rabid accomplices of the imperialists – actually support the policy of plundering other peoples. Whereas the draft of this Party’s “Programme of Action” contained a phrase to the effect that the Social Democratic Party of Germany aligns itself with all the

peoples fighting for liberation from colonial dependence and strives for close friendly relations with them, the final version replaces those words with the vague phrase: “The Social Democratic Party will support all measures facilitating the self-determination and social development of the under-developed countries. In this way the Right-wing leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany seeks, by resorting to the phrases

long used by the imperialists and used today above all by the U.S. imperialists, to camouflage its justification of colonisation, exploitation and enslavement of other peoples.

### III.

As is seen from the basic economic law of modern capitalism formulated by Comrade Stalin, the monopolists, in their striving for the highest profits, resort to militarisation of the national economy and unleashing of bloody wars.

Twice in the space of 30 years the imperialists dragged the peoples into monstrous military gambles, – gambles in which the German imperialists, being the most rapacious and aggressive, in both cases unleashed war. The U.S. imperialists alone netted nearly 53 billion dollars on the blood of millions of people during the second world war.

V. I. Lenin gave the following characterisation of American imperialism and its role in World War I:

“Every dollar is stained with the filth of ‘profitable’ military deliveries enriching the rich and despoiling the poor in every country. And every dollar is stained with blood – of that sea of blood which was shed by the ten millions killed and twenty millions maimed...”.

What is the explanation for this nature of American imperialism?

It is the desire on the part of the imperialists to ensure the

maximum profits – a striving which confronts them with growing difficulties. These difficulties arise from the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism in the course of which the problem of markets becomes more and more acute and aggravated, with the result that the imperialists encounter tremendous difficulties in marketing their goods. In an attempt to overcome these difficulties the imperialists conduct the policy of militarisation of the national economy and seek to unleash new predatory wars.

Precisely this explains the aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists who unleashed the war in Korea and who are hammering together war blocs both in the Near East and Far East, and in Europe, spearheaded against the freedom-loving peoples. This also explains why the U.S. imperialists dismembered Germany and rebuilt German imperialism, making it their thief ally, and why they are imposing treaties on Western Germany which may precipitate it into the abyss of another war.

Finally, this explains both the reactionary policy of the Adenauer Government and the regime created in Western Germany by the imperialist occupationists and West German-reaction. It is quite clear that the acts of national betrayal which follow one another are committed for the purpose of securing maximum profits for the German and foreign imperialists. The “Programme for National Re-Unification of Germany” justly points out: “Hundreds of times the Adenauer regime has committed and continues to commit acts of national betrayal”.

Thus, it is quite clear that the securing of maximum profits by the imperialists is in irreconcilable contradiction with the national interests of the German people. Thus, the unbearable conditions created by the imperialists and their accomplices for the population of Western Germany can be abolished only by means of ruthless struggle on the part of all German patriots for the overthrow of the Adenauer regime.

Before the Communists there arises also the task of exposing constantly, systematically and better than before, the “theories” and policy of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Amalgamated Trade Unions of Western Germany. This task is part and parcel of our struggle for unity of action of the working class. By laying bare the double-dealing of the Right-wing Social Democratic and trade union leaders and showing to the people the perspectives of our struggle we help the masses to rid themselves of the anti-people’s ideology of the Right-wing Socialist leaders and rally the working people beneath the banner of struggle for our national and social interests.

The “Programme for National Re-Unification of Germany” points out: “Members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and its supporters must realise the deceitful, double-dealing role played by the Right-wing leaders, must get rid of their policy. Unity of action must be established among the workers – Social Democrats, Communists, Christians and unorganised workers and of all working people in the struggle for their national and social demands”.

Equipped with knowledge of the laws of social development and with the understanding of the basic economic law of modern capitalism we shall be able, better than before, to carry out our national policy laid down in the “Programme’ for National Re-Unification of Germany”.

