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2. SOME DOCUMENTS ON TITOITE TROTSKYITES-
SPIES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM
JULY 15, 1948
FEBRUARY 6, 1953

COMPILED FROM

*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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CONTENT

THE NEWSPAPER "FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY" BANNED IN YUGOSLAVIA

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

RAISE HIGH THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA RENOUNCES MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE.

I. Lautu

The Break with Marxism-Leninism

Slipping to the Standpoint of a Narodnik, Kulak Party

Opportunist Theory about the Dying Out of Class Struggle

Adventurism in Policy

Right Opportunist Conception of the Cooperatives

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES UNANIMOUSLY APPROVE RESOLUTION INFORMATION BUREAU CONCERNING SITUATION IN COMMUNIST PARTY YUGOSLAVIA

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

P. Yudin

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

UNDER THE BANNER OF CRITICISM.

V. Chervenkov, Central Committee,

Bulgarian Workers' Party

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

TRAITORS TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

PARTY CHRONICLE

Chinese Communist Party Approves Information Bureau Resolution

Indian Communist Party on Information Bureau Resolution

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

PETTY-BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST OUTLOOK OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP.

Vasile Luca, Secretary, Central Committee
Rumanian Workers' Party

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

PAS DE CALAIS COMMUNISTS PROTEST AGAINST TITO'S SLANDEROUS STATEMENT

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

MACHINATIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

**TO THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES
BUCHAREST- Teheran, 14 July, 1948**

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

HOW THE CONGRESS OF THE C.P.Y. WAS HELD

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

THE SECTARIAN, BUREAUCRATIC REGIME IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

A. Pauker, Secretary, Central Committee,
Rumanian Worker's Party

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

YUGOSLAV TROTSKYITES' PATH OF BETRAYAL AND TREACHERY.

R. Zambrowski, Secretary, Central Committee,
United Workers' Party of Poland

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy!
No 10(37); SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1949

POLITICAL PROVOCATEURS. V. Poptomov, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee Bulgarian Communist Party

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 12(39), WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1949

STOP THE ATROCITIES OF THE HANGMEN OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE!
From For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 15 (42), 1 August, 1949

FAILURE OF TITO'S COLONISATION PLAN FOR ALBANIA.
Enver Hodja, General Secretary,
Workers' Party of Albania
From For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 15 (42), 1 August, 1949

Tito Clique's Stab in the Back to People's Democratic Greece
Nikos Zahariadis
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Greece
From For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 15 (42), 1 August, 1949

THE TITOITES—SERVANTS OF IMPERIALISM.
Rudolf Slansky, General Secretary,
Communist Party, Czechoslovakia
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

**TITO CLIQUE HAS TURNED COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA INTO
POLICE APPARATUS.**
R. Golubovia
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

TITO-SARAGAT ALLIANCE
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

RADIO STATION OF YUGOSLAV REVOLUTIONARY EMIGRANTS
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

MASS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE "FRANCE-YUGOSLAVIA" SOCIETY
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 28(55), TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1949

LONDON DEFEAT FOR TITO TOUTS
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 28(55), TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1949

Enslavement of Yugoslavia by Anglo-American Capital

Antonin Gregor
Member, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 22 (49), October 14, 1949

Penetration of American Capital in Yugoslav Economy
E. Gero,
Member, Politburo, Hungarian Workers' Party
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 7 (67), February 17, 1950

**STRUGGLE AGAINST TITO CLIQUE—
INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF COMMUNIST PARTIES**
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO. 26 (86), FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1950

FORMATION OF "ATHENS-BELGRADE" AXIS—THREAT TO PEACE.
Nikos Zahariadis, General Secretary,
Greek Communist Party
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 26 (86), Friday, June 30, 1950

**PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA WILL RID THEMSELVES OF THE CLIQUE OF
TRAITORS.**
Jacques Duclos, Secretary,
French Communist Party
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 26 (86), Friday, June 30, 1950

Editorial: Latest Step of Tito Clique to Restore Capitalism in Yugoslavia
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 27 (87), July, 7, 1950

YUGOSLAV GOEBBELS' IN THE SERVICE OF THE WARMONGERS.
J. Chisinevschi, Secretary, Central Committee,
Rumanian Workers' Party
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 27 (87), July, 7, 1950

MEETING OF YUGOSLAV EMIGRES IN AUSTRALIA
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 27 (87), July, 7, 1950

**Liberation Struggle of the Peoples of Yugoslavia Against the Fascist Tito
Clique**
R. Golubovic
For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!,
August 25, 1950, pp. 69-77

YUGOSLAV PEASANTS FIGHT AGAINST FASCIST RULE OF THE TITO CLIQUE
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO. 35 (95), Friday, September 1, 1950

FOR THE REGENERATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY, GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

Pero Popivoda
For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy,
No. 37 (97), Friday, September 15, 1950

Foreign Trade of Tito Clique – Instrument of Enslavement of Yugoslavia by U.S.-British Monopolies

Tedeuz Gede
Member, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 40 (100), October 6, 1950

BELGRADE SPIES WITHOUT MASK.

Rudolf Slansky, General Secretary,
Communist Party, Czechoslovakia
"For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy",
No. 51 (111) Friday, December 22, 1950.

Tito Fascist Clique "Legalises" Capitalism in Yugoslavia

Miron Constantinescu
Member, Political Bureau,
Central Committee, Rumanian Workers' Party
From *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*
No. 41 (153), October 12, 1951.

SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF BELGRADE BY SOVIET ARMY FROM HITLER INVADERS.

Dusko Novakov
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy
No. 42 (154), Friday, October 19, 1951

Speech at the XIX Congress of the CPSU (B.)

Nikos Zahariadis
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Greece
XIX Congress of the CPSU (B.) – CPSU October 5-14, 1952.

ON CLASS STRUGGLES IN COUNTRIES OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

Alexej Cepicka, Member, presidium, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
No. 6 (222) FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1953

COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGO OSLAVIA IN THE POWER OF ASSASSINS AND SPIES

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej

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

No. 6 (222) FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1953

THE NEWSPAPER “FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY” BANNED IN YUGOSLAVIA

Another disgraceful act has been added to the departure of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the United Communist front and the terror regime inside the Party—the refusal to allow the newspaper “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy”, to be circulated in Yugoslavia.

The publication of the newspaper in the Serbian language has also been stopped.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy!
NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

RAISE HIGH THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Two weeks have passed since the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was published. It is now clear how vitally important this document of Marxism-Leninism is for the world Communist movement.

The Communist and Workers’ parties in all lands are drawing practical conclusions from the Resolution, and are relating them to the concrete situation in their countries. They are outlining a militant programme of action aimed at strengthening the Party organisationally, improving the quality of the ideological, theoretical and political work of the Party, at redoubling revolutionary vigilance and Party irreconcilability towards any manifestation of nationalism.

In studying the Resolution, Party members are centering attention on the task of correctly applying the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, the Lenin-Stalin doctrine about the Party, and on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the attitude of a political party to its mistakes. They are concentrating on developing and strengthening the internationalist traditions of the Marxist party and on other vital matters which form the basis of the daily, political and organisational work of the Party.

In their resolutions the Party organisations approved the action of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), which took the initiative in exposing the incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. They noted, as was stated in a resolution of the Rome members of the Communist party of Italy, the decisive contribution made by the comrades of the CPSU(B), by its Central Committee and Comrade Stalin, in exposing the mistakes and condemning the deviations of the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”.

