

**1. SOME DOCUMENTS ON TITOITE TROTSKYITES-
SPIES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM**

July 1, 1948

NOVEMBER 29, 1949

DISSOLUTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN USSR AND FPRY

SOURCES:

1. FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR A PEOPLES DEMOCRACY, *July 1, 1948*

2. FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR A PEOPLES DEMOCRACY, *NOVEMBER 29, 1949*

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



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FROM: FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR A PEOPLES DEMOCRACY, *NOVEMBER
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1. COMMUNIQUE

1.1. MEETING OF INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

During the second half of June, a meeting of the Information Bureau was held in Rumania. The meeting was attended by the following representatives:

Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Comrades T. Koslov, B. Chervenkov; Rumanian Workers' party, Comrades G. Georgiu Dej, V. Luca, A Pauker; Hungarian Workers' party, Comrades M. Rakosi, M Farcas, A. Gero; Polish Workers' party, Comrades J. Berman, A. Zavadski; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Comrades A. Zhdanov, G. Malenkov, M. Suslov; Communist Party of France, Comrades J. Duclos, E. Fajon; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrades R. Slansky, V. Siroky, B. Geminder, G. Bares; Communist Party of Italy, Comrades P. Togliatti, P. Secchia.

The Information Bureau discussed the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and unanimously adopted a resolution on the question.

1.2. RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Information Bureau, composed of the representatives of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Rumanian Workers' Party, Hungarian Workers' Party, Polish Workers' Party, The Communist Party of The Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the Communist Party of France, Communist Party of Italy, upon discussing the situation on the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and announcing that the representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had refused to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, unanimously reached the following conclusions:

1. The Information Bureau notes that recently the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has pursued an incorrect line on the main questions of home and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism. In this connection the Information Bureau approves the action of the central committee of the CPSU (B), which took the initiative in exposing this incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, particularly the incorrect policy of Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, and Rankovic.

2. The Information Bureau declares that the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is pursuing unfriendly policy of defaming Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Union, has been carried out in Yugoslavia. A special regime was instituted for Soviet civilian experts in Yugoslavia, whereby they were under surveillance of Yugoslav state security organs and were continually followed. The representative of the CPSU (B), in the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, and a number of official representatives of the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia were followed and kept under observation by Yugoslav state security organs.

All these and similar facts show that the leaders of communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken a stand unworthy of communists, and have begun to identify the foreign policy of the imperialist powers, behaving toward the Soviet Union in the same manner as they behave to the bourgeois states. Precisely because of this anti-Soviet stand, slanderous propaganda about the "degeneration" of the CPSU (B), about the "degeneration" of the USSR, and so on borrowed from arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, is current within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau denounces this anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as being incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and only appropriate to nationalists.

3. In home policy the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are departing from the positions of the working class and are breaking with the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle. They deny that there is a growth of capitalist elements in their country and, consequently a sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside. This denial is the direct result of the opportunist tenet that the class struggle does not become sharper during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, but dies down, as was affirmed by opportunists of Bukharin type, who propagated the theory of the peaceful growing over of capitalism into socialism.

The Yugoslav leaders are pursuing an incorrect policy in the countryside by ignoring the class differentiation in the countryside and by regarding the individual peasantry as a single entity, contrary to Marxist-Leninist doctrine of classes and class struggle, contrary to the well-known Lenin thesis that small, individual farming gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale. Moreover, the political situation in the Yugoslav countryside gives no grounds for smugness and complacency. In the conditions obtaining in Yugoslavia, where individual peasant farming predominates, where the land, and where can be bought and sold, where much of the land is concentrated in the hands of kulaks, and where hired labour is employed—in such conditions there can be no question of educating the party in the spirit of glossing over the class struggle and of reconciling class contradictions without by so doing disarming the Party itself in face of the difficulties connected with the construction of socialism.

Concerning the leading role of the working class. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, by affirming that the peasantry is the “most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state” are departing from the Marxist-Leninist path and are taking the path of a populist, kulak party. Lenin taught that the proletariat as the “only class in contemporary society which is revolutionary to the end... must be the leader in the struggle of the entire people for a thorough democratic transformation, in the struggle of all working people and the exploited against the oppressors and exploiters”.

The Yugoslav leaders are violating this thesis of Marxism-Leninism.

As far as the peasantry is concerned it may be that the majority, that is, the poor and medium peasants, are already in alliance with the working class, with the working class having the leading role in this alliance.

The attitude of the Yugoslav leaders disregards these theses of Marxism-Leninism. As can be seen, this attitude also reflects views appropriate to petty-bourgeois nationalism, but not to Marxist-Leninist.

4. The Information Bureau considers that the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revising the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party. According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party is the main guiding and leading force in the country, which has its own, specific programme, and does not dissolve itself among the non-Party masses. The Party is the highest form of organisation and the most important weapon of the working class.

In Yugoslavia, however, the People's Front, and not the Communist Party, is considered to be the main leading force in the country. The Yugoslav leaders belittle the role of the Communist Party and actually dissolve the Party in the non-party People's Front, which is composed of the most varied class elements (workers, peasants engaged in individual farming, kulaks, traders, small manufacturers,

bourgeois intelligentsia, etc.) as well as mixed political groups which include certain bourgeois parties. The Yugoslav leaders stubbornly refuse to recognise the falseness of their tenet that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia allegedly cannot and should not have its own specific programme and that it should be satisfied with the programme of the People's Front.

The fact that in Yugoslavia it is only the People's Front which figures in the political arena, while the Party and its organisations does not appear openly before the people in its own name, not only belittles the role of the Party in the political life of the country, but also undermines the Party as an independent political force, which has the task of winning the growing confidence of the people and of influencing ever broader masses of the working people by open political activity and open propaganda of its views and programme. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are repeating the mistakes of the Russian Mensheviks regarding the dissolution of the Marxist party into a non-party, mass organisation. All this reveals the existence of liquidation tendencies in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Information Bureau believes that this policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia threatens the very existence of the Communist Party and, ultimately carries with the danger of the degeneration of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

5. The Information Bureau considers that the bureaucratic regime created inside the Party by leaders is disastrous for the life and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party. There is no inner Party democracy, no elections, and no criticism and self-criticism in the Party. Despite the unfounded assurances of Comrades Tito and Kardelj, the majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is composed of co-opted, and not of elected members. The Communist Party is actually in a position of semi-legality. Party meetings are either not held at all or meet in secret—a fact which can only undermine the influence of the Party among the masses. This type of organisation of the Yugoslav Communist Party cannot be described as anything but a sectarian-bureaucratic organisation. It leads to the liquidation of the Party as an active, self-acting organism, it cultivates military methods of leadership in the Party similar to the methods advocated in his day by Trotsky.

It is completely intolerable state affairs when the most elementary rights of members in the Yugoslav Communist Party are suppressed, when the slightest criticism of incorrect measures in the Party is brutally repressed.

The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such actions as the expulsion from the Party and the arrest of the Central Committee members, Comrades Djulovic and Hebrang because they dared to criticise the anti-soviet attitude of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and called for friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The Information Bureau considers that such a disgraceful, purely Turkish, terrorist regime cannot be tolerated in the Communist Party. The interests of the very existence and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party demand that an end be put to this regime.

6. The Information Bureau considers that the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) and Central Committees of the other Communist Parties of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and who in this way rendered fraternal assistance to the Yugoslav Communist Party, provides the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with all the conditions necessary to speedily correct the mistakes committed.

However, instead of honestly accepting this criticism and taking the Bolshevik path of correcting these mistakes, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, suffering from boundless ambition, arrogance and conceit, met this criticism with belligerence and hostility. They took the anti-Party path of indiscriminately denying all their mistakes, violated the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism regarding the attitude of a political party to its mistakes and thus aggravated their anti-Party mistakes. Unable to face the criticism of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and the Central Committees of the other fraternal Parties, the Yugoslav leaders took the path of outrightly deceiving their Party and people by concealing from the Yugoslav Communist Party the criticism of the Central Committee's incorrect policy and also by concealing from the Party and the people the real reasons for the brutal measures against Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang.

Recently, even after the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and fraternal parties had criticised the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders, the latter tried to bring in a number of new leftist laws. They hastily decreed the nationalisation of medium industry and trade, though the basis for this is completely unprepared. In view of such haste the new decision only hampers the supply of goods to the population. In a similar hurried manner they brought in a new grain tax for which the way is also not prepared and which can, therefore, only dislocate grain supplies to the urban population. Finally, only recently the Yugoslav leaders in loud declarations declared their love for, and devotion to the Soviet Union, although it is known that in practice they are pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union.

Nor is this all. Of late the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have, with perfect aplomb, been declaiming a policy of liquidating the capitalist elements in Yugoslavia. In a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), dated 13 April, Tito and Kardelj wrote that "the plenum of the Central Committee approved the measures proposed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to liquidate the remnants of capitalism in the country".

In accordance with this line Kardelj, speaking in the Skupschina on 25 April, declared: "In our country the days of the last remnants of the exploitation of man by man are numbered."