## **ENEMIES OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY**

The French town of Puteaux (Paris district) was the venue chosen for the latest jamboree – April 11-13 – of the Right-wing Socialist leaders – the session of the Council of the so-called Socialist International. The Right-wing Socialists held all their meetings behind closed doors. There was nothing fortuitous in this, because the mission assigned to the Right-wing Socialists by the organisers of the Atlantic bloc is so abhorred by the working class that the leaders of the “Socialist International” are forced to discuss them in secrecy, to conceal them from the popular masses.

The most sacred desire of the peoples is to preserve peace and to avert a new slaughter. The chief adversary of another war is the Soviet Union – the bulwark of world peace. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is an unswerving policy of preserving and consolidating peace. The Soviet Government maintains that at present there is not a single controversial or outstanding question which could not be solved by peaceful means on the basis of mutual agreement on the part of the interested countries. All the countries of the democratic camp are battling resolutely for the cause of peace. The peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and of all the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism is wholeheartedly welcomed and enjoys the growing support of the millions of people in all countries and on all continents striving for peace and hating war.

What stand have the Right-wing Socialist leaders taken in relation to this vital matter which is agitating all humanity, the question of peace?

The Puteaux medley proves once again that the Right-wing Socialists are the worst enemies of peace. In Puteaux they look upon themselves the utterly foul role of slandering the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the People’s

Democracies, of sowing mistrust in relation to the peace strivings of the democratic camp, of keeping the world in a state of tension.

The resolution adopted by them directly states that “the democracies (read imperialist countries) must remain armed, vigilant and united”.

Thus, in the guise of talk about peace, the Right-wing Socialist leaders actually call on the rulers of the capitalist countries to go ahead with the armaments drive, with stringing together aggressive blocs, with building war bases.

The discussion on all other issues – Franco Spain, Titoite Yugoslavia, the “European Community” and the “European Army”, the results of the conference of the socialist parties of Asian countries – confirms over and over again that the Right-wing Socialist leaders are the worst enemies of working-class unity, mercenary imperialist agents performing the dirtiest work on orders from the instigators of war.

**TITO-FASCIST CONSTITUTION OF  
LAWLESSNESS AND COLONIAL YOKE.  
Zygmunt Modzelewski, Member,  
Central Committee, Polish United  
Workers' Party**

Ever since the exposure of the Tito gang as a bourgeois, imperialist agency, there began the deliberate elimination by the Tito fascists of all the people's-democratic rights gained by the defeat of Hitlerism and the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army. Fascisation of the social system has become the basis of the entire policy carried out by Tito and his accomplices. Simultaneously the slavish dependence of Yugoslavia on the imperialist powers, on the U.S. in the first place, has grown.

At the same time the Tito rulers seek to deceive the working masses of the country by demagogic verbiage about Socialism, to camouflage their passage to the camp of reaction, fascism and war. But neither this perfidious manoeuvre nor the other foul tricks of the Titoites can conceal the fact that Titoite Yugoslavia has become a political and economic appendage to international finance capital and to American capital in particular, that it has been turned into a colonial country. Nor will the Titoites be able to conceal the consequences of the collapse of the national economy, the decline in culture and, above all, they will be unable to conceal the increasing oppression and exploitation of the broad working masses, the impoverishment and the spreading unemployment and hunger.

In these conditions the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946, adopted in the period of revolutionary upsurge of the masses, became a serious handicap to the Tito rulers. At the same time the principles of the Constitution were an eye-sore also to the American patrons of Tito.

Gross violation and trampling on the principles of the Constitution – methods practised in a big way in the capitalist countries – satisfied the Titoites only in the first phase of their treachery. Later, because of its progressive character, they had to abolish it.

The decision was made last year and in January this year they imposed the new, Titoite Constitution.

It is said that the text of the new Constitution was discussed first in the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, a fact which explain, the fuss and warm welcome accorded it in the bourgeois press. But that is not the point. It is not so much the content of the Constitution but rather life in the country of the Tito dictatorship, partly reflected in distorted form in the articles of the Constitution, that explains why it merited the wholehearted support of the Wall Street money-bags.