A meeting of Party members in Budapest congratulated the Communist and Workers’ parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet (Bolsheviks), united in the Information Bureau and the great leader of the revolutionary working people of the world, Comrade Stalin, for their revolutionary vigilance and consistency in discovering and exposing the mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, thereby rendering an inestimable service to the struggle against imperialism and the cause of socialism”.

The period that has passed since the publication of the Resolution has demonstrated in convincing fashion the invincible might of the united Communist front, which with

unanimous voice, denounced the anti-Party and anti-Soviet policy of the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and fully approved the Resolution. And simultaneously, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic have discarded their masks and revealed themselves to the anti-imperialist and democratic camp as bourgeois-nationalist leaders who have betrayed the cause of the working class, the cause of national independence of Yugoslavia and have taken the counter-revolutionary Trotsky path of appealing to all shades of nationalist reaction in the country, against the Information Bureau, against the CPSU(B) and against the other Communist Parties.

The correctness of the Information Bureau's Resolution was fully confirmed by the subsequent behaviour of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party. The "reply" of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party to the Resolution is disgraceful document which reveals: that the Tito clique intend to go ahead with their anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet policy. The "reply" is redolent with nationalist malice, against the world Communist movement. This "document" is permeated with political knavery and is the product of men who have taken the path of betraying the cause of the working class. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are striving, again and again, to deceive the Party and the people of Yugoslavia.

The grave mistakes at the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were unanimously condemned not only by the Parties belonging to the Information Bureau but also by the Parties which are not members of the Bureau. The Communist Parties of Albania, Great Britain, United States, Argentina, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Finland, the Labour Progressive Party in Canada, and Parties in other countries bitterly denounced the anti-Party position of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party and expressed the view that the leaders of the Yugoslav Party have taken the path of dishonesty, that by their anti-Soviet behaviour they are inspiring the American imperialists with hopes of restoring imperialist domination in the new democracies. Strongly overestimating the national forces and possibilities of Yugoslavia, the present leaders of the Party believe that they can preserve the country's independence and build socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, and without the support of the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

The Communist and Workers' parties have expressed indignation at the terror regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia where the Party members, intimidated and fearing the same fate as Comrade Djuiovici, Hebrang and others, dare not openly voice their opinion about the prevailing state of affairs in the Party; when any Party member who does not share the views of the nationalist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and is disguised with the degrading custom of flattery, and servility to Tito, is threatened with brutal reprisals.

The terrorist regime prevailing in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is expressed also in the "election" of delegates to the forthcoming congress of the Party. Being out of touch with the Party, the leaders, fearing the membership and its criticism, are pulling all kinds of strings and are manipulating the composition of the congress. They accomplish this by actually picking suitable delegates, by preliminary interrogation of intended delegates and by checking the "reliability" of candidates, to mention but a few of the ignoble methods applied. All this clearly shows that the forthcoming congress cannot be the representative, supreme organ of a Party which expresses the real will of the Party membership. The anti-Party, anti-Soviet struggle instigated and fanned by the nationalist clique of Tito, Kardelj and others who have isolated the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and placed it outside the family of

Communist Parties, will mean, because of the gross suppression of criticism and rampant terror, that the healthy elements in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, who alone can represent the Party and express its genuine interests, will not be given access to the congress.

Convened in conditions of terrorist regime inside the Party the congress naturally will not be in a position to demonstrate the “monolithic unity of the Party” so demagogically proclaimed by the present leaders. A congress, the composition of which is falsified and decided beforehand of the most reliable yes-men of the nationalist policy of the present Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, can, if anything, only demonstrate the unity of the nationalist strivings of the narrow group of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic who have broken with the Party and have lost every shred of Party feeling and Party spirit, that is, if they ever possessed these qualities, and who have completely betrayed the cause of proletarian internationalism and the vital interests of the people’s democratic republic of Yugoslavia.

“The deviation towards nationalism” Comrade Stalin teaches us, “is the adaptation of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie... The deviation towards nationalism reflects the attempts of ‘one’s own’ national-bourgeoisie... to restore capitalism”.

The anti-Party and anti-Soviet struggle of the nationalist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has become the pet theme of the foreign reactionary press. And in this there is nothing accidental.

The growth of the forces of democracy and socialism throughout the world are causing alarm and fear for the morrow in the imperialist camp. That is why the imperialist circles are gloating with satisfaction and relief at the vicious anti-Soviet attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Official circles in Washington have been whispering of late that Tito is a genuine national hero who, thanks to his outstanding qualities,” has displayed the desire for independence...” American and British broadcasts are unsparing in their praise of the independent policy pursued by Tito and his colleagues”, and announce that the Yugoslav Government “correctly estimates the foreign policy of the Western powers”, as a policy that “ensures the independence of countries” that the “love for independence and the courage displayed by Marshal Tito merit admiration”.

These and countless other statements by foreign reactionary circles reveal how low the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have fallen, and how the nationalist policy pursued by them can lead to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into a typical bourgeois republic and its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

It is clear why the imperialists praise, encourage and pat the back of Tito’s nationalist clique!

But the reactionary press which reflects the narrow-mindedness of imperialist circles, is rejoicing in vain. It will never understand the simple fact that frank and honest criticism of the mistakes of the Communist Party Yugoslavia, criticism regardless of individuals, far from being a sign of weakness is a sign of the strength of the Communist Parties and of the Communist front, that it is the regular method of work of the Party organisations, a means of strengthening Party ranks.

One thing is clear to every genuine Marxist—the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will remain true to Marxism-Leninism, it will cleanse the ulcer of bourgeois nationalism and will march forward confidently under the banner of Lenin-Stalin internationalism towards socialism. It will do this because the Communist Party is a party which is

rooted deep in life, it is a growing party, a party that is advancing towards victory and draws its vitality, the vitality of its ideological, political and organisational strength, from criticism and self-criticism.

None will succeed in wresting from the hands of the Party the banner of proletarian internationalism and substituting for it the banner of bourgeois nationalism. None will succeed in turning back the peoples of Yugoslavia onto the path of nationalism!

The grave mistakes of the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which constitute a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, have been disclosed and exposed.

In analysing the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, and studying the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing the necessary conclusions for strengthening the Party organisations and, guided by the historical experience of the great Bolshevik Party, by the teachings of Lenin-Stalin, are marching forward confidently beneath the banner of proletarian internationalism, towards new victories in building the people's democracy, in the struggle for further triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

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

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA RENOUNCES MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE.

I. Lautu

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism is all-powerful because it is correct. It has been tested in the hundred years history of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism, a struggle which culminated in Russia in the historic, world-resounding victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the building of a socialist society.

The irresistible force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism has also found confirmation in the creation of the new democracies and the growing revolutionary struggle for peace and democracy of millions of oppressed and exploited people against the yoke of imperialism.

In the historic battles now being waged for the happiness and future of mankind it is necessary, more than ever before to cement the united front of the workers of all lands and to combine the efforts of all Communist parties against the imperialist bourgeoisie who, headed by the monopoly circles in the United States, are creating military and economic blocs directed against the U.S.S.R., against the New Democracies and against the working people of the whole world.

Proletarian internationalism, the solidarity of the working people of the world, can only be strengthened on the firm, rocklike basis of Marxism-Leninism—the world outlook of the working class. Any attempt to depart from Marxism-Leninism constitutes a grave danger to each Communist Party and to each people.