In the conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia this position of the leaders of the Communist Party in regard to the liquidation of the capitalist elements, and hence, the kulaks as a class, cannot be qualified as other than adventurous, and non-Marxist. For it is impossible to solve this task as long as individual peasant economy predominates in the country, which inevitably gives birth to capitalism; as long as conditions have not been created for the large-scale collectivization of agriculture; and as long as the majority of the working peasantry is not convinced of the advantages of collective methods of farming. The experience of the CPSU (B) shows that the elimination of the last and biggest exploiting class—the kulak class—is possible only on the basis of the mass collectivization of agriculture, that the elimination of the kulaks as a class, is an organic and integral part of the collectivization of agriculture.

In order to eliminate the kulaks as a class, and hence, to eliminate the capitalist elements in the countryside, it is necessary for the Party to engage in detailed preparatory work to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, to make socialist industry capable of producing machinery for the collective administration of agriculture. Haste in this matter can only lead to irreparable harm.

Only on the basis of these measures, carefully prepared and consistently carried out, is it possible to go over from restriction of the capitalist elements in the countryside, to their liquidation.

All attempts by the Yugoslav leaders to solve this problem hastily and by means of decrees, signify either that the venture is foredoomed to failure or that it is a boastful and empty demagogic declaration.

The Information Bureau considers that by means of these false and demagogic tactics, the Yugoslav leaders are endeavouring to demonstrate that they are not only for class struggle, but that they go even further, beyond those demands which—taking into account the real possibilities—could be advanced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the matter of restricting the capitalist elements.

The Information Bureau considers that since these leftist decrees and declarations of the Yugoslav leadership are demagogic and impracticable in the present conditions, they can but compromise the banner of socialist construction in Yugoslavia.

That is why the Information Bureau considers such adventurist tactics as an undignified manoeuvre and an impermissible political gamble.

As we see, these leftist demagogic measures and declarations on the part of the Yugoslav leaders are designed to cover up their refusal to recognize mistakes and honestly correct them.

7. Taking into the account the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and seeking to show the leaders of the Party the way out of this situation the Central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) and the Central Committees of other fraternal parties, suggested that the matter of the Yugoslav Communist Party should be discussed at a meeting of the Information Bureau, on the same, normal party footing as that on which the activities of other Communist Parties were discussed at the first meeting of the Information Bureau.

However, the Yugoslav leaders rejected the repeated suggestions of the fraternal Communist Parties to discuss the situation in the Yugoslav Party at a meeting of the Information Bureau.

Attempting to avoid the just criticism of the fraternal parties in the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav leaders invented the fable of their allegedly “unequal position”. There is not a grain of truth in this story. It is generally known that when the Information Bureau was set up, the Communist Parties based their work on the indisputable principle that any party could report to the Information Bureau in the same way that any party had the right to criticise other parties.

At the first meeting of the Nine Communist Parties, the Yugoslav Communist Party took full advantage of this right.

The refusal of the Yugoslav Party to report to the Information Bureau on its actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties means, in practise, a violation of the equality of the Communist Parties and is in fact. Tantamount to a demand for a privileged position for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Information Bureau.

8. In view of this the Information Bureau expresses complete agreement with the estimation of the situation in the Yugoslav communist Party, with the criticism of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Party and with the political analysis of these mistakes contained in letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia between March and May, 1948.

The Information bureau unanimously concludes that by their anti-party and anti-soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and their refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, the leaders of the

Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist parties affiliated to the Information Bureau have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken up a position of nationalism.

The Information Bureau condemns this anti-party policy and attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau considers that in view of all this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has placed itself and the Yugoslav Party outside the family of the fraternal Communist Parties, outside the ranks of the Information Bureau.

* * *

The Information Bureau considers that the basis of these mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lies in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements, which previously existed in a disguised form, managed in the course of the past five or six months to reach a dominant position in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and that consequently, the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has broken with the International traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and has taken the road of nationalism.

Considerably overestimating the internal, national forces of Yugoslavia and their influence, the Yugoslav leaders think that they can maintain Yugoslavia's independence and build socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, without the support of the Soviet Union. They think that the new Yugoslavia can do without the help of these revolutionary forces.

Showing their poor understanding of the international situation and their intimidation by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, the Yugoslav leaders think that by making concessions they can curry favour with the imperialist states. They think they will be able to bargain with them for Yugoslavia's independence and gradually, get the people of Yugoslavia orientated on these states, that is, on capitalism. In this they proceed tacitly from the well-known bourgeois-nationalist thesis that "capitalist states are a lesser danger to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union".

The Yugoslav leaders evidently do not understand or, probably, pretend they do not understand, that such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are sufficient healthy elements, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and to the united socialist front.

Their task is to compel their present leaders to recognise their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism, return of internationalism; and in every way to consolidate the united socialist front against imperialism.

Should the present leaders of the Yugoslavia Communist Party prove to be incapable of doing this, their job is to replace them and to advance a new internationalist leadership of the Party.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to fulfil this honourable task.

1.3. LEADERS OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY REVISE MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE OF THE PARTY.

D. Charpentier

The resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, condemns the opportunist line of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party—a line which is hostile to Marxism-Leninism and which in effect, means liquidating the Communist Party.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have revised the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party the invincible might of which has been confirmed by the century-old experience of the international labour movement.

They consistently follow a line of belittling the role of the Communist Party, of dissolving it in the broad, non-Party People's Front, composed of the most varied class elements, which undermines the foundations and threatens the very existence of the Party as an independent political force and as the highest organisational form and main weapon of the working class in its struggle for socialism.

The liquidationist line pursued toward the Party by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and above all, by Comrade Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic, has resulted in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia finding itself in a semi-legal position. These leaders are cultivating in the Party military methods of leadership, similar to the methods advocated in his day by the worst enemy of Communism, the spy Trotsky. They want to construct the Party along the lines of sectarian-bureaucratic organisation, and impose on it a disgraceful, terrorist regime, which grossly suppresses the elementary rights of Party members, while the slightest criticism by Communists of the incorrect methods and line of the leadership is answered by brutal repression.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, eaten up with arrogance and conceit, have taken the path of breaking away from the united socialist front against imperialism. They have broken with the internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party, have betrayed the cause of the international solidarity of the working people, and have taken a nationalist stand.

Intimidated by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and their like hope by making concessions to the imperialist states, to curry favour with them and to negotiate with them for the independence of Yugoslavia.

Under the flag of leftist "revolutionism", which is simply a mixture of Narodnik, Menshevik and Trotskyite doctrines, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are trying to impose on the masses a false and adventurous programme of building socialism in Yugoslavia with the aid of the imperialist countries. In fact, however, this "programme" covers up a departure from socialism, a break with the united Communist front and an orientation on capitalism.

"Such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries". (From the Resolution of the Information Bureau).

Everything has its logic. By revising the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party, by betraying the Communist principles of internationalism, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have endangered the very existence of the Party.

Liquidation Tendencies in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

The doctrine of the Communist Party as vanguard detachment of the proletariat, as the highest form of its class organisation, is one of the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Marx and Engels pointed out that without its own independent party, the proletariat cannot achieve political power and solve the problem of transforming capitalist society into a socialist society.

Lenin and Stalin developed this thesis by Marx and Engels and created the doctrine of the proletarian party, of its organisational, ideological, tactical and theoretical, ideological, tactical and theoretical principle applicable to the new historical period, the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The organisational principles of Bolshevism, of the Party of Leninism, the party of the new type, were shaped through the years of irreconcilable struggle against opportunism, particularly against opportunism in organisational questions.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that the Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class, that, it cannot be identified with the class as a whole, and even less with the entire people.

Such identification would signify the obliteration of the demarcation line between the Party and the non-Party masses.

According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party is the highest form of organisation of the working people and stands above all other organisations, above the Soviets in the Soviet Union and above the People's Front in Yugoslavia. The Party stands above all these organisations of the working people, not only because it absorbs the best elements of the working people but also because it has its specific programme, its specific policy on the basis of which it guides all organisations of the working people.

But in Yugoslavia, contrary to these programmatic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the People's Front is regarded as the main guiding force and not the Communist Party.

"Since the People's Front best of all represents not only the political unity of our people, but also fraternity and unity in the national sense, it cannot be replaced by any other political party. Hence, the People's Front is becoming the permanent political organisation of the people", said Comrade Tito at the Second Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia.

The first point in the Status of the People's Front ("The Main Organisational Principles of the People's Front of Yugoslavia"), states that "the People's Front of Yugoslavia is the main political force".

Thus, according to the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the People's Front and not the Party, is the highest form, of class organisation of the proletariat.

In practice the People's Front is, to an ever increasing extent, substituting—or to be more exact, replacing—the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

What is actually taking place is the dissolution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the People's Front.

In their political statements the leading political figures of Yugoslavia (Tito, Kardelj) habitually refer only to the People's Front.

Unquestionably, the People's Front of Yugoslavia played a great and positive role during the war of liberation against the fascist invaders; and unquestionably, the People's Front today ca, and should be, an important means of consolidating all the democratic forces of the country.

But the people's front cannot replace the Communist Party. And what is more, it can realise its political role only under the leadership of the Communist Party. Just what is the People's Front of Yugoslavia?

As is known, the People's Front developed on the initiative and under the leadership of the Communist Party prior to Germany's attack on Yugoslavia. The People's front was joined by different groups from the old political parties as well as by individual members from the leadership of these parties.