These gentlemen have no misgivings whatever about the real meaning of Article I, for example, which in glaring demagogic fashion proclaims, contrary to the evident facts, that “Yugoslavia is a socialist, democratic state union of independent and equal peoples”. They know perfectly well that this Article is the sole “argument” that Tito can advance as proof of “Socialism and democracy, independence and equality of the peoples” in Yugoslavia. After all, the facts clearly testify that the Tito fascist have restored capitalism in their country, that they have done so by means of the dictatorship of their clique, that they are trampling on the rights of the peoples, that they act in the interests of the capitalists and kulaks and in the interests of foreign capital and display absolutely no care for the interests of the working masses.

Only a few weeks after the enactment of the new Constitution Kardelj, one of the Titoite chiefs, declared at the Congress of the so-called “people’s front” that the Yugoslav peasant, upon abandoning collective tillage, must himself find other forms for transition to a higher plane, that even the most



liberal capitalist system never envisaged such freedom for the private owner as that which can and must be ensured the personal enterprise of every producer by the “Socialism” of the Tito variety.

Concretely speaking the matter concerns the carrying out of the so-called “ten-year plan for industrialisation of Yugoslav agriculture”. This plan, drawn up with the help of American and British experts, envisages development of kulak farms which are assigned the role of main bulwark of Titoite agriculture. The so-called “zadrugi” are placed in increasing dependence on kulak farms; they are being turned into open kulak association or abolished in the interests of the kulaks.

The “plan for the industrialisation of agriculture” is the outcome of pressure by American finance capital, which is alarmed at the steady decline in the cultivated area in Yugoslavia, at the decline in crop yields and in the number of livestock. This decline considerably reduces the export potential of Yugoslav agriculture, and it is precisely with agricultural products, timber and raw materials in the form of ores and non-ferrous metals that Yugoslavia pays the foreign creditors for the loans and the enslaving interest on the loans. In the past four years the Tito gang has raised a total of a billion dollars in loans from American, British, West German, Italian, Turkish and other financiers, including old debts, which have been recognised by the Titoites.

The U.S.-Tito plan for the industrialisation of agriculture is, in effect, a plan for intensified exploitation of the small peasant owners and agricultural labourers. It supplements the so-called “social plan” approved by the “Skupshтина” in March 1952. This “social plan”, in point of fact, marks a complete break with the system of economic planning in Yugoslavia, which the Titoite chiefs gave up earlier as a result of the elimination of the prerequisite for a planned national economy, namely, the socially-owned sector.

Liquidation of the planned economy was also sought by the American experts who advanced instead the draft of an economic programme which they called the “social plan”. This programme envisages accelerated extension of ore workings and of military construction, increased production of raw materials and semi-finished goods necessary for armaments and finally, construction of strategic roads, bridges, railways, ports, etc.

For the carrying out of this armaments programme the Belgrade rulers rely in the first place all private capital. One of the signs of this policy is the extension of concessions granted to foreign and Yugoslav capitalists. Yugoslav capitalists acquired a considerable number of small enterprises and some medium-size enterprises, while foreign capitalists, mainly American, seized the big enterprises. In addition, foreign capitalists enjoy special privileges accorded them by the Tito gang when signing trade agreements or treaties for so-called “aid”.

Every dollar or sterling loan, no matter how small, (20 million dollars – in September 1949; another 20 million in August 1950; 16 million in November 1950, etc.) enabled the American and other foreign banks to establish economic control over Yugoslavia and to engage in direct exploitation of its raw material resources. In this way all the economically important deposits of copper, lead, zinc, mercury, tungsten, molybdenum, chrome, nickel, manganese, iron, bauxites, sulphur, oil, to say nothing of gold, silver and platinum, – all found their way into the hands of foreign capital, especially American capital.

As a rule, administrative functions in the enterprises not yet handed over to the private owners are performed by the so-called “self-governing board of producers”, which, allegedly, is the “base of the social and political structure of the country” (Article 4, Tito Constitution). The principal role in this “self-

governing board” belongs to the factory management. The scale of salary and bonuses paid to the management and higher administrative officials depends on the profits of the given enterprise, Consequently, the management is directly interested in the greatest possible exploitation of the workers.