That is precisely why the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia condemned the anti-Marxist views of the leaders at that party who have been recently pursuing an incorrect line on vital matters at home and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

Upon breaking with Marxism-Leninism, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted an unfriendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B). In home policy they have taken the stand of a populist kulak

party in the matter of the leading role of the working class. They are upholding the opportunist view that the class struggle dies out during the transition from capitalism to socialism and are resorting to adventurism, to leftist deviations which are detrimental to the national economy of Yugoslavia.

The anti-Party and anti-Soviet views of the leaders of the communist Party of Yugoslavia have resulted in them breaking away from the united socialist front against imperialism, in betraying the international solidarity of the working people and taking up instead a nationalist position.

The Break with Marxism-Leninism

As is known, the question of the revolutionary role played by the working class as leader of the working people in their struggle for socialism. is one of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. The peasant question, as the question of an ally of the proletariat in this struggle, is a by-product, a subordinate question.

Nevertheless, the peasant question is of vital importance to all Communist parties. Speaking of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, Lenin pointed out in 1919, that the experience of all revolution and movements of oppressed classes and the experience of the world socialist movement teaches us that the proletariat alone is capable of uniting and leading the dispersed and backward elements of the working people and all exploited population.

This keystone of Marxism-Leninism must be the guiding principle in the revolutionary practice of every Communist Party. Guided throughout by this principle, the Bolshevik Party delivered crushing blows to Narodism, Menshevism, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Trotskyism which denied the revolutionary leading role of the working class and its ability to lead the peasantry.

Is this Marxist-Leninist principle binding for the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party in their political activity? Undoubtedly it is. It may be that because Yugoslavia is a predominantly peasant country the Yugoslav Communists should rely on the peasantry as their main bulwark and not on the working class in alliance with the overwhelming majority of the peasantry. But to take up a position of this kind signifies failure to understand the relationship of class forces in the country, and a direct departure from Marxism-Leninism in a vital and decisive matter.

Here is what Lenin said on the question:

We have concluded an alliance with peasantry. As we understand this alliance, it means that the proletariat liberates the peasantry from exploitation by the bourgeoisie, from its leadership and influence and wins this peasantry over to its side in order jointly, to vanquish the exploiters.

The Mensheviks reason thus: the peasantry constitute the majority, we are pure democrats. Consequently the majority must decide. But since the peasantry is unable to act independently this in practice means nothing other than restoring capitalism.

Throughout Western Europe, and in all the countries of the people's democracies, including Yugoslavia, it is the, working class and not the peasantry, which is the sole and consistently revolutionary force capable of leading the working people, and above all the main mass of the peasantry to the victory of socialism. As far as the peasantry is concerned it maybe that the majority, that is, the poor and medium peasants, are already in alliance with the working class.

The Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, are the parties of the working class. This does not mean that only advanced workers can

belong to the Communist Party. Revolutionary elements from among the poor and medium peasants and likewise the intelligentsia can become members of the Party. But the Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are not peasant parties.

This is the ABC of Marxism. It is absolutely impermissible for any Communist to forget this elementary principle. And yet certain prominent leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are deviating from the Marxist-Leninist path on the question of the leading role of the working class. Whereas Marxism-Leninism is based on recognition of the leading role of the working class in abolishing capitalism and building a socialist society, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party expound entirely different views.

One need only quote the statement, made by Comrade Tito in Zagreb in November 1946 ("Borba", November 1946).

"We tell the peasants that they are the most stable foundation of our state not because we are out to get their vote but because this is really so."

And so, according to Comrade Tito, the peasantry and not the working class constitute the most stable foundation of the present Yugoslav state. Comrade Tito thus not only denies the leading role of the working class but declares that the peasantry as a whole, including evidently the kulaks, represent the "most stable foundation" of the new Yugoslavia.

Isn't it clear that this viewpoint represents a direct departure from Marxism-Leninism, that it reflects views appropriate to petty-bourgeois politicians, but not to Marxist-Leninists?

This deviation of the leaders at the Yugoslav Communist Party from the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the leading role of the working class as the guiding force in the people's democratic state, is reflected also in their absolutely incorrect estimation of the role and significance of the People's Front.

As is known together with workers, peasants and the progressive intelligentsia, the People's Front is composed of representatives of bourgeois parties. But the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party refuse to recognise that the decisive role in the People's Front should belong to the working class.

Denying the working class its leading role has brought about a situation in which its vanguard—the Communist Party—remains a quasi-legal party. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia even go so far as to treat the trade unions as organisations of exceedingly minor importance in the People's Front. The trade unions which serve as the school of Communism" (Lenin) are reduced to the status of third-rate bodies and their activities are restricted even with regard to holding meetings. "It is absolutely incorrect and senseless", stated Djilas in January 1947, "to call special trade union meetings and special Front meetings. They should be merged into one since the trade-unions, too, are affiliated to the Front".

Moshe Pjada wrote recently that Yugoslav trade unions (that is, the working class) played no role whatsoever in the liberation struggle, and therefore they do not represent a leading force in the system of state power in the country.

The break with Marxism-Leninism in this most vital matter has resulted in the fact that the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party do not express the interests of the working class, do not want to admit that the working class displayed heroism in the liberation struggle, and that it is displaying the same heroism in building the new Yugoslavia. In practice this is tantamount to betraying the working class.

Slipping to the Standpoint of a Narodnik, Kulak Party

By refusing to acknowledge the working class as the leading element in the people's democratic state, and by asserting that the peasantry "the most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state", the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party appear in the role of the ill-starred "friend of the people"—as representatives of the old peasant socialism—slipping backward from the Marxist-Leninist position to that of a Narodnik kulak party.

They ignore Lenin's off-repeated view that only in the working class can democracy find a supporter that makes no stipulations, displays no hesitation and that never looks back. Only those fighters are strong who firmly rely on this tenet of Marxism whereas those who depict themselves as Communists and builders of socialism, while at the same time seeking their main support among the peasantry and not the working class, are weak and helpless.

Peasant democracy never produced anything other than its own disintegration. Proof of this is the history of the Russian Narodniks who slipped down to the position of defending the interests of the wealthy kulak section of the peasantry. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are with relentless logic, travelling exactly the same path.

The views expressed by Comrade Tito are not new. On the contrary, he is repeating the dogmas of revisionism which were refuted years ago by the Marxists. Anyone acquainted with the history of Marxism knows this. In his work "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", written in 1894, Friedrich Engels resolutely condemned the attempts of the French Socialists to write into the Nantes Programme a point about defending the interests of the peasantry as a whole. Engels declared: in general this represented a "direct violation... of the main principle of socialism." When at the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social Democrats the revisionist Folmar "planned to bribe the peasantry", including the kulaks, with the promise of defending their interests. Engels emphatically rejected this view, saying: "it is impossible to agree to this without renouncing the main principles".