Apart from the Communist Party the People's Front was joined by the Croat republican Peasant Party, the bourgeois Republican Party of Serbia, the bourgeois Democratic and Independent Democratic Parties, the National Peasant Party of Serbia and the Agrarian Union (the last two parties merged after the war and became known as the United Agrarian Party of Serbia). In addition to the political parties the people's front was joined also by such mass organisations as the Anti-Fascist Youth League, the Yugoslav trade unions and the Women's Anti-Fascist Front.

Thus, the People's Front comprises not only the Communist Party, but also bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties; not only the working people, but also kulaks, traders and small manufacturers.

According to Comrade Djilas "there are no ideological, religious or any other obstacles to joining the People's Front". (From the volume "The Information Conference of Representatives of a number of Communist Parties", p. 93).

To regard the People's Front as the main, guiding political force in the country considering its class differences, is tantamount to deviation from the Marxist theory of the class struggle and Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that the Party is not only the vanguard, but also the organised detachment of the working class.

The structure of the Party and its organisational principles are embodied in the Status of the Party, without which the Party inevitably becomes a loose, amorphous, disorganised "formation", that obliterates the dividing line between the Party and the class. The Party Statues determine the practical activity of Party organisations, the forms of building the Party and the rules of its internal life.

The break made by the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the organisational principles of a Marxist revolutionary party is reflected in the fact that whereas the People's Front of Yugoslavia has its programme and statues, the Communist Party has neither statues nor a specific Party programme.

The leaders of the Communist Party see nothing wrong with this. Even more. They are inclined to make a virtue of this opportunism in relation to programme and organisation, claiming that the Communist Party does not need a specific programme.

In his report to the Second Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia on September 27, 1947, Comrade Tito stated:

"Has the Communist Party of Yugoslavia any other programme other than the programme of the People's Front? No. The Communist Party has no other

programme. The programme of the People's Front is the programme of the Communist Party".

This attitude toward the programme of the Communist Party and the People's Front was voiced by the Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Kardelj, at the Conference of the Nine Communist Parties in Poland. At this Conference the propaganda secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Djilas referring to Comrade Tito affirmed that there was no difference between the programme of the front and the Party programme.

And Comrade Djilas in his report to the Conference of the Nine Parties declared that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia "always and in all conditions resolutely adhered to the organisational principles of Bolshevism" (p. 89). What is this but outright Pharisaism. It is nothing but a downright lie. In practice, the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is departing more and more on organisational and programmatic questions and is taking a Menshevik-liquidationist stand.

Semi-Legal Position of the Yugoslav Communist Party

Lenin and Stalin showed that the proletariat needs a party not merely to gain political power. It needs it still more to maintain its political power and to secure the complete victory of socialism.

Speaking of the significance of strengthening and extending the political power of the proletariat in the interests of the complete victory of Socialism, Comrade Stalin points out that "it means imbuing the millions of proletarians with the spirit of discipline and organisation, it means creating among the proletarian masses a cementing force and a bulwark against the corrosive influence of the petty-bourgeois elements and petty-bourgeois habits; it means enhancing the organising work of the proletarians in re-educating and remoulding the petty-bourgeois strata; it means helping the masses of the proletarians to educate themselves as a force capable of abolishing classes and of preparing the conditions for the organisation of socialist production. But it is impossible to accomplish all this without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and discipline"(Stalin: "Problems of Leninism", p. 80).

The opportunist line of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has led to the fact that the Party's role as an Independent political force is being increasingly undermined. Thanks to the efforts of Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has actually been forced into a semi-legal position.

Important decisions relating to the political, economic and ideological life of the country are adopted and made known to the masses not in the name of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but in the name of the People's Front.

Until now the organisations of the Party have been on an illegal footing. This refers to the primary Party organisations as well as to the district, regional and central Party organs.

The situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party is such that Communists are obliged to keep silent about their membership of the Party and to appear before the masses as members of one of the People's Front organisations. Many Party members say that "a Communist has no right to announce at work or in public that he is a member of the Party. If he does so he is subjected to Party punishment".

At the big Zeleznik works near Belgrade there are some 4,000 workers. According to the Secretary of the Party organisation there are 160 Communists. They meet secretly and nobody is supposed to know of the decisions taken at these meetings. The Communists attending the meetings are supposed to put these decisions into effect in the corresponding organisation without referring to them as Party decisions. The workers in the plant do not know that there is a Communist Party organisation or Communists among them. Some of them only guess that there are. Nobody ever addresses the workers on behalf of the Communist Party factory organisation. New members are accepted into the Party after a secret invitation from the secretary to join the Party.

The same conspiracy shrouds the district committees of the Party, which also hold their meetings in secret. The non-party masses are not informed in any way of the decisions taken by the district committees. District Committee officials never address non-party people in the name of their committee.

In the same way, the Central Committee of the Party does not come forward as the leading Party body. No meetings of the Central committee take place. The cardinal questions of the Party life are decided in a narrow circle of leading workers (Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Rankovic, Djilas) without collegiate leadership; broad circles of active party members are not drawn into carrying out Party tasks.

Since the very inception of the new Yugoslavia and until now not a single Party decision has been published from the Central Committee of the Communist Party right through to the lower Party organisations.

Party life is in no way reflected in the organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia "Borba". It is characteristic that for a number of months in 1947-48 "Borba" hardly carried any articles or information on Party life, on the work of the basic Party organisations.

During this period not a single leading figure of the Communist Party has contributed an article on Party questions. Even more, the leading articles written on various subjects do not as much as hint at the role of the Communists in solving state tasks, do not present Party organisations with tasks and do not call upon Communists to be the organisers and initiators of carrying out government measures.

Thus, until recently the organisations of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia actually carried out their work illegally. The Yugoslav Communists are compelled to conceal the fact of their Party membership. What is regarded as the pride of every champion of the cause of Communism—the proud title of Communist Party membership—is veiled in secrecy in the peoples republic of Yugoslavia.

The concealment of the Party from the people when it is the ruling party, is absolutely unjustified and politically harmful. To cover up their liquidationist line in relation to the Party, the leaders of the Yugoslav Party falsely claim that by concealing from the people the leading role of the Communist Party, they give no grounds for other parties to develop their forces and their struggle. By means of this petty ruse, Tito and Kardelj hope to change the laws of historical development and to deceive the class.

However it is ridiculous to imagine that the class enemy will be taken in by a stunt of this nature and will give up the struggle. By concealing the banner of the Party from the people, the Yugoslav leaders are, in fact, merely belittling the role of the Party are blunting this weapon of the working class, are disarming the working class.

The present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, having broken with Internationalist principles and having taken the path of nationalism, and in this connection fearing the justified indignation of broad circles of Party members and of the peoples, have inaugurated a shameful and purely Turkish terrorist regime.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is built along the lines of a sectarian-bureaucratic organisation. The majority of the Central Committee members have been co-opted, and not elected. The Party members have no opportunity for open political activity, or open propaganda of the Party's views. Due to Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic the most elementary principles of inner-Party democracy are grossly suppressed, there are no elections, criticism or self-criticism; a bureaucratic regime has been instituted which is disastrous for the life and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia do not regard the Party as the highest form of organisation, as an independent militant organisation of the working class, built upon the principles of inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, as an organisation in which every Party member has the right to express his opinion. It looks upon the Party as a partisan detachment, the members of which must not discuss any questions but unconditionally obey the whims and instructions of their "chief". By implanting military methods in the Party, by suppressing the principles of inner-Party democracy on which a Marxist party is built, the Yugoslav leaders are actually resorting to the military bureaucratic methods which the "bureaucrat of bureaucrats" Judas Trotsky, tried to implant in the Bolshevik Party and which were condemned and thrown overboard by the Bolsheviks.

This crude trampling upon the basis of inner Party democracy the suppression of all criticism and self-criticism leads to isolation of the cadres from the rank and file, results in bureaucratisation and hamstrings, the work of the Party organisations. Party members are loath to express their opinion, to criticise the state of affairs in the Party and, in order to avoid repression, they prefer to keep silent.

The terror regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revealed, for example in the monstrous fact of the expulsion from the Party and placing under arrest the Central Committee members Comrade Djulovic and Hebrang who were bold enough to criticise the anti-Soviet line of the Party leaders and who expressed themselves in favour of friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

This infamous terror regime implanted in the Communist Party by the leaders is the main obstacle hindering the rectification of the basic errors and distortions of the Party leadership in relation to the basic questions of foreign and internal policy, and which constitutes a deviation from Marxism-Leninism. The decision of the Information Bureau states that "in the interests of the existence and development of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia this regime must be ended".

Yugoslavia is laying the foundations for the transition to the path of socialist development. The working class of Yugoslavia is confronted with serious and complicated tasks. The socialist reorganisation of Yugoslavia's economy, the elimination of her technical and economic backwardness, the development of socialist industry ousting of capitalist elements, socialist reorganisation of the small peasant house-holds—all this represents an enormous strain on the material and spiritual forces of the working class as the leading element in the new Yugoslavia. It would be a big mistake to imagine that these matters can be solved without class struggle, without overcoming the difficulties and contradictions and that the advance to socialism will be peaceful, smooth and tranquil. Moreover, it is known that the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, proceed from an opportunist line,

denying the fact of the growth of capitalist elements in the country and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside.