Capitalist exploitation in conditions of the Tito dictatorship leads either to gradual transformation of the given enterprise into a regular joint-stock organisation or some other form of association of a capitalist type or, in the event of it not showing a profit, – to the liquidation of the enterprise and to its direct transfer to private ownership. In the first instance the “self-governing board of producers” employs the same methods as the private owner squeezing as much as possible from the workers and thrusting aside all that stands in the way of higher profits, dismissing women workers in order to avoid giving them equal pay with men and payment for maternity leave, etc.

Of late, as is known. a rapid rise in unemployment, especially among women, has taken place in Yugoslavia-clear testimony to the complete falsity of Article 5 of the Tito Constitution which stipulates the “right to work” and “other basic human rights and rights of citizens”.

The enslaving dependence of the Tito economy on foreign capital is also seen in the foreign trade of Yugoslavia. Article 14 of the 1946 Constitution establishing the state monopoly of foreign trade has been annulled. The right to conclude trade transactions directly with foreign countries is granted to individual agricultural co-operatives, kulak associations and to industrial enterprises.

The foreign-concession enterprises lost no time in making use of this situation. These enterprises purchase and ship abroad Yugoslavia’s non-ferrous metals, paying half the price obtaining on the world market and sometimes even less. And it often happens that kulak producer co-operatives and

associations export agricultural goods of which there is an acute shortage in the country. The rapacious cutting of the splendid Yugoslav forests for export purposes continues, for instance, for export to Western Germany with which the trade relations are more and more reminiscent of the trade relations between Hitler Germany and monarchist Yugoslavia in the prewar.

This squandering of the national wealth, so detrimental to the interests of the national economy, was greatly facilitated by the currency “reform” carried out by the Belgrade ruler in January 1952: the official rate of exchange of the dollar was raised from 50 to 300 dinars that is sixfold. The “reform” was connected with the signing of the Yugoslav-U.S. economic treaty which accelerated the turning of Yugoslavia into all American military base in the Balkans.

The reactionary changes in the social-economic structure of Yugoslavia are being carried out parallel with intensified strengthening of the military clique and the police apparatus. Military expenditure swallows half the national income. As a result the burden of unbearable taxes falls on the working people, on the working class and toiling peasantry. It would be hard indeed to find a working class or peasant family, or even the family of an average government employee capable of making ends meet.

It is crystal clear that the Titoite regime keeps its head above water only with the help of the police apparatus and wholesale repressions and that its social base is shrinking more and more. At present the social support of the Titoites is comprised of the kulaks and capitalists and the higher army officers and officials.

In the section of the 1946 Constitution, relating to “People’s Power” Article 6 said that all People’s Committees, including the National Assembly, that is, the Skupshtina, “grew out of and developed in the national-liberation struggle against

fascism and reaction and represent the basic gain of this struggle”. Articles 14 and 16 of the section “Social and Economic System” proclaimed public property as the “main base of the state in the development of the national economy”. Article 15 of the same section further clarified this point: “The state directs the life and economic development of the country by means of a single economic plan which relies on the state and co-operative sector...”.

Clearly, the Belgrade warmongers, having subordinated their interests to the aggressive designs of the imperialists, did not want to maintain a Constitution which stipulated struggle against fascism, planned national economy, the rights of working people. Clearly, they hastened to abolish this Constitution.

So what could they proclaim in the new Constitution? Admit that they had brought their treachery to its logical conclusion, that is, to ruthless reaction and fascism? Or fabricate some kind of forgery? And this the Titoites did, they fabricated an illusionary constitution. Without any pretence at originality they took as their model the falsification in bourgeois constitutions. Eventually, out of their hands a Constitution took shape in which formalism dominates, in which, apart from the terminology borrowed from Tito’s American patrons, one can easily discern elements of Mussolini’s “corporative system”.