It is strange, to say the least, that more than half a century later, there are Communists who consider the peasantry to be the "chief support" in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The point is that Comrade Tito and certain other leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, not only deny the leading role of the working class, but hold anti-Marxist views in regard to the class nature of the peasantry. They regard the peasantry as a single entity and fail to see its class structure of poor peasants, medium peasants and kulaks. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are afraid even to pronounce the word "kulak". Forced to speak about the social nature of the peasantry they confine themselves to the empty phrase that there are wealthy peasants in the countryside. They ignore the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the class nature of the peasantry and its differentiation. In this matter, as in others, the leaders of Yugoslavia deviate from Marxism-Leninism, and ignore the entire historical experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The great creators of Communism, Lenin and Stalin, have always emphasised that the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party is of primary importance for the socialist revolution of the future. In his report to the Third Congress of the Communist International on the tactics of the Worker's and Peasant's Party, Lenin said: "The fact that we are striving to define the attitude of the proletariat, which holds state power in its hands, toward the last capitalist class, to the deep-rooted basis of capitalism, to small property, to the small producer, is a big step forward from the

international point of view. Practice confronts us with this question. And I think we shall be able to solve this task. At any rate, our experiment will be useful to future proletarian revolutions, they will be better prepared technically to solve this question.”

In this same report, in which described the peasantry as the “last capitalist class” Lenin pointed out that in order to maintain its leading role and state power, the working class must in every way strengthen the alliance of the workers and peasants. There is nothing contradictory in these statements. When Lenin declares that the peasantry is the “last capitalist class” he implies that the peasantry is a specific class, which runs its economy on the basis of the private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and therefore differs from the working class, which builds its economy on the basis of the public, socialist ownership at the instruments and means of production. At the same time, Lenin held that small production gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie, constantly, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale”.

Clearly this is not an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of organising an alliance of workers and peasants. But in the conditions of transition from capitalist to socialism, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry does not signify an alliance with the entire peasantry. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry is an alliance of the labouring masses of the peasantry.

Such an alliance presupposes a vigorous struggle against the capitalist elements a struggle against the kulaks. Carrying forward the Leninist teaching on the alliance of workers and peasants in conditions of the transition from socialism to communism, Stalin said:

“This is a special form of class alliance of the working class and the labouring mass of peasantry which has as its aim: a) to strengthen the positions of the working class; b) to ensure the leading role of the working class within this alliance; c) to eliminate classes and class society. Any other conception of the workers and peasants’ alliance is nothing but opportunism, Menshevism, social-revolutionary—anything but Marxism or Leninism.

Evidently, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, due to their ignorance of Marxism-Leninism, are unaware of this. That is why they consider the peasantry as a whole to be the chief bulwark in the countryside, and have forgotten the struggle against the kulaks.

Opportunist Theory about the Dying Out of Class Struggle

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party bypass the question of the class struggle and of restricting the capitalist elements in the countryside. Moreover, the Yugoslav leaders time and again gloss over the question of the class differentiation in the countryside. Nor is the Yugoslav Communist Party mobilised to surmount the difficulties arising from the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside.

In his speech on the subject of the Five Year Plan. Comrade Tito, commenting on the tasks in agriculture, never said a single word about the political difficulties in the Yugoslav countryside, about the bitter struggle being waged by the kulaks against the people’s power. He did not call upon the deputies in the Skupsehina to be more vigilant, did not warn them against the inevitable intensification of the class struggle in the country and particularly in the rural areas, did not expose the form and methods employed by the kulaks in their struggle against the people’s power. There was striking evidence of the kulak struggle last year during the grain deliveries.

There were numerous cases when the kulaks with the object of disrupting the grain delivery plan, deliberately destroyed their grain and murdered Communist Party functionaries and representatives of the people's power. Having infiltrated into the local organs of the people's power kulak elements are committing all manner of abuses in an effort to incite the labouring peasantry against the state organs. Addressing the Congress of War Veterans last October, Comrade Tito admitted that the organs of the people's power had made serious mistakes during the period of grain deliveries. He cited a number of instances when grain was taken away from the poor peasants and war widows. Comrade Tito promised that the grain would be returned to the poor peasants and that the blunder would be rectified, but he did not attempt to show how these mistakes came about, did not reveal the reasons for them from the point of view of the sharpening class struggle in the Yugoslav countryside.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party underestimate the role and possibilities of growth of the kulaks who will inevitably, and intact are now offering fierce resistance to socialist construction in Yugoslavia. They ignore the Leninist-Stalinist tenet that the Communist Party must arouse the working class and the exploited masses of the countryside, must foster their militancy and mobilise them to combat the capitalist elements in town and countryside, to combat the resisting class enemy.

This denial of the growth of capitalist elements and the simultaneous sharpening of the class struggle in the Yugoslav countryside is the outcome of the opportunist line which alleges that the class struggle does not become more acute during the transition from capitalism to socialism, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, but dies out, as affirmed by the Bucharinites who propagated the rotten theory about the "peaceful growing over" of capitalist elements into socialism.

Certain Yugoslav politicians propagate the anti-Marxist theory of spontaneity in socialist construction.

For example, the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Trade, Petrovic, in the article "Yugoslavia's Five Year Plan" published in the magazine "Slavyan" (No. 5, 1947) writes:

"Without constituting an insurmountable and fundamental obstacle in the socialist sector and to its development, agriculture which is closely linked with the socialist sector and is included in the general economic plan will itself gradually change its nature accordingly as the plan is realised and will gradually reach the phase where all spontaneity in economic laws will be completely and finally destroyed regardless of the spontaneity of economic laws in this sphere".

According to this, the small peasant household and big kulak economy do not represent a fundamental obstacle" to the building of socialism in Yugoslavia, but of its own accord agriculture will "gradually change its character". There is no doubt whatsoever about the anti-Marxist essence of this "theory".

The steady sharpening of the class struggle conforms to the development of the new democracies, including Yugoslavia. But forgetful of this, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, have lost the ability to lead their country along the socialist path.

Adventurism in Policy

Lacking a firm, tried Marxist policy, the Yugoslav Communist leaders are floundering from side to side—either to the right or to the left. After the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) of the under

estimation by the Yugoslav leaders concerning the growth of capitalist elements, and the idea of the dying out of the class struggle in the country, these leaders resorted to hasty measures with the aim of proving the "injustice" at this criticism. In an endeavour to show that the foundations of reaction had been completely eliminated in Yugoslavia they decreed the further nationalisation of industry, including medium industry and trade, though the basis for this was completely unprepared. Because of the haste the new decision only hampers the supply of goods to the population. With the same haste they have brought in a new grain tax which can only dislocate grain supplies to the population. Moreover, of late, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with perfect aplomb, have been declaiming a policy of abolishing the capitalist elements in the countryside.

In its Resolution the Information Bureau justly qualified the attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia toward the abolition of the capitalist elements, in view of the conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia, as adventurism. For it is impossible to solve this task as long as individual peasant economy exists which inevitably gives birth to capitalism, as long as conditions have not been created for the large-scale collectivisation of agriculture. This adventurous policy pursued by the leaders at the Yugoslav Communist Party stems from their denial of the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the methods of eliminating classes, of ignoring the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The experience of the CPSU (B) shows that the liquidation of the kulaks as a class can be secured only on the basis of collectivisation which must be an organic component of socialist construction in the countryside, the collectivisation of agriculture. Any attempt to solve this task differently, by administrative measures is equivalent to petty-bourgeois adventurism and is doomed to failure.

Everybody knows of the profound revolutionary changes effected in the Soviet Union as a result of the October Socialist Revolution. The bourgeoisie and landlords were eliminated. The land, factories, banks and transport were nationalised. In the bitter class struggle waged by the poor peasants against the kulaks, the foundations of the latter were drastically undermined. After securing considerable material gain, a great part of the poor peasantry reached the level of the medium peasantry. The level of the countryside became that of the medium peasant. But the CPSU (B) never drew the conclusion from these facts that the class struggle in the countryside should be relaxed of the remnants of capitalism in the countryside could be abolished in the course of a few days. Lenin pointed out that "as long as we live in a small peasant country, capitalism has a more stable economic base in Russia than Communism". It is also known that for a period of some fifteen years after the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party never lost sight of the need for measures to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, and thereafter of liquidating the kulaks as a class.