Organisational and ideological firmness on the part of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as the leading and inspiring force in socialist construction is a decisive condition for the successful solution of these tasks.

The elimination of the terror regime in the Party and of the sectarian-bureaucratic distortions in its organisation and activities, complete legalisation of the Party, restoration of the leading role of the Party a full-blooded Party life, with regular Party meetings and conferences, with the Party members taking part in active constructive, creative work, the development of inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism—all this constitutes the immediate, and urgent task of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Break with Internationalism, the Leadership of the Yugoslav Party Takes the Path of Nationalism

The present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are propagating slanderous fabrications concerning the “degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the “degeneration” of the Soviet Union, and so on, fabrications taken from the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite arsenal. The foolish and slanderous writings of the “theoreticians” of the Moshe Pjade type about the degeneration of the Soviet Union and about Yugoslavia as the only genuinely revolutionary factor, are not accidental. The attitude towards the Soviet Union is the test not only for genuine Socialists but also for all genuine people throughout the world. It is clear to everybody that the people’s democracies gained their independence and were able to take the path of socialist development thanks only to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, thanks to the fact that under the leadership of the Lenin-Stalin party of the Soviet Union—the mighty socialist state of workers and peasants,—was created, that the Red Army destroyed the powerful machine of Hitler imperialism, redeemed the European peoples from the fascist yoke and thereby created the necessary conditions for the free development of the new democracies. And if now the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are diligently circulating the fable that Hitler imperialism independently, that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with her liberation, they are doing so deliberately and for anti-Soviet ends.

The Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, enjoys a great and undisputed prestige among the people of Yugoslavia. These slanderous anti-Soviet fabrications are needed by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in order to undermine among the masses of the people the great prestige enjoyed by the USSR, and the great respect and love which they have for the Soviet Union; they are needed in order to cultivate nationalism under the slogan of leftist “revolutionism” and to counterpose Yugoslavia to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the people’s democracy. This is the path of breaking away from the united Socialist Front of struggle against imperialism, the path of betrayal of international solidarity of the working people, and the passing over to positions of nationalism.

The struggle in defence of peace, for the independence of peoples and for the triumph of socialism cannot develop other than under the slogan of internationalism, under the slogan of the militant cooperation of the peoples, headed by the great land of socialism. The united front of the Soviet Union, the new democracies, the Communist and democratic movement in the capitalist countries is an essential

condition for the successful struggle of the working class in the new democracies and capitalist countries against imperialism and for the victory of socialism.

The adventurous plans of the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to build socialism without the help of the Soviet Union and the new democracies, without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries and in isolation from the Communist and democratic movement is nothing more than camouflage for the abandoning of socialism and going over to the camp of the enemies of democracy, to the imperialist camp.

Orienting themselves on capitalism the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken the path of deceiving the Party and the people. They conceal from the Yugoslav Party and from the people the criticism of the incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Party, and are consistently following the line of stifling the Party in order to hush up, by terror methods, any expression of protest and criticism inside the Party and also among broad sections of the working people of town and countryside. For this reason the leaders of the Communist Party refused to report to the Information Bureau on their actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties. They fear open discussion, friendly criticism by other Communist Parties; they fear their own party and people, from whom they conceal the real state of affairs in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party crudely violate the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the attitude of a political party toward its mistakes. Suffering from boundless arrogance and conceit, they react to the fraternal support and friendly criticism on the part of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and of the Central Committees of the other Parties, with belligerence and hostility.

Because of this the Information Bureau has every reason for arriving at the following decision: "The Information Bureau unanimously considers that by their anti-Party and anti-Soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist Parties affiliated to the Information Bureau, have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people and have taken up a nationalist stand".

Having taken the path of nationalism, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are losing sight of the international revolutionary perspective; they are organising themselves within a narrow framework, and are abandoning the important principle of the Lenin-Stalin theory of socialist revolution according to which the revolution of a victorious country should not be regarded as an end in itself but as a support, as a means for accelerating the victory of the proletariat in all countries.

As we see, the present Yugoslav leaders do not treasure the united socialist camp, the powerful united front of the new democracies and the Soviet union, and the support of the Communist Parties in their countries. Having yielded to the blackmail of the imperialists, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia think that by means of separate agreements with the imperialist states, they will be able to curry favour with these states and secure the independence of their country. They do not understand or pretend not to understand that such a line signifies direct capitulation before capitalism, irrespective of the "ultra-left" phrases used to camouflage this line. It is absolutely clear that this nationalist line can lead only to the loss of the socialist gains of the Yugoslav people, to degeneration of the country into an ordinary

bourgeois republic, to the loss of Yugoslavia's independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

Having broken with the internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and taken the path of nationalism, the leaders of the Party, with the adventurism which is typical of them, are trying now by means of extraordinary measures to create a false semblance of, observing the principles of inner-Party democracy. Just now a congress of the Communist Party is being convened hastily and without adequate preparation. Statues and a Party programme have been elaborated with haste. All kinds of leftist decrees and declarations are issued to the effect that in Yugoslavia the days of the capitalist elements and the exploitation of man by man are numbered. Evidently these extraordinary measures are aimed at securing that the congress, hastily convened, will in the absence of real inner-Party democracy and criticism, approve the opportunist policy of the present Party leadership.

The incorrect line pursued by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in matters of foreign and domestic policy, threatens the very existence of the Communist Party. It is a menace fraught with the danger of the degeneration of the people's republic of Yugoslavia.

However, inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are sufficient healthy elements loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and to the united socialist front.

"The task of these healthy elements", says the resolution of the Information Bureau, "is to compel their present leaders to recognise their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism, return to internationalism and in every way to consolidate the united socialist front against imperialism.

"Should the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party prove incapable of doing this, their task is to replace them and to advance a new, internationalist leadership of the Party."

There can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with its glorious fighting traditions will find the strength to put an end to the present terror regime in the Party, to put an end to the incorrect line at the present Party leadership, the line of deviation from Marxism-Leninism and that under the great banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and with the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, it will lead the working people of Yugoslavia in the struggle for the victory of socialism.

1.4. BETRAYAL OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM **Georgiu Dej, General Secretary, Central Committee** **Rumanian Workers' Party**

The present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, gradually moving away from the position of revolutionary Marxism, have taken a hostile attitude toward Soviet Union and the CPSU (B).

It is obvious that to identify the ... internationalist policy of the USSR with the predatory policy of the bourgeois states, to behave toward the USSR and its representatives to the same manner as they behave toward imperialist states and their representatives, which is what the present leaders of Yugoslavia are doing, ... incorrect understanding of the international significance and role of the great October

Socialist Revolution, means regarding its victory, the victory of socialism in the USSR as a purely national affair in the interests of one country alone, means taking a narrow, nationalist view unworthy of a Communist.

Today, in the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism, ... when the world is divided into two camps—the camp of imperialist reaction and the camp of democracy and socialism,—a proper understanding of and correct attitude toward the international role of the USSR is the cardinal duty not only of the leaders, but also of the rank and file members of the Party.

The CPSU (B) and the founders, Lenin and Stalin, time and again showed the international significance and role of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They set an example of correct, historical, and international understanding of the role played in the victory of the proletariat and its allies.

It was precisely the victory of the great October Socialist revolution set the building of socialism in the USSR on one-sixth of the earth, the transformation of the country of socialism onto one of the greatest power in the world, that shattered the foundations of imperialism and gave a tremendous impetus to the struggle, the ideological and organisational forces, to the prestige and influence of the working class and the revolutionary labour movement in all countries. The land of socialism constantly rendered active and extensive help to the international labour movement.

It was precisely the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution that led to the consolidation of the united front of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism. But the role of the Soviet Union was not confined to this alone. As it gained in strength the Soviet Union increased its support in the united front of the anti-imperialist forces, of the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation. Thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army in World War II, the peoples of Eastern Europe were able to break away from the yoke of imperialism and lay the foundation of socialism in their countries. The might of the Soviet Union and its tenacious struggle were the decisive factors which made it possible to turn the anti-imperialist democratic camp into a powerful invincible force.

There is a deep gulf between the Marxist world outlook and the narrow nationalist views of the present leaders of Yugoslavia.

Comrade Kardelj stated in 1945 that Comrade Tito regards the development of the people's democracy in Yugoslavia as being "self sufficient, and not linked with the development of the proletarian revolution and socialism". Is it not clear that this is a ... and absurd viewpoint which far from strengthening the international front of the anti-imperialist struggle of democracy and socialism, aims to disrupt and weaken it? There are a number of Communist Parties which can be proud of the victories won in the struggle for the national independence of their countries. However, they do not boast of their victories and are not resting on their laurels.

The present leaders of Yugoslavia who have become boundlessly concealed, have forgotten certain things that are of extremely great importance:

a) They have forgotten, firstly, that without the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory in the struggle for the genuine independence of the country would have been impossible.