In this way there appeared, and deliberately so, confused clauses and articles about committees, councils, about self-management by producers, citizens, people and so forth, as for example, Articles 4, 6 and 7, which seek to drown the very gist of the matter in a mass of verbiage, that is, rejection of planned economy and denying to the working people the right to defend their vital interests.

The former section 2, relating to “People’s Power”, has been substituted by “Allied Organs of Power”. This section

defines in Articles 13-23 the rights of the Skupshtina and in the succeeding 27 articles – its organisation. The bulk of these articles deal with procedure. This is linked, by the way, with the institution of the so-called Producers' Council which together with the Union Council forms the Skupshtina. It is precisely the Producers' Council which the alleged "innovation" in the Titoite Constitution. In effect however, this talk is nothing more than the remodelled tune of the long bankrupt anarchist petty-bourgeois "theories" which the fascists utilised time and again.

The former Council of Nationalities which represented the second permanently functioning chamber has been abolished. Thus, Article 10 of the 1946 Constitution, which stipulates that: "Any measure directed against the sovereignty, equality and national freedom of the peoples of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and their people's republics runs counter to the Constitution", has been trampled underfoot.

In the Titoite Constitution there is no article stipulating the rights and duties of the citizens. Instead, there is an article on the rights and duties of the Deputies, and a pedantic sub-section summarizing the instructions concerning the holding of meetings, concerning committees and commissions of the Union Council and the Producers' Council. All in all, more than 50 articles of the Constitution are of a formal juridical nature.

Obviously, it is not fortuitous that the Titoite Constitution is extremely overloaded, even compared with bourgeois constitutions, with articles devoted to procedure. All this is needed in order to by-pass the vital questions, and, by means of empty talk, to conceal the fact that this Constitution is at complete variance with reality.

The articles relating to the powers of President of the Republic and Chairman of the Union "Executive Council, posts recently established specially for Tito, reveal with all clarity

who it is that rules Yugoslavia today. Having concentrated in his own hands two positions each of which gives him unrestricted powers, Tito can now issue decrees and veto any decree of the Union Executive Committee, the supreme organ, according to the Constitution, in the period between the Skupshtina sessions. Tito is simultaneously Supreme Commander, Chairman of the "People's Defence" Council and, in addition, as Chairman of The Union Executive Council, he controls the entire state apparatus. Thus, Tito can, without any hindrance, pave the way for realisation of the aggressive designs of his American masters.

It is worth noting that the Tito Constitution abolishes the word "government". Instead, the Constitution introduces the term "administration" with functions of "directly fulfilling definite duties". This "administration" consists of state secretariats, independent boards, etc. Tito has likewise abolished the title of Minister and Council of Ministers. This, too, allegedly signifies a "creative innovation" on the part of the Titoites. In point of fact the Ministers' functions were completely transferred to officials who, on the American model, are called State secretaries and directors. Actually, they are dependent on the dictator, being nominally subordinated to the Executive Council which, in its turn, plays the role of court council of "his dictatorial highness".

All this in the aggregate, according to the designs of the Tito clique, is meant to mask its dictatorship and to portray it as "a democracy of the very latest type". But this is nothing more than the sleight of hand of the conjuror who, before the eyes of the public, with the aid of a wand, turns the bomb into a dove, etc. But the Tito stunts are not at all funny. The Yugoslav working people are paying far too much for them.

The peoples of Yugoslavia will never become reconciled to the tragic fate to which the Belgrade Tito-fascist criminals have doomed them. Recalling their militant past they are becoming

more and more daring and active in their fight against the Tito butchers. No bloody police repressions, no fraudulent Tito constitutions call suppress the wrath and indignation of the people of Yugoslavia.



## **AGAINST PERSECUTION OF TRADE UNIONS IN EGYPT**

The Egyptian Government is waging a systematic campaign of persecution against workers and the leaders of trade unions in particular. Dismissal, lock-outs, arrests of militant workers, trade unionists and trade union leaders and their imprisonment are a daily occurrence.