"During the NEP period, said Comrade Molotov at the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU (B), "the Party steadily pursued a policy of restricting the growth of capitalist elements and introducing progressive taxation, by restricting the leasing out of land, increasing the demand for hired labour in the interests of agriculture, supporting the small households with credits and by the entire policy of the Soviet Government (including increased support for state industry, etc.). But our task is completely to overcome and eliminate the capitalist elements in the town and countryside. In brief, the task is nothing other than the task of building socialism".

By its policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside, the Lenin-Stalin Party rallied around itself the medium and poor peasants, isolated

the kulaks and fulfilled the necessary pre-conditions for leading the main mass of the peasantry along the path of collectivisation.

Once these pre-conditions were created, the Party passed over from the policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside to a new policy—the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class, on the basis of all-round collectivisation which was crowned with the world historic victory of the collective farm system.

In securing the main conditions for building socialism in Yugoslavia any underestimation of this experience of the CPSU (B) is fraught with serious political danger and is impermissible as far as Marxists are concerned. For socialism cannot be built only in the town, only in industry—it must be built also in the countryside, in agriculture.

The recent leftist measures of the Yugoslav leaders go beyond the task of restricting the capitalist elements. These adventurist measures do not correspond to the real possibilities in Yugoslavia. In view of this, these measures will inevitably further disorganise the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Right Opportunist Conception of the Cooperatives

Certainly no one wants to detract from the agrarian transformation that has taken place in Yugoslavia. But there is a grave danger of overestimating the results of this reform.

Commenting on the results of the agrarian reform Comrade Kardelj stated at the conference of the Information Bureau in Poland:

“The Agrarian reform has brought the people’s power still closer to the labouring masses and has helped to isolate the rich speculators in the countryside. It is clear that a heavy blow has been struck at the capitalist elements in the countryside since the land reform considerably weakened their pressure of the small peasant producer and has restricted their development beyond a certain limit”.

However, the political situation in the Yugoslav countryside gives no grounds whatsoever for such complacency. At present agriculture in Yugoslavia, which is predominantly an agrarian country (80 per cent of the population being peasants), is a sea of small peasant households.

Land in Yugoslavia is not nationalised and is the private property of the peasant. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia consider it inexpedient to nationalise the land and want to build socialism while preserving the principle of private land ownership, it should be borne in mind that about two million peasant households in the country possess small-holdings of less than five hectares. Side by side with these there are big kulak households since according to the 1946 agrarian reform, the maximum holding was fixed at from 15-35 hectares of cultivated land. Clearly there are big possibilities in Yugoslavia for the growth of kulak households which form the basis of reaction in the countryside.

Because of the nationalisation of industry and the development of agricultural producers’ cooperatives, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party lull themselves with the belief that economically a “mortal blow has been delivered to the capitalist elements in our country.” (Kardelj). This overestimation of the struggle against the capitalist elements in Yugoslavia, which is harmful to the cause of socialist construction, is the result of a distorted interpretation of the principles of the Lenin-Stalin cooperative plan.

The agricultural producers’ cooperatives in Yugoslavia, which are still very weak organisationally and function badly, cover the sphere of distribution only, and hardly

affect production, that is, the basis of small commodity production— this deep-rooted foundation of capitalism. Comrade Kardelj denies an obvious fact namely that the consumer-distributive cooperatives cannot as yet deal a “mortal blow to the capitalist elements in the countryside.

What is more, capitalist elements are growing in the sphere of production, even though the consumer and distributive cooperatives embrace a wide network of individual peasant households. The kulak households, by virtue of the superiority of large-scale production, dislodge the small, dwarf peasant households and by competing with them, force them into a hopeless position.

Let us recall again the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. In 1926-27 the socialist sector accounted for 81.9 per cent of the country’s trade turnover, while the cooperative and state organisations increased the marketing of agricultural products by 63 per cent. But this did not mean that a “mortal blow” had been struck at the kulaks. The CPSU (B) emphatically warned against the danger of the growth of capitalist elements. At the Fifteenth Party Congress, held at the end of 1927, Comrade Molotov said:

“The main question of the economic development of the countryside is that the wealthy kulak elements have the advantage of bigger households and therefore they are able, economically, to hit at the small and medium households. Herein lies the principal economic contradiction of our countryside, a contradiction from which a way out must be found at all costs—a way out for the poor and medium peasants”.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin found this outlet in the collectivisation of agriculture, in the producer cooperatives embracing the small peasant households.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party overestimating the significance of consumer and distributive cooperatives, counterpose them with producer cooperatives/ But this is alien to Marxism-Leninism. The Lenin-Stalin cooperative plan regards the elementary forms of cooperation as one of the pre-conditions for collectivisation. The collectivisation of agriculture is of decisive importance in eliminating the capitalist elements in the countryside.

The Lenin-Stalin cooperative plan means, in practice, building a large-scale socialist industry technically capable of re-equipping agriculture; it means elevating the basic masses of

the peasantry from the elementary forms of cooperation which cover the sphere of distribution, to the level of producer cooperatives, that is to the level of collective farms. Only on this basis can a “mortal blow” be struck at the kulaks and can socialism be built.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have broken with the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and the class struggle, which is a serious danger to the Communist Party and people of Yugoslavia. The departure from Marxism-Leninism ideologically disarms the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and contains the danger of the bourgeois degeneration of the people’s republic of Yugoslavia.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy!

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**COMMUNIST AND WORKERS’ PARTIES UNANIMOUSLY APPROVE
RESOLUTION INFORMATION BUREAU CONCERNING SITUATION IN
COMMUNIST PARTY YUGOSLAVIA**

The Resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia met with a ready response on the part of all the Communist Parties, including those parties not members of the Information Bureau.

The Central Committee of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Italy and the Soviet Union have heard reports from their delegates on the results of the June meeting of the Information Bureau and have approved both their work and the Resolution.

This important document of the Communist movement was discussed both at national level and in regional and district committees, in the local branches and at open Party meetings.

In resolutions adopted, the organisations and Worker's Parties have unanimously approved the Resolution and strongly condemned the anti-Soviet and anti-Party attitude of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The Communist Parties stressed in their resolutions that the Information Bureau, and above all the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by their timely exposure of the treacherous policy of the Yugoslav leaders, have made an important contribution to the Communist Movement and to the cause of peace, freedom and independence of the peoples.

Below we publish the comments of the Parties on the decision of the Information Bureau.

Communist Party of France Upholds Resolution Of The Information Bureau

The Political Bureau of **the Communist Party of France** unanimously approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau. A meeting of the Central Committee held on July 9 and 10 to discuss the Resolution was addressed by Comrade Fajon. The resolution of the Committee states:

“The Central Committee approves the resolutions of the Political Bureau of April 28 and May 12 condemning the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders.

“By departing from the principles of proletarian internationalism, by denying the leading and decisive role played by the Soviet Union in defeating Hitlerism, liberating Yugoslavia and other countries and in helping the struggle of the peoples for their national independence, peace and socialism, the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have carried out a policy which breaks with Marxism-Leninism on all principal questions.