It was precisely the historical victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution that made it possible for the proletariat of the countries dependent on and enslaved by imperialism, including Yugoslavia, to take the leadership of the national liberation struggle into their hands and to achieve national independence and social liberation.

b) The present leaders of Yugoslavia have forgotten about the concrete conditions under which the countries of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, became independent and took the path of a people's democracy.

In his report to the conference of the Communist Parties in Poland, Comrade Kardelj, enumerating the factors which, in his opinion, determined the victory of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, forgot to mention one such fact, namely that the victory of the democratic popular forces of Yugoslavia would have been impossible without the direct assistance of the Soviet Army. At a critical period for the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Army liberated Belgrade, drove the armies of German imperialism out of Yugoslavia and afterwards completely routed them, thus making Anglo-American imperialist intervention impossible in Yugoslavia. In this way the USSR, for the first time in history, created the conditions for the extension and development of an independent, democratic and people's Yugoslavia, and continues to give wholehearted support to the just demands of Yugoslavia on the international arena. The Soviet Union played the same historical liberating role toward the other peoples of Eastern Europe and won their warm love and gratitude.

The fact that the Soviet Army which has won the love and respect of the working people even in the vanquished countries it has liberated, has been treated with hostility by the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, much to the indignation of working-class and democratic public opinion of the world, can be explained only by the petty-bourgeois arrogance and nationalist conceit of the present leaders of Yugoslavia.

The present leaders of Yugoslavia are hypocritically endeavouring to represent the unwavering loyalty and love of the peoples of Yugoslavia for the Soviet Union as the result of their "educational work". Fortunately, the sentiments of the peoples of Yugoslavia toward the USSR are much stronger than the present leaders of Yugoslavia care to see. Even Djilas, who has more than once slandered the land of socialism, was compelled last year to recognise the deep roots of these sentiments. "Our forefathers", said Djilas, "rose up in the mountains and pointing to the East, told their children and grandchildren: that is where Russia is. The day will arrive when the Russians will come here and liberate us". And it was also Djilas who had to admit that this prophecy has become true.

The present leaders of Yugoslavia are trying in vain to prepare the Communist Party and the people to betray the united front of the countries of the people's democracy and the USSR. In spite of them the Communists and working people of Yugoslavia will realise that an independent Yugoslavia cannot exist outside of this united front, that such a policy is tantamount to betrayal of the independence and freedom of Yugoslavia.

c) In order to conceal their betrayal of the international solidarity of the working people the leaders of Yugoslavia are distorting the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the possibility of building socialism in one country alone.

Socialism cannot be built in one or several countries without the support of the USSR, or against it, without the support of the people's democracies or against them, without the support of the international labour movement or against it, as the present leaders of Yugoslavia seem to think. Such a stand means placing the country in the bondage of capitalist loans, such as the "Marshall Plan", means leading it along the path of capitalism, of betrayal of socialism and national independence.

Who can be so naïve as to believe that a country like Yugoslavia can take the “middle-of-the-road” position, can alone resist imperialist expansion in the epoch when a struggle is being waged on the international arena between two camps? Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and others are preparing for the People’s republic of Yugoslavia the same fate that has overtaken the “Benelux” countries which have been subordinated to American imperialism, the fate of the countries seized and dismembered by the imperialists. There can be no “neutrality” between the two camps that now divide the world. Whoever breaks away from the camp of democracy and socialism, inevitable, opposes this camp and upholds capitalism, upholds subordination to the imperialist West.

And it is these same “leaders” who have created the danger of the degeneration of the People’s Republic of Yugoslavia and the loss of its independence who dare to talk about the so-called “degeneration” of the Soviet Union—the invincible bulwark of socialism and democracy. It is highly probable that having forgotten so much, they have also forgotten about the bankruptcy of Trotsky who likewise used ultra-left phraseology to camouflage his criminal activities directed at restoring capitalism and dismembering the Soviet Union.

It is clear that the thousands of Communists and working people of Yugoslavia who fought shoulder to shoulder with the men of the Soviet Army did not shed their blood for this. Unquestionably all that is healthy and honest in the Communist Party, in the working class, in the working people of Yugoslavia as a whole, will be able to find the correct path leading to the genuine strengthening of the people’s democracy in Yugoslavia, the path of its development towards socialism.

The Communist and Workers’ parties have drawn serious lessons from all that has taken place in Yugoslavia.

It is obvious that any underestimation of the role of the Soviet Union and the people’s democracies in Eastern Europe is a dangerous nationalist phenomenon and inevitably leads to the departure from the position of Marxism to that of capitalism.

The nationalist short-sightedness displayed in relation to the role of the USSR has led to the fact that the present leaders of Yugoslavia regard the “weakening of the class struggle” to be the principal factor in the success of the people’s democracy of Yugoslavia. This is an anti-Marxist idea from which follow the other features of the nationalist line pursued by Tito, Kardelj and others: denial of the role of the Party as the leader in the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry, denial of the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat and the transformation of the Party into a semi-legal, sectarian-bureaucratic organisation, dissolved in the People’s Front and subordinated to it; abandonment of the struggle to restrict capitalist elements in the countryside, and so on.

The other lesson that must be drawn is that conceit and the absence in the Party of systematic criticism and self-criticism combined with ignorance of Marxist theory can only lead to disastrous results. That is why the plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers’ Party passed a decision to practise criticism and self-criticism as one of the important measures of combating this kind of phenomenon, to develop work to raise the ideological level of Party cadres and all Party members, as well as of the working class, as a regular method of educating Party cadres. These measures must be based on the rich experience of the CPSU (B).

It is necessary that the Communist and Workers' parties continue with still greater firmness to combat the nationalist influences in the Party and among the masses and that they educate the working class and the people as a whole in the spirit of internationalism.

It is the honourable duty of our Party to spare no efforts to educate the members of the Party and the masses in the spirit of boundless love and loyalty to the Soviet Union, the CPSU (B), and to the great teacher of all working people, Comrade Stalin. Only thus will we prove our devotion and loyalty to the powerful camp of peace, democracy and socialism, the great strength of which remains unshaken, all enemy attempts notwithstanding.

2. COMMUNIQUE

2.1. MEETING OF INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

During the second half of November, a meeting of the Information Bureau was held in Hungary attended by the following representatives.

From the Communist Party of Bulgaria; Comrades V. Tchervenkov, V. Poptomov; Rumanian Workers Party, Comrades Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, J. Chishinevschi, A. Moghörös; Hungarian Workers' Party, Comrade M. Rakosi, A. Gerö, J. Revai, J. Kadar; United Workers' Party of Poland, Comrades J. Berman, A. Zawadski; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Comrades M. Suslov, P. Yudin; Communist Party of France, Comrades J. Duclos, E. Fajon, G. Cogniot; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrades R. Slansky, S. Bastovansky, L. Kopriva, B. Geminder; Communist Party of Italy, Comrades P. Togliatti, E. d'Onofrio, A. Cicalini. The meeting heard the following reports: Comrade M. Suslov—"Defence of peace and the struggle against the warmongers"; Comrade P. Togliatti—"Working class unity and the tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties"; Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej—"The Yugoslav Communist Party in the power of murderers and spies".

Having exchanged opinions on these reports, the delegates reached complete agreement of views and unanimously adopted corresponding resolutions.

2.2. DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR MONGERS

Resolution of the Information Bureau

Having discussed the defence of peace and the struggle against the warmongers, the representatives of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Rumanian Workers' Party, Hungarian Workers' Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), French Communist Party, Italian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia unanimously reached the following conclusions:

The events of the past two years fully confirm the correctness of the analysis of the international situation given by the first meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in September 1947.

During this period two lines of world policy took shape even more clearly and sharply:—the line of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the U.S.S.R., the camp waging a persistent and consistent struggle for peace between peoples and for democracy; and the line of the imperialist, anti-democratic camp headed by the U.S. ruling circles, the camp whose main objectives forcibly to establish Anglo-American world domination, to enslave other countries and peoples, to destroy democracy and to unleash a new war.

Moreover, the aggressive character of the imperialist camp continues to grow. The ruling circles of the United States and Britain openly pursue a policy of aggression and preparation for a new war.

In the struggle against the camp of imperialism and war, the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have grown in number and strength.

The further growth of the might of the Soviet Union; the political and economic consolidation of the People's Democracies and the fact that they have taken the path of building Socialism; the historical victory of the Chinese people's revolution over the combined forces of home reaction and U.S. imperialism; the formation of the German Democratic Republic; the consolidation of the Communist Parties; the growth of the democratic movement in capitalist countries and the tremendous scale of the movement of the partisans of peace—all these signify a considerable extension and consolidation of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp.

At the same time the imperialist, anti-democratic camp grows weaker. The successes of the forces of democracy and Socialism, the maturing economic crisis, further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the sharpening of the external and internal contradictions of this system are all evidence of the increasing weakening of imperialism.

The change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favour of the camp of peace and democracy evokes fierce anger and rage among the imperialist warmongers.

The Anglo-American imperialists hope, by means of war, to change the course of historical development; to solve their external and internal contradictions and difficulties; to consolidate the position of monopoly capital and to gain world domination.

Aware of the fact that time works against them the imperialists feverishly and hastily hatch various blocs and alliances of reactionary forces to realise their aggressive plans.