The Government is directing its main blow against the textile workers who are the advanced guard of the working class in Egypt. For instance, 12 members of the executive committee of the Shubra el Khaima textile Union (Cairo) were recently arrested and thrown into prison. Their only "crime" was that they applied for permission to hold a general meeting. The executive committees of unions in a number of textile factories in Cairo and Alexandria also languish in a military prison.

Recently 200 workers from textile factories in Shubra el Khaima called on "workers throughout the world, trade unionists, writers, journalists and lawyers, all those who oppose tyranny and oppression" to protest against the persecution of the Egyptian workers and their trade unions and to support them in "the ordeal which they are enduring at the present moment".

In the just struggle for their rights the Egyptian workers have the backing of progressive people all over the world who condemn the unlawful actions of the Egyptian Government.

## **TWO WORLDS - TWO WAYS OF LIFE**

### **Social Welfare in People's Rumania...**

Maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability is one of the basic rights of the working population of People's Rumania and is guaranteed in the Constitution. The system of state social insurance, introduced on January 1, 1949, embraces all factory and office workers in the country, including agricultural workers.

The following figures are striking testimony to the growth of social insurance funds: in 1952 these funds rose 52.7 per cent compared with 1949, while this year they will increase 76.8 per cent compared with 1949 .

This year the allocations for payments in case of sickness, maternity leave and bonuses for sanatorium treatment, etc., will be more than 2½ times greater than in 1949 funds for pensions will be nearly one and a half times greater. This year's allocations for public health will be more than seven times the 1950 figure.

### **...And in Countries of Latin America**

Difficult indeed is the lot of the working people in the countries of Latin America. They are always in danger of dying from starvation.

Social insurance in Chile covers only 28.5 per cent of the population, in Brazil 12 per cent, Panama 6.5 per cent, Costa Rica 6 per cent, Bolivia 4 per cent, Mexico 3.8 per cent, Peru and Paraguay 3.5 per cent, Ecuador 2.5 per cent and Venezuela a mere one and a half per cent. There is no social insurance in Honduras and Nicaragua. Farm labourers are not insured in

most Latin American countries.

In Bolivia, Uruguay and Cuba the working people are not insured against sickness and in the two first-mentioned countries mothers get no benefits.

In Venezuela there are no old age pensions, for incapacitated workers; in the other countries such pensions are so small that in view of the inflation now rampant in the countries of Latin America these meagre benefits are more of a mockery to the invalids and the aged.

Only in four of these countries are the workers insured against unemployment and in these only miserable benefits are paid out.

The conditions for qualifying for these meagre benefits are so complex and difficult that only a small number receives them.

## **FACTS EXPOSE...**

### **One Brand of “Big Business”**

The U.S. book market is flooded with gangster and pornographic literature. According to “Time” magazine, pornographic literature is regarded as a flourishing business in the U.S. A special House of Representatives Committee which recently conducted an inquiry into the “fabulous number” of recent pornographic publications noted that this number is constantly growing. Speaking of the book-dealers who distribute them the Committee admitted that the thirst for profits violates all norms of decency to a degree that it is a disgrace to the country.

Comment, as the saying goes, would be superfluous.

### **Tanks Instead of Houses**

The British Parliament approved military allocation of 1,776 million pounds in the 1953-54 fiscal year. Simultaneously, a mere 4.5 million pounds have been allocated for rehabilitation of 18 cities (including London) which suffered from bombing during World War II.