“The policy is characterised in particular by anti-Soviet tendencies, by the abandonment of the class struggle, against capitalist elements which the Yugoslav leaders try to cover up with leftist excesses and adventurist measures directed against the working peasantry and small traders and by a tendency to liquidate the Party as the vanguard of the working class and all popular democratic and national farces.

“On the international scale this policy represents a criminal attempt to disrupt the democratic peace front. It serves the plans of the imperialists and endangers Yugoslavia's independence.

“In view of this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France declines the invitation of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party to take part in the forthcoming congress.

“The Central Committee is confident that by its exposure of the mistakes and double-dealing, the Yugoslav leaders, the Information Bureau’s Resolution will help the healthy elements in the Yugoslav Communist Party to change the situation in their Party, forcing the present leaders to recognise and rectify their mistakes or, if they prove incapable of this, removing them”.

The resolution called upon the entire Party to let its work be guided by the decisions of the Information Bureau.

In conclusion, the resolution states: “The Central Committee once again confirms the fraternal solidarity of the French Communists with all the fraternal parties loyal to the cause of Communism and in particular with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has brought to light the false policy of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party.

“In this connection the Central Committee once again expresses its confidence in and its love for Comrade Stalin teacher and leader of all Communists, the true and wise friend of the peoples fighting for their national independence, democracy and peace”.

The newspaper, “l’Humanite” states that the rank and file of the French Communist Party is studying and approving the Resolution of the Information Bureau.

The Soviet Union—Firm Bulwark of the Independence of the Peoples

The delegation of the **Rumanian Workers’ Party** composed of Georgiu-Dej, Anna Pauker and Vassili Luca reported on the decision of the Information Bureau at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. The members of the delegation also addressed special Party meetings on the subject.

The party meetings expressed unanimous agreement with the resolution and severely censured the nationalist anti-Soviet attitude of the present Yugoslav Communist leaders and their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. These meetings, which were distinguished by the high political level of the discussion had as their object the strengthening of the party ranks, raising the political and ideological level of the membership and combating manifestations of nationalism.

The membership expressed boundless love for the Soviet Union, for the communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and for the brilliant teacher of the working people of the world, Comrade Stalin.

The Party organ, “Scanteia” said,

“There can be no doubt that only the military, political, economic and diplomatic support by the Soviet Union—the champion of all peoples in their struggle for freedom and democracy—prevented the imperialists from abolishing the national independence of the countries of south eastern Europe and from restoring the rule of the bourgeoisie and the traitors.

“Had our country been liberated not by the Soviet Army but by the armies of the Anglo-American imperialists, we would never have been able to build the system of people’s democracy. We would have lost our independence and become a satellite of the imperialist states.

“Every worker or patriot understands that the Soviet Union is a powerful champion of the independence of his native land, the most powerful bulwark for the democratic development, economic well-being and complete liberation of his people from capitalist exploitation.

“Disarming Yugoslavia in face of the imperialists, and counterposing themselves to the front of democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union—the most firm bulwark in the struggle for national independence—the present Yugoslav leaders do

not understand or pretend not to understand that they have taken the path of betraying the national independence of their country.”

Strengthen the Alliance Between Workers and Peasantry

In Hungary, the Resolution of the Information Bureau was received with lively interest both among members of the **Hungarian Worker’s Party** and among the broad sections of the people.

An enlarged Central Committee meeting of the Hungarian Workers’ Party discussed the Information Bureau’s Resolution. The meeting unanimously approved the attitude of the Party delegates at the Bureau’s meeting and fully supported the Resolution condemning the incorrect policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The Central Committee especially considered the conclusions that should be drawn from the Resolution and how they applied to Hungary.

Later, a meeting of some 5,000 people from the Budapest organisation of the Party was addressed by Comrade Rakosi. Asked how it was possible that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had made the mistakes criticised in the Resolution, Rakosi replied:

“The majority of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party failed to understand the leading role of the Party and of the working class and the essence, of the alliance between workers and peasants”.

The meeting enthusiastically applauded Rakosi’s statement that the Workers Party believed that the country’s own interests could best be served through close alliance with the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies.

Comrade Rakosi pointed out that the Yugoslav situation demonstrated the results of conceit and fear of criticism.

Comrade Rakosi then emphasised that in the new situation, the Workers’ Party is vigilantly and confidently advancing along its former path and marching alongside the liberator of the Hungarian people—the mighty Soviet Union. The meeting unanimously approved the attitude of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers’ Party and the decision of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The Committee of the National Federation of Agricultural Labourers who were given land by the agrarian reform organised a national meeting to discuss home and foreign policy and the economic situation in the country. In the name of the working peasants, the meeting approved the decision of the Hungarian Workers’ Party concerning the Yugoslav events. Their resolution stressed that the Yugoslav Communist leaders’ denial of the leading role of the working class was incorrect, that the Hungarian peasants had, in the past, experienced the harmful effects of this false “theory” without the support of the working class, the Hungarian peasantry would never have gained their liberation.

Departure from Main Principles of Marxism-Leninism

After hearing Comrade Zawadski’s report on the meeting of the Information Bureau, the Central Committee of the **Polish Workers’ Party** held on July 6 unanimously approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau.

Comrade Zawadski pointed out that the policy and altitude of the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party demonstrated the dangers that threaten Communist and Workers’ Parties in power in the people’s democracies when they deviate in the

slightest, from Marxism-Leninism under pressure from internal capitalist forces—which have been routed but not completely defeated—and from the external imperialist forces. The betrayal of proletarian internationalism, the hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union and the people's democracies is the most flagrant, example of the departure of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party from Marxist-Leninist principles.

International solidarity of the working people, confidence and mutual assistance in the struggle against imperialism and for peace and socialism, said Comrade Zawadski, constitutes the basis of the correct relations between the people's democracies and the Soviet Union. By departing from this, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are pushing their country into the embraces of imperialism, and allowing it to be used as an instrument of imperialist blackmail".

A special meeting of district members of the Polish Workers' Party attended by over 400 Party functionaries from all over the country was held in Warsaw on July 12. In his address Comrade Zambrowski, referring to the grave mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, declared that he who does not want to face up to the menace of American imperialism to the independence of his country, who does not want to see in the alliance with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies the surest guarantee of independence and who places the Soviet Union on the same level as the imperialist countries, disarms his Party and his country in the face of imperialist aggression.

"Our plenum has shown", said Comrade Zambrowski, "that the Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has sharpened our vigilance for all kinds of opportunist and nationalist vacillations, for adventurism and sectarianism and has whetted the party's keen weapon— criticism and self-criticism".

The meeting unanimously approved the resolution of the Information Bureau.

"Glos Ludu", organ of the Polish Workers' Party stated that every member of the Polish Workers' Party is indignant at the state of affairs in the Yugoslav Communist Party. The newspaper pointed out that the deviation from Marxist-Leninist principles has resulted in the leaders of the Yugoslav Party making dangerous changes in home and foreign policy and in their becoming political adventurers.

"Robotnik", organ of the Polish Socialist Party, in an article approving the Resolution, writes: "The dangerous worship of Tito the shameful persecution of those Party members who were bold enough to criticise their leaders and to call for the resumption of a correct policy, threatens the very existence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia".

They Betrayed The Cause Of Socialism

In Czechoslovakia the decision of the Information Bureau met with unanimous approval among the members of the Communist Party and the broad sections of public opinion.