The entire policy of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc serves the aim of preparing a new war. It finds expression in frustrating a peaceful settlement of relations with Germany and Japan; in completing the dismemberment of Germany; in turning the Western zones of Germany and also Japan occupied by U.S. troops into centres of fascism, revenge and springboards for the realisation of the aggressive plans of this bloc.

At the service of this policy is the onerous Marshall Plan and its direct continuation—Western Union and the North Atlantic Military Bloc aimed against all peace-loving peoples; the unrestrained armament race in the United States and West-European countries; the swelling of military budgets and the extension of the network of American military bases.

This policy also finds expression in the refusal of the Anglo-American bloc to prohibit the atomic weapon despite the fiasco of the myth of U.S. atomic monopoly, and in whipping up war hysteria by all means.

This policy determines the entire line of the Anglo-American bloc in the United Nations Organisation, a line aimed at undermining U.N.O. and making it a weapon of U.S. monopolies.

The policy of unleashing a new war by the imperialists found expression also in the conspiracy exposed at the Rajk-Brankov trial in Budapest the conspiracy organised by Anglo-American circles against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union with the help of the fascist, nationalist, Tito clique which has become an agency of international imperialist reaction.

The policy of preparing a new war means, for the mass of the people in the capitalist countries, the continuous growth of an unbearable tax burden, the growth of poverty of the working people alongside a fantastic growth in the super-profits of the monopolies which wax rich from the armament race.

The growing economic crisis brings even greater poverty, unemployment, starvation and fear of the morrow to working people in the capitalist countries.

At the same time the policy of war preparations is bound up with continuous encroachments of ruling imperialist circles on the elementary rights and democratic liberties of the mass of the people; with increased reaction in all spheres of public, political and ideological life; with the application of fascist methods of reprisals in relation to progressive and democratic forces of the peoples.

By these measures the imperialist bourgeoisie seek to prepare the rear for a predatory war.

Thus, similar to the fascist aggressors, the Anglo-American bloc prepares a new war in all direction:—military-strategical measures, political pressure and blackmail, economic expansion and enslavement of peoples, ideological stupefying of the masses and intensified reaction.

The U.S. imperialist chief draw up their plans of unleashing a new world war and of gaining world domination without taking into account the real correlation of forces between the camp of imperialism and the camp of Socialism.

Their plans for world domination are even more groundless and adventurous than those of the Hitlerites and the Japanese imperialists.

The U.S. imperialists obviously overestimate their strength and underestimate the growing power and organisation of the anti-imperialist camp.

The present historical situation differs radically from the situation in which World War Two was prepared. Under the present international conditions it is incomparably more difficult for the warmongers to realise their sanguinary designs.

“The horrors of the recent war are too fresh in the minds of the people, and the social forces standing for peace are too great for the Churchill disciples of aggression to overcome them and turn them towards a new war”. (J. Stalin).

Peoples do not want war and hate it. They are increasingly realising into what a horrible abyss the imperialists try to plunge them.

The tireless struggle of the Soviet Union, the People’s Democracies and the international working class and democratic movements for peace, freedom and independence of the peoples and against the instigators of war, meets daily with increasingly powerful support from the broadest strata of the population in all countries throughout the world.

Hence, the development of a mighty movement of the partisans of peace. This movement, rallying in its ranks over 600 million people, is growing and extending, embracing all countries of the world and drawing into its ranks ever new fighters against the menace of war.

The movement of the partisans of peace shows clearly that the masses of the people are taking the work of defending peace into their own hands, thus demonstrating their unbending will to uphold the cause of peace and prevent war.

However, it would be erroneous and harmful for the cause of peace to underestimate the danger of the new war now being prepared by imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and Britain. The enormous growth of the forces in the camp of democracy and Socialism should not give rise to any complacency in the ranks of genuine champions of peace.

It would be a profound and unforgivable delusion to think the danger of war has diminished.

Historical experience teaches that the more hopeless things are for imperialist reaction, the more it rages and the greater danger of military adventures.

Only the greatest vigilance of the peoples and their firm determination actively to fight by all means and ways for peace will secure the failure of the criminal designs of the instigators of a new war.

Under the conditions of the growing danger of a new war the Communist and Workers' Parties bear a great historical responsibility.

The struggle for a stable and lasting peace, for the organisation and consolidation of the forces of peace against the force of war should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties and democratic organisations.

To carry out the great and noble task of saving mankind from the danger of a new war, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties see the following as their vital tasks:

1. To work even more persistently to consolidate organisationally and extend the movement of the partisans of peace, drawing new sections of the population into this movement and making it universal.

Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into this movement trade unions, women's, youth, co-operative, sports, cultural, educational, religious and other organisations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary and other political and public leaders who act in defence of peace and against war.

Today the task of rallying all genuine peace supporters, regardless of religious beliefs, political views and party affiliation on the broadest platform in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a new war threatening mankind, arises with particular urgency.

2. Of decisive significance for the further development of the movement of the partisans of peace is the ever more active participation of the working class in the movement, its consolidation and the unity of its ranks.

Therefore the paramount task of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to draw the broadest sections of the working class and the ranks of the fighters for peace; secure firm working-class unity, to organise joint actions of various sections of the proletariat on the basis of a common struggle for peace and for the national independence of their countries.

3. Working class unity can be won only in a resolute struggle against Right-Wing Socialist disrupters and disorganisers of the working-class movement. Right-Wing Socialists like Bevin, Attlee, Blum, Guy Mollet, Spaak, Schumacher, Renner, Saragat, and reactionary trade union leaders like Green, Carey and Deakin carrying out a splitting, anti-popular policy are the main enemies of the unity of the working class; they are accomplices of the warmongers and servants of imperialism who cover their treachery with pseudo-Socialist, cosmopolitan phrase-mongering.

While tirelessly fighting for peace, the Communist and Workers' Parties must daily expose the Right-Wing Socialist chieftains as the worst enemies of peace.

It is necessary to develop and consolidate in every way cooperation and united action with basic organisations and with rank and file members of Socialist Parties; to support all genuinely honest elements in the ranks of these parties, explaining to them the disastrous nature of the policy pursued by reactionary Right-Wing leaders.

4. Communist and Workers' Parties should contrast the misanthropic propaganda of the aggressors striving to turn Europe and Asia into a sanguinary field of war with the broadest propaganda of a stable and lasting peace between the peoples.

They should ceaselessly expose aggressive blocs and military-political alliances (especially Western Union and the North Atlantic bloc); they should also explain that a new war would bring untold disasters and colossal destruction to the peoples and that the struggle against war and for the defence of peace is the cause of all peoples in the world.

It is necessary to ensure that war propaganda and the preaching of race hatred and enmity between peoples made by agents of Anglo-American imperialism should meet with sharp condemnation by all sections of democratic public opinion in every country.

It is necessary also to secure that not a single statement by propagandists of a new war should be left unanswered by genuine supporters of peace.

5. New and effective forms of mass struggle for peace must be widely applied—forms which have completely justified themselves, such as peace committees in town and countryside, the signing of petitions and protests, the questionnaire widely used in France and Italy.

The publication and circulation of literature exposing war preparations; the collection of funds for the struggle for peace; the boycott of films, newspapers, books, journals, broadcasting companies, institutions and leaders propagating a new war—all these are vital tasks for the Communist and Workers' Parties.

6. Communist and working class parties in capitalist countries consider it their duty to merge the struggle for national independence with that for peace, tirelessly exposing the anti-national treacherous nature of the policy of bourgeois governments which have become direct lieutenants of aggressive U.S. imperialism; to rally and consolidate all democratic patriotic forces of the country around slogans of ending the shameful bondage expressing itself in servile subordination to U.S. monopolies and of returning to an independent foreign and home policy corresponding to the national interests of the peoples.

It is necessary to unite the broadest masses of the people in the capitalist countries to defend democratic rights and liberties, tirelessly explaining to them that the defence of peace is indissolubly linked with the defence of the vital interests of the working class and the working people; with the defence of their economic and political rights.

Important tasks confront the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and other countries whose peoples the U.S. imperialists want to use as cannon fodder in realising their aggressive plans.

Their duty is to unfold with even greater energy the struggle for peace, to frustrate the criminal designs of the Anglo-American warmongers.

7. Alongside the exposure of the imperialist warmongers and their accomplices, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union face the task of further consolidating the camp of peace and Socialism in the cause of defending peace and the security of peoples.

8. A considerable role in the realisation of their aggressive plans, particularly in Central and South-East Europe, is assigned by Anglo-American imperialists to the nationalist Tito clique which is in the espionage service of the imperialists.

The task of defending peace and of combating the warmongers, demands the further exposure of this clique which has deserted to the camp of the inveterate enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism, to the camp of imperialism and fascism.

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For the first time in the history of mankind an organised peace front has appeared, headed by the Soviet Union, the bulwark and standard-bearer of peace throughout the world.

Reaching out to ever wider masses of the people in the capitalist countries is the courageous call of the Communist Parties declaring that the peoples will never go to war against the first socialist country in the world; against the Soviet Union.

During the war against fascism the Communist Parties were in the van of the popular resistance struggle against the invaders; in the post-war years the Communist and Workers' Parties are the front rank fighters for the vital interests of their peoples against a new war.