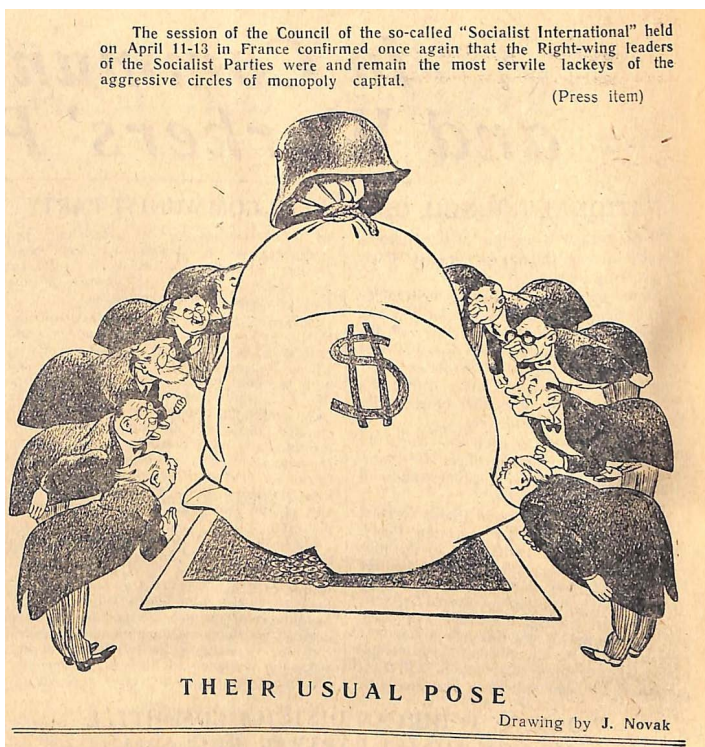
Small wonder, then, that eight years after the war, an entire London district, spread over an area of more than 1,300 acres, still lies in ruins, that hundreds of thousands of Londoners are on the waiting lists for homes and that tens of thousands of families live in slums...



## THEIR USUAL POSE

The session of the Council of the so-called "Socialist International" held on April 11-13 in France confirmed once again that the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Parties were and remain the most servile lackeys of the aggressive circles of monopoly capital.

(Press item)



Drawing by **J. Novak**

## **POLITICAL NOTES**

### **Another Betrayal By Right-Wing Socialist Leaders of Austria**

The name of the new Austrian Chancellor, Raab, is well known to the working people of Austria. They have known him for a long time as a 'big manufacturer – a strangler of workers, a rabid reactionary and, in the past, one of the most active leaders of the fascist Heintwehr.

These facts are equally well known to the leaders of the Socialist Party of Austria. When the so-called "People's Party", of which Raab is a chieftain, nominated him as Parliamentary candidate in the general election, the leaders of the Right-wing Socialists and their press began to shout from the housetops that they were "against Raab".

In the German language "Raab" and "raven" sound the same. And the Socialist Party of Austria issued a poster on which its election "rival" – the People's Party – was depicted as a black raven holding in its beak the identification card, of an unemployed worker. The poster was captioned: "Poverty and misery reign wherever the People's Party holds sway. Fight back! Vote for the Socialist Party!"

At that time many honest people in Austria believed the leaders of the Socialist Party and voted for its candidates. In the election on February 22, the Socialist Party, as is known, polled 2 million votes, The leaders of the Socialist Party, even after the election, continuing their demagoguery for the purpose of deceiving the people, made a pretence of hostility towards Raab and his accomplices – Kamitz and others. For instance, on February 24 the "Arbeiter-Zeitung", central organ of the Socialist Party, wrote: "The people of Austria have rejected the Raab-Kamitz course which threatens disruption of economic

stability, tranquil political development and social peace”. Lying as usual, the paper assured its readers that, as a result of the election, Raab and Kamitz, “have been eliminated”.

But the time came for the formation of a government and the leaders of the Socialist Party quickly changed their tune. And on April 2 the “Arbeiter-Zeitung” struck an altogether different note. “The Socialists”, it said, “feel themselves strong enough to rule Austria together with Raab”. This same Raab, whom the Socialist Party leaders depicted as a black raven of reaction during the election campaign, all of a sudden turned out to be good enough, together with them, to run the country. And soon the voters, foully deceived time and again by the leaders of the Right-wing Socialists, heard of the formation of the Raab-Schärf-Kamitz coalition government.