On June 28 the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Party after hearing the report by Comrade Slansky, expressed its full agreement with the Resolution and decided to organise a big campaign in the Party for the purpose of explaining the ideological questions and political conclusions arising from the Information Bureau's resolution.

After hearing a report by Comrade Siroky, the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party expressed full support for the decision of the Information Bureau.

In an editorial comment on too resolution "Rude Pravo"— organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated:

“The discussion by the Information Bureau of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia testifies to the enormous strength of the socialist front which is not afraid openly to speak of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist Parties. History teaches us that those in the labour movement who betrayed Marxism-Leninism proved incapable of retarding the onward development and fell by the wayside. The socialist front, more consolidated than ever, will continue its forward march”.

An editorial in “Pravda”—the organ of the Slovak Communist Party—pointed out that the decision of the Information Bureau was of great significance for the struggle for socialism in Europe.

All the district and regional committees, and the local organisations of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are discussing the resolution. The resolutions adopted at these meetings wholeheartedly endorse the decision of the Information Bureau. The mass party meetings held in the big factories in Prague, Brno and other cities strongly condemned the leadership of the Yugoslav Party.

According to a decision reached by the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Party will not be represented at the forthcoming congress of the Yugoslav Party because “by its refusal to attend the recent meeting of the Information Bureau and by its attitude to the Bureau’s decisions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has seceded from the united socialist front and has cut itself off from the fraternal family of the Communist Parties”.

The decision further states:

“Even after the publication of the Communique of the Information Bureau the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party continue to reject the well-grounded criticism to which they were subjected. They are adhering to an anti-party viewpoint and instead of admitting their mistakes, are waging an unprincipled struggle against the Communist Parties. Moreover, reports from Yugoslavia say that the 5th congress of the Yugoslav Party is being prepared not on the basis of inner-party democracy but in line with the undemocratic inner-party regime. Consequently, the congress cannot express the real sentiments of the membership”.

The hundreds of telegrams and resolutions pouring into the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party declare complete unanimity of the party organisations with the resolution of the Information Bureau and the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Communist Party of Albania on Resolution of Information Bureau

A statement issued by the Central Committee of **the Communist Party of Albania** reads as follows:

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania unanimously agrees with the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation inside the Yugoslav Party. The Central Committee denounces the treachery of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp and who have embarked upon an open struggle against the glorious fatherland of socialism, against the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the democratic anti-imperialist camp.

“The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, have betrayed the sacred cause of the heroic and fraternal Yugoslav people and set the country on the road to - catastrophe,

“The Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party has always been in conflict with the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party which tried to impose upon our country and our Party their own methods and their treacherous Trotskyite policy”. The Central Committee of the Albanian Party charged the leaders of the Yugoslav Party with attempting to distort political and economic relations between Albania and Yugoslavia and to “colonise” Albania.

Our Path—Together With The Countries Of Socialism

The Central Committee of **the Italian Communist Party** in a statement on the Resolution of the Information Bureau declares that it “unanimously, and unconditionally approves the decisions of the Information Bureau”.

On July 8, a meeting of Party members of the Rome organisation discussed the Resolution.

Comrade Togliatti who addressed the meeting analysed in detail the mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party. He declared also that the Communist Party of Italy would not be represented at the forthcoming congress of the Yugoslav Party.

The meeting, which endorsed the decision of the leaders of the Italian Party to support the Information Bureau's Resolution wholly and unconditionally, pointed to the decisive contribution made by the comrades from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by Comrade Stalin in exposing the mistakes and denouncing the deviations of the Yugoslav leaders.

Meetings of Party organisations were also held in Milan and Turin.

“Unita”, organ of the Italian Communist Party, carried articles by Party leaders analysing the mistakes of the Yugoslav leadership and outlining the practical tasks facing the party.

In an article in “Unita” on July 2, Comrade Togliatti wrote: “Our united socialist front consists of the land of socialism, where socialism is already victorious, of the people's democracies which have just started along the path to socialism under special conditions which vary in each of them and differ from those which existed at the time of the October Revolution in 1917 and, finally, of the labour and democratic movements developing in the capitalist countries which, as in our country, are under the yoke of the imperialists.

Marching toward socialism, our united front employs different forms of struggle, changing according to the concrete conditions. However, the direction of the movement must be the same for each one: in the sphere of theory—Marxism-Leninism and in the sphere of real forces—the land of socialism which is headed by the Marxist-Leninist Party steered in the battles of the three revolutions and two victorious wars.

“The main reason for the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders lies precisely in their failure to understand this.

“Eaten up with arrogance and ambition, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party cannot understand that the liberation of Yugoslavia would have been impossible without the decisive victory of the land of socialism in World War Two and without the help given them by the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav leaders, having lost their orientation, having broken with Marxism-Leninism, committed mistake after mistake until they found themselves outside the united socialist front.

“There is no doubt”, Comrade Togliatti continued, “that inside the Yugoslav Party there are people capable of fighting who will not permit themselves to be driven

along the path of the betrayal of socialism and the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia”.

Our Gratitude to Central Committee of CPSU (B)

The Resolution of the Information Bureau was discussed at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of **the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)**.

The Central Committee meeting was followed by meetings of regional and city Party committees. Throughout the country Party branches also debated the Resolution, and the decisions taken on it by the meeting of the Central Committee.

Denouncing the anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist attitude of the Yugoslav leaders, the Party organisations adopted resolutions wholeheartedly approving the decision of the Information Bureau and the Central Committee meeting.

The Party organisations in Plovdiv, Plevna, Staro-Zagarsk, Vrachansk and other areas, expressed the belief that the healthy elements inside the Yugoslav Party would successfully overcome the crisis brought about by the mistakes of the present leaders.

A meeting of branch secretaries of the Smolyan area passed the following resolution: “We express our intense gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to

its great leader Comrade, Stalin who vigilantly guard the united front of the people's democracies, who always give warning of deviation from Marxism-Leninism and who wisely point out the correct and sure way to socialism”.

After hearing a report from Comrade Chervenkov, Secretary of the Workers' Party, the Executive Committee of the Fatherland Front unanimously approved the Information Bureau's Resolution. Thousands of similar resolutions are being passed at local meetings of the Front.

These resolutions show that the people of Bulgaria, striving for close unity with the people of Yugoslavia, resolutely condemn the nationalist policy of the Yugoslav Communist leaders.”

Yugoslav Communist Leaders Court Anglo-American Imperialism

In a special statement on the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the Chairman of **the United States Communist Party**, W. Z. Foster and the Secretary of the Party, Eugene Dennis, stressed that the leaders of the Yugoslav Party have deviated from Marxism-Leninism. Of late they have pursued a course hostile to the Soviet Union and are playing up to Anglo-American imperialism.

They have forsaken working class internationalism for bourgeois nationalism and have displayed hostility toward the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Seeking to liquidate the Party, they have embarked on a policy that can only lead to the restoration of a Yugoslav capitalist state controlled by imperialism.

Through their press and the State Department, the statement goes on, the United States imperialists are distorting the Resolution of the Information Bureau and the reasons for it. However, the Resolution shows that throughout the world the leading forces of peace and democracy are on the alert. Their timely actions doom to failure the attempts of the Marshall politicians to divide and disorientate the anti-imperialist camp in its fight for peace and social progress.

But in spite of the treachery of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the anti-imperialist peace camp is steadily growing.