Rallied under the leadership of the working class, all opponents of another war—people of labour, science and culture—are forming a powerful peace front capable of frustrating the criminal designs of the imperialists.

Upon the energy and initiative of the Communist Parties depends largely the outcome of the ever-extending titanic struggle for peace; on Communists, as vanguard fighters, depends above all, the transforming of this possibility of frustrating the plans of the warmongers into reality.

The forces of democracy and the partisans of peace are greatly superior to the forces of reaction.

The job is now to raise to higher levels the vigilance of the peoples in relation to the instigators of war; to organise and rally the broad masses of the people for active defence of the cause of peace for the sake of the vital interests of the peoples, for life and liberty.

2.3. WORKING CLASS UNITY AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Resolution of the Information Bureau

I.

The preparations for a new war carried out by the Anglo-American imperialists, the crusade of bourgeois reaction against the democratic rights and the economic interests of the working class and the mass of the people call for intensified struggle of the working class to maintain and consolidate peace and to organise a resolute rebuff to the warmongers and the onslaught of imperialist reaction.

Unity in the ranks of the working class is a guarantee of success in this struggle.

Post-war experience shows that the policy of splitting the working class movement forms one of the priorities in the arsenal of tactics applied by imperialists to unleash a new war; to suppress the forces of democracy and Socialism and drastically to reduce the living standards of the mass of the people.

Never before in the history of the international working class movement has the unity of the working class, both within individual countries and on a world scale, been of such decisive significance as at the present time.

Unity of the working class is essential to safeguard peace; to frustrate the criminal designs of the warmongers; to foil the conspiracy of the imperialists against democracy and Socialism; to prevent the establishment of fascist methods of domination; resolutely to rebuff the crusade of monopoly capital against the vital interests of the working class and to secure an improvement in the economic conditions of the working masses.

The realisation of these tasks can be achieved, above all, on the basis of rallying the broad mass of the working class, irrespective of party affiliation, trade union organisation or religious convictions.

Unity from below—such is the most effective way to consolidate all forces of the workers to defend peace and the national independence of their countries and to defend the economic interests and democratic rights of all working people.

Working class unity is attainable despite the opposition of the leading centres of those trade unions and parties headed by splitters and the enemies of unity.

The post-war period has been marked with big successes in eliminating the split in the working class, and in rallying the general democratic forces; successes which were expressed in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Democratic Women, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and in the convening of the World Peace Congress.

Unity successes find expression in a consolidated C.G.T. in France, in the creation of a united trade union federation in Italy, (C.G.T. of I.) and in the militant actions of the French and Italian proletariat.

In the People's Democracies historical successes in working class unity have also been won; united working class parties, united trade unions, united co-operatives, youth, women's and other organisations have been established.

This working class unity has played a decisive role in the successes achieved in the economic and cultural advance in the People's Democracies; in securing the leading role of the working class in the State and in a radical improvement in the material welfare of the working masses.

All this shows the tremendous desire of the working people to consolidate their ranks and shows the real possibility of creating a united working class front against the combined forces of reaction—from the U.S. imperialists to the Right-Wing Socialists.

U.S. and British imperialists and their satellites in European countries strive to split and disorganise the proletarian and the people's forces generally, pinning especial hopes on the Right-Wing Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders.

On the direct orders of U.S. and British imperialists, the Right-Wing Socialist and reactionary trade union leaders split the ranks of the working class movement from above, seeking to destroy united working class organisations created in the post-war period.

They tried to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions' from within; they organised splinter groups such as "Force Ouvriere" in France and the so-called Labour Federation in Italy and they now try to prepare the formation of a disruptive international trade union body.

Similar attempts to split the workers were also made by leaders of Catholic organisations in individual countries.

The characterisation of the treacherous activity of the Right-Wing Socialist leaders as that of most rabid enemies of working class unity and accomplices of imperialism—a characterisation made at the first meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties has been fully confirmed.

Today the Right-Wing Socialists appear not only as the agents of the bourgeoisie of their own countries, but also as agents of U.S. imperialism, turning the Social Democratic parties of European countries into American parties and into direct weapons of U.S. imperialist aggression.

In those countries where Right-Wing Socialists are in the Government (Britain, France, Austria and the Scandinavian countries), they emerge as ardent champions of the "Marshall Plan", "Western Union", the "North Atlantic Agreement" and of all other forms of U.S. expansion.

These pseudo-Socialists perform a foul role in persecuting the working class and democratic organisations which defend the interests of the working people.

Sliding further down the path of betrayal of the interests of the working class, democracy and Socialism, and having completely abandoned the Marxist doctrine, these Right-Wing Socialists today appear as champions and advocates of the predatory ideology of U.S. imperialism.

Their theories of "Democratic Socialism" and of the "Third Force"; their cosmopolitan ravings of the need to give up national sovereignty are nothing but an ideological cover for the aggression of U.S. and British imperialism.

The so-called Committee of International Socialist Conferences (COMISCO)—miserable offspring of the Socialist International which rallied alive—has become a rallying point for the most rabid disrupters and disorganisers of the working class movement. This organisation has become an espionage centre in the service of the British and U.S. intelligence services.

The unity of the working class can only be won in a resolute struggle against these Right-Wing Socialist disrupters and disorganisers of the working class movement.

II.

The Information Bureau regards as the cardinal task of the Communist Parties a tireless struggle to unite and organise all forces of the working class in order to render a powerful rebuff to the insolent claims of Anglo-American imperialism; to frustrate its calculations on a new world war; to safeguard and consolidate the cause of peace and international security; to doom to failure the onslaught of monopoly capital on the living standards of the working masses.

In the present international situation it is the duty of the Communist Parties to explain that if the working class does not secure unity in its ranks it will deprive itself of the most important weapon in the struggle against the growing danger of a new world war and against the onslaught of imperialist reaction of the living standards of the working people.

While waging an irreconcilable and consistent struggle in theory and practice against the Right-Wing Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders; and while ruthlessly exposing them and isolating them from the masses, the Communists must patiently and persistently explain to the rank and file Social Democratic workers the entire significance of the cause of working class unity; draw them into an active struggle for peace, bread, and democratic liberties and pursue a policy of joint action to achieve these aims.

A well-tryed method to effect the unity of the working class is the unity in action of its various detachments. Co-ordinate joint actions at individual enterprises, in whole branches of industry, on a town, district, national and international scale; mobilise the broadest masses to fight for their immediate and most easily understood demands and thus help establish permanent unity in the ranks of the proletariat.

Working class unified action from below may find expression in the establishment of peace committees in factories and offices; in the organisation of mass demonstrations against the warmongers; in joint actions of workers to defend democratic rights and improve their economic conditions.

Particular attention in the struggle for working class unity should be devoted to the mass of Catholic workers and working people generally and to their organisations.

When doing this it should be borne in mind that religious convictions are not an obstacle to unity of the working people, especially when this unity is needed to save peace.

Concrete joint actions in the sphere of economic demands and the co-ordination of the struggle by class trade unions and Catholic trade unions etc., can provide effective means of drawing Catholic workers into the general front of the struggle for peace.

The most important task of the Communist Parties in each capitalist country is to do everything in their power to secure trade union unity.

It is of great importance at present to draw workers who are not professionally organised into trade unions and into active struggle. In capitalist countries such workers constitute a considerable section of the proletariat.

If the Communist Parties get down to real work among the non-organised workers they will secure great successes in achieving working class unity.

The Information Bureau is of the opinion that on the basis of working class unity it is essential to achieve national unity of all democratic forces, to mobilise the broad masses of the people for the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and reaction at home.

Of extreme importance is the day-to-day work in the mass organisations of the working people; women's, youth, peasant, cooperative and other bodies.

The unity of the working class movement and the consolidation of all democratic forces is essential not only to solve the daily tasks of the working class and of the working people; it is essential also to solve the cardinal issues confronting the proletariat as a class leading the struggle to abolish the power of monopoly capital, and to reorganise society along socialist lines.

On the basis of successes achieved in creating unity in the ranks of the working class movement, and in the consolidation of all democratic forces, it will become possible to develop the struggle in the capitalist countries for the formation of governments which would rally all patriotic forces opposing the enslavement of their countries by U.S. imperialism; governments which would adopt a policy of a stable peace between the peoples, put an end to the armament race and raise the living standards of the working people.

In the People's Democracies the task of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to consolidate even more the working class unity which has been attained and the unity of trade union, co-operative, women's, youth and other organisations.

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The Information Bureau believes that further successes in the struggle for working class unity and the consolidation of democratic forces depend, above all, on the improvement of the entire organisational and ideological work of every Communist and Workers' Party.

Of outstanding significance for these Parties is the ideological exposure and irreconcilable struggle against any manifestation of opportunism, sectarianism, and bourgeois nationalism and the struggle against the penetration of enemy agents into Party ranks.

The lessons arising from the exposure of the Tito-Rankovic espionage clique urgently demand that the Communist and Workers' Parties should heighten revolutionary vigilance to the maximum.

The agents of the Tito clique appear today as the most rabid disrupters in the ranks of the working class and of the democratic movement; disrupters carrying out the will of the U.S. imperialists.