In the new government the Socialist Party, despite its electoral victory, agreed to have one minister less than the People’s Party. But this of course is not the main point. The main thing is the policy of the Government and this policy is such that it enabled Minister of Finance Kamitz to announce the plan for intensified attack of the standard of living of the working people, for further lowering real wages for new “gifts” to the capitalists and for complete subordination of the economy of Austria to foreign capitalist magnates. Democratic public opinion in Austria characterised the Kamitz plan as a serious threat to the country.

Thus, the electors who voted for the Socialist Party precisely for the purpose of defeating Raab, Kamitz and other reactionaries, are now confronted with a fait accompli secretly accomplished by the alliance of the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party with Raab and Kamitz, with the latter playing a leading role in the matter of realising the anti-popular programme.

This latest act of treachery by Schärf and his clique evoked profound indignation among the working people of Austria,



including the rank and file of the Socialist Party. Seeking somehow to pacify the cheated electorate, the chieftains of the Socialist Party decided to think up “weighty arguments” which would justify their fresh betrayal. “Arbeiter-Zeitung” appeared with long arguments “substantiating” their stand. This “substantiation” openly acknowledges that the formation of the government had no connection whatever with the election results and that the basic considerations were those linked with the “international situation”. These considerations, according to the newspaper, called for the “establishment, as soon as possible, of a competent government which would include even Mr. Raab”.

This is what one might call letting the cat out of the bag: there was no need at all to hold the parliamentary election since, irrespective of the outcome, Raab would become Chancellor and Kamitz would remain a minister, – this was the purport of the considerations linked with the “international situation”. It was not fortuitous that the “Neue Zeitung”, published in Western Germany by the Americans, wrote literally the following on this subject: “It is most important that Kamitz, whose tasks and programme remain in the centre of the government’s activity, should continue office and not be handicapped even by the circumstance that his Secretary of State belongs to the Socialist Party”.

And so the thing that matters is that Raab, Kamitz and other reactionaries should in no way be handicapped and that they should proceed with their “job” of helping the foreign imperialists to enslave Austria. And the leaders of the Austrian Right-wing Socialists not only fulfil the demand but, in their kowtowing do their utmost to please both their “own” Raabs and the transatlantic Raabs.

Only recently, while in Paris, Schärf, in a press interview, boasted that in the recent elections the Socialist Party of Austria “achieved an absolute and relative strength as never

before”. There and then he said: “We now a real pact on a coalition calculated over a long period”. Thus, Schärf admitted that his tie-up with the reactionaries Raab and Kamitz was serious and durable. But when Schärf’s interview appeared in “Arbeiter-Zeitung”, the central organ of his party, this sentence was missing. The reason for this was explained by the newspaper “Oesterreichische Volksstimme”: “Clearly, this statement which without doubt is designed for the general staff of the North Atlantic bloc, quartered in Paris, was not meant to reach the Socialist workers and the electors who voted for the Socialist Party since this would provide them with direct proof that the leadership of the Socialist Party had deceived them both before and after the election”.

It is obviously not without reason that many honest people in Austria call the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party lackeys of the U.S. imperialists, and the “Arbeiter-Zeitung”, central organ of this party, the “Amerikanische Zeitung”.

**Jan MAREK**



## **VICTIMS OF MILITARISATION IN WESTERN GERMANY**

Recently in Wilhelmshaven (Western Germany) – which has the doubtful fame of being a naval base of the Atlantic bloc – a big munitions dump exploded taking a toll of life. According to incomplete data damage to the amount of a million marks was caused.

Things like this are common occurrences in present-day Western Germany. For example, three workers were recently killed and four seriously wounded at a dynamite plant in Würgendorf, near Bonn.

In Hamburg some children found an anti-aircraft shell which suddenly exploded, seriously wounding a 13-year old schoolboy. In Wietzendorf a smoke shell exploded in the field where some time before manoeuvres were carried out. A fourteen year old schoolboy lost a leg.

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## EDITORIAL BOARD



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**Journal “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy” is printed and published in Bucharest, Rumania, and appears every Friday. Address of Editorial Office and Publishing House: – 56, Valeriu Braniste, Bucharest, tel. 5.10.59**