It is necessary, therefore, resolutely to combat the machinations of this imperialist agency wherever it tries to be active in the working class and democratic organisations.

The organisational and ideological-political consolidation of the Communist and Workers' Parties, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is the most important condition for a successful struggle of the working class, for the unity of its ranks, for the cause of peace, for national independence of its country, for democracy and Socialism.

2.4. COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE POWER OF MURDERERS AND SPIES

Resolution of the Information Bureau

The Information Bureau, consisting of representatives of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Rumanian Workers' Party, Working People's Party of Hungary, United Workers Party of Poland, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Communist Party of France, and the Czechoslovak and Italian Communist Parties, having considered the question: "The Yugoslav Communist Party in the power of murderers and spies", unanimously reached the following conclusions:

Whereas, in June 1948 the meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties noted the change over of the Tito-Rankovic clique from democracy and socialism to bourgeois nationalism, during the period that has elapsed since the meeting of the Information Bureau, this clique has travelled all the way from bourgeois nationalism to fascism and outright betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia.

Recent events show that the Yugoslav Government is completely dependent on foreign imperialist circles and has become an instrument of their aggressive policy, which has resulted in the liquidation of the independence of the Yugoslav Republic. The Central Committee of the Party and the Government of Yugoslavia have merged completely with the imperialists circles against the entire camp of socialism and democracy; against the Communist Parties of the world; against the New Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

The Belgrade clique of hired spies and murderers made a flagrant deal with imperialist reaction and entered its service, as the Budapest trial of Rajk-Brankov made perfectly clear.

This trial showed that the present Yugoslav rulers, having fled from the camp of democracy and socialism to the camp of capitalism and reaction, have become direct accomplices of the instigators of a new war, and, by their treacherous deeds, are ingratiating themselves with the imperialists and kow-towing to them.

The change-over of the Tito clique to fascism was not fortuitous. It was effected on the order of their masters, the Anglo-American imperialists, whose mercenaries, it is now clear, this clique has been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, obeying the will of the imperialists, undertook to form in the People's Democracies political gangs consisting of reactionaries, nationalists, clerical and fascist elements and, relying on these gangs, to bring about counter-revolutionary coups in these countries, wrest them from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp and subordinate them to the forces of imperialism.

The Tito clique transformed Belgrade into an American centre for espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

When all genuine friends of peace, democracy and socialism see in the U.S.S.R. a powerful fortress of Socialism, a faithful and steadfast defender of the freedom and independence of nations and the principal bulwark of peace, the Tito-Rankovic clique, having attained power under the mask of friendship with the U.S.S.R., began on the orders of the Anglo-American imperialists, a campaign of slander and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilising the most vile calumnies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler.

The transformation of the Tito-Rankovic clique into a direct agency of imperialism, and accomplices of the warmongers, culminated in the lining up of the Yugoslav Government with the imperialist bloc at U.N.O., where the Kardeljs, Djilas and Beblers, joined in a united front with American reactionaries on vital matters of international policy.

In the sphere of home policy, the chief outcome of the activity of the traitor Tito-Rankovic clique is the actual liquidation of the People's Democratic system in Yugoslavia.

Due to the counter-revolutionary policy of the Tito-Rankovic clique which usurped power in the Party and in the State, an anti-Communist, police State—fascist type regime—has been installed in Yugoslavia.

The social basis of this regime consists of kulaks in the countryside and capitalist elements in the towns.

In fact, power in Yugoslavia is in the hands of anti-popular, reactionary elements. Active members of the old bourgeois parties, kulaks and other enemies of People's Democracy, are active in central and local government bodies.

The top fascist rulers rely on an enormously swollen military-police apparatus, with the aid of which they oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia.

They have turned the country into a military camp, wiped out all democratic rights of the working people, and trample on any free expression of opinion.

The Yugoslav rulers demagogically and insolently deceive the people, alleging they are building socialism in Yugoslavia.

But it is clear to every Marxist that there can be no talk of building socialism in Yugoslavia when the Tito clique has broken with the Soviet Union, with the entire camp of socialism and democracy, thereby depriving Yugoslavia of the main bulwark for building socialism and when it has subordinated the country economically and politically to Anglo-American imperialists.

The State sector in the economy of Yugoslavia has ceased to be people's property, since State power is in the hands of enemies of the people.

The Tito-Rankovic clique has created wide possibilities for the penetration of foreign capital into the economy of the country, and has placed the economy under the control of capitalist monopolies.

Anglo-American industrial-financial circles investing their capital in Yugoslav economy, are transforming Yugoslavia on foreign capital.

The ever growing slavish dependence of Yugoslavia on imperialism leads to intensified exploitation of the working class and to a severe worsening of its conditions.

The policy of the Yugoslav rulers in the countryside bears a kulak. Capitalistic character.

The compulsory pseudo co-operatives in the countryside are in the hands of kulaks and their agencies and represent an instrument for the exploitation of wide masses of working peasants.

The Yugoslav hirelings of imperialism, having seized leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, unloosed a campaign of terror against genuine Communists loyal to the principles of Marxism and Leninism and who fight for Yugoslavia's independence from the imperialists.

Thousands of Yugoslav patriots, devoted to Communism, have been expelled from the Party and incarcerated in jails and concentration camps. Many have been tortured and killed in prison or, as was the case with the well-known Communist, Arso Jovanovic, were dastardly assassinated.

The brutality with which staunch fighters for Communism are being annihilated in Yugoslavia, can be compared only with the atrocities of the Hitler fascists or the butcher Tsaldaris in Greece or Franco in Spain.

Expelling from the ranks of the Party those Communists loyal to proletarian internationalism, annihilating them, the Yugoslav fascist opened wide the doors of the Party to bourgeois and kulak elements.

As a result of the fascist terror of the Tito gangs against the healthy forces in the Yugoslav Communist Party, leadership of the party is wholly in the hands of spies and murderers, mercenaries of imperialism.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia has been seized by counter-revolutionary forces, acting arbitrarily in the name of the Party. Recruiting spies and provocateurs in the ranks of the working class parties, is, as is well-known, an old method of the bourgeoisie.

In this way the imperialists seek to undermine the Parties from within and subordinate them to themselves. They have succeeded in realising this aim in Yugoslavia.

The fascist ideology, and fascist domestic policy, as well as the perfidious foreign policy of the Tito clique, completely subordinated to the foreign imperialist circles, have created a gulf between the espionage fascist Tito-Rankovic clique and the vital interests of the freedom-loving peoples of Yugoslavia.

Consequently, the anti-popular and treacherous activity of the Tito clique is encountering ever-growing resistance from those Communists who have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and among the working class and working peasantry of Yugoslavia.

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On the basis of irrefutable facts testifying to the complete change over of the Tito clique to fascism and its desertion to the camp of world imperialism, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties considers, that:

1. The espionage group of Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Pijade, Gosnjak, Maslaric, Bebler, Mrazovic, Vukmanovic, Koca Popovic, Kidric, Neskovic, Zlatic, Velebit, Kolishevski and others, are enemies of the working class and peasantry and enemies of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

2. This espionage group expresses not the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the will of the Anglo-American imperialists, and has therefore betrayed the interests of the country and abolished the political sovereignty and economic independence of Yugoslavia.

3. The “Communist Party of Yugoslavia”, as at present constituted, being in the hands of enemies of the people, murderers and spies, has forfeited the right to be called a Communist Party and is merely an apparatus for carrying out the espionage assignments of the clique of Tito-Kardelj-Rankovic-Djilas.

The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties considers therefore, that the struggle against the Tito clique-hired spies and murderers, is the international duty of all Communist and Workers’ Parties.

It is the duty of Communist and Workers’ Parties to give all possible aid to the Yugoslav working class and working peasantry who are fighting for the return of Yugoslavia to the camp of democracy and socialism.

A necessary condition for the return of Yugoslavia to the socialist camp is active struggle on the part of revolutionary elements both inside the Yugoslav Communist Party and outside its ranks, for the regeneration of the revolutionary, genuine Communist Party of Yugoslavia, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia from imperialism.

The loyal Communist forces in Yugoslavia, who, in the present brutal conditions of fascist terror, are deprived of the possibility of engaging in open action against the Tito-Rankovic clique, were compelled in the struggle for the cause of Communism, to follow the path taken by the Communists in those countries where legal work is forbidden.

The Information Bureau expresses the firm conviction that, among the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, forces will be found capable of ensuring victory over the bourgeois-restoration espionage Tito-Rankovic clique; that the toiling people of Yugoslavia led by the working class will succeed in restoring the historical gains of People’s Democracy, won at the price of heavy sacrifice and heroic struggle by the peoples of Yugoslavia and that they will take the road of building socialism.

The Information Bureau considers one of the most important tasks of the Communist and Workers’ Parties to be an all-round heightening of revolutionary vigilance in Party ranks; exposing and rooting out bourgeois-nationalist elements and agents of imperialism no matter under what flag they conceal themselves.

The Information Bureau recognises the need for more ideological work, in the Communist and Workers’ Parties; more work to train Communists in the spirit of loyalty to proletarian internationalism; irreconcilability to any departure from the principle of Marxism-Leninism, and in the spirit of loyalty to Peoples’ Democracy and Socialism.