In our country, as throughout the whole world, the statement continues, the forces fighting for peace acknowledge that the keystone of the problem is friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union whose influence among the peace-loving people of each country is increasing every day.

Decision of the Political Committee of British Communist Party

The Political Committee of **the Communist Party of Great Britain** unanimously approved the decision of the Information Bureau and expressed its confidence that the rank and file of the Yugoslav Party would rectify the errors of its leaders and respond to the suggestion of the fraternal Communist Parties to carry through the changes necessary for the application of Marxist-Leninist principles of the policy and practice of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA. P. Yudin

After the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) in a number of letters had subjected the leaders of Yugoslavia to sharp criticism for their anti-Marxist distortion of the fundamental principles of Party structure, they made haste with a number of demagogic declarations in which they tried to show that all is well, that the Party is built on Leninist principles, and so on.

The Central Committee of the Party began to rush the legislation of the Party, announced the convocation of a Party congress and with equal haste published the draft of a programme for the Party. This Programme which appeared in "Borba" in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, gives the impression of a muddled newspaper article rather than the programme of a serious political party.

The first part of the programme, which is a re-write of the programme of the Communist International, attempts to give an analysis of the general laws of social development, of the laws governing capitalism and imperialism. All this is presented in a way that makes the authors of the programme presented as though they were the original discoverers of these laws, thereby taking upon themselves the role of teachers of the international working class.

Where the authors of the programme confine themselves to copying from the Programme of the Communist International, matters are not so bad. But the moment they attempt their own formulations, the result is complete theoretical helplessness and an anti-Marxist interpretation of things. Attempting to explain the reasons for the destruction of the German fascist armies, the authors merely say that the fascists "lost the war under the blows of the Allied forces, with the Soviet Union bearing the brunt of the war". No one denies this. It is not simply a matter of the Soviet Union having borne the brunt of the war. The point is that the Soviet Army smashed the German fascist troops and liberated the countries of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, it helped the peoples of these countries to drive out the Germans and to smash the bourgeoisie and landlords, it enabled the peoples of these countries to come to power and create a people's democratic system, Yugoslavia included.

It is this obvious fact that is denied by the Yugoslav leaders; It is this fact that is denied by the authors of the draft programme. Contrary to historical truth, the draft presents the matter as if Yugoslavia alone routed the Germans and expelled them from the country.

Part two of the draft programme in particular shows up the complete theoretical helplessness of its authors. In this section, which contains a description of the old Yugoslavia, one would have thought that Yugoslavia of the past would have been examined from a Marxist standpoint, that the people would have been shown from what oppression they had been delivered. But while the authors displayed remarkable verbosity in outlining the general history of capitalism they are most laconic in describing the social order in the old Yugoslavia. They failed to give a concrete Marxist analysis of their country's history.

The programme devotes much space to the agrarian question in Yugoslavia. But this section makes a strange impression. The draft does not say in whose hands the land is today: (it is private property). Nor is any mention made of the future of land ownership during the transition to socialism. This completely exposes the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a petty-bourgeois politicians who are afraid to tell the peasant that socialism in agriculture means making the land the property of the people, and that only the working peasantry will benefit from this change.

The section devoted to socialist reforms in agriculture is such a muddle and distortion of Marxism-Leninism, and so utterly inane theoretically, that it is impossible to imagine the authors at the draft and the Central Committee of the Party, which approved the draft, having the slightest theoretical understanding at the agrarian question.

A most disheartening impression is made by the fact that while planning to reorganise agriculture on the basis of socialist principles, the draft says nothing about the great experience of socialist reorganisation of agriculture in the Soviet Union, It is as if there had been no such experience, as if the Yugoslav leaders had, for the first time, opened the eyes of mankind.

As we know from the experience of the Soviet Union where 25 million peasant households took to the socialist path, socialism in agriculture means that the peasantry socialise the basic means of production and take to collective farming. The collective farms mean socialism in agriculture. The collective farms are the banner of socialism which has stood all tests. Beneath this banner some 150 million peasants of varying nationality in the Soviet Union have victoriously built socialism and are, with great success, developing the socialist system of agriculture.

The question arises why has not the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, which has held forth on socialist changes in agriculture, mentioned the collective farms as the socialist way in agriculture? The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are silent about the great historical experience of the Soviet Union and about socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union because they are not revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, but kulak ideologists who want to build socialism together with the kulaks.

Instead of the collectivisation of agriculture they proclaim "labour cooperatives" as a higher form of socialist reorganisation of the countryside.

The term "labour cooperatives" is so vague that it can mean almost anything. The draft programme does not say a word about the socialisation of the means of production, and especially about the land. In this form cooperatives are acceptable to any and everyone, including the kulaks. This is not a Marxist programme of building socialism but a Narodnik-Socialist Revolutionary, kulak programme for developing capitalism in the countryside.

The draft programme proclaims the principle of preserving private ownership of dwelling houses. Everybody knows that private ownership of housing property in towns and cities is lucrative source of capitalist enrichment and a means of plundering the working people. To this day dwelling houses in the towns, including large-scale property, have not been nationalised in Yugoslavia. And the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party undertakes to preserve this state of affairs under the socialist system.

In other words the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party is telling the urban bourgeoisie not to worry too much, and not to be afraid of socialism. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party reason like Proudhon: "Once the house is built it serves as an eternal juridical foundation for receiving a definite share of social labour".

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are forsaking Marxism in its aspects. In their draft programme they write that in Yugoslavia there remain but the remnants of capitalist elements. They say nothing at all about the fact that an entire capitalist class—the kulaks exist in the countryside. In "failing to see" this exploiting class they are trying to gloss over the fact of its existence, to conceal it from the labouring peasantry, and to depict the kulak as a toiling peasant who will grow into socialism together with the remainder of the peasantry.

On the question of the class struggle during the transition period to socialism, the Yugoslav leaders adopt a completely opportunist attitude. The draft programme was elaborated after criticism had been made of the mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party by the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). This included criticism of the incorrect stand taken by the Yugoslav leaders on the question of the intensification of the class struggle in Yugoslavia.

However, all that the programme managed to say on this question was that "the class struggle will continue until the final abolition of the exploiting classes". But the point is not just that the class struggle will continue. Inevitably it will grow sharper. It is this point that the Yugoslav leaders fail to grasp and indeed refuse to grasp—preferring to disorientate the Party and the people by glossing over the fact of the intensification of the class struggle in the transition period to socialism. The draft programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is actually a nationalist, and not an internationalist programme. The programme contains not the Marxist, Leninist idea, but the nationalist idea that Yugoslavia single-handed can build socialism. Its authors bypass the matter of help on the part of the other Communist Parties, the Soviet Union and the new democracies, as an essential condition for the victory of socialism in their country, in building socialism in Yugoslavia. The authors of the draft do not understand, or pretend not to understand, that socialism cannot be built in Yugoslavia with the aid of American imperialism.

It is not a question of whether or not these woe-begone Marxists want closer cooperation with the socialist countries. The point is that it is absolutely clear that socialism cannot be built in Yugoslavia, or in any other country, without organic unity and constant aid, without the concerted efforts of the countries which have taken the path of socialism.

Just how superficial a document the draft programme is can be gathered from the fact that nowhere does it even hint at securing the economic emancipation of women, without which there can be no talk of building socialism.

And in Yugoslavia of all countries, this is a task of primary importance because Yugoslavia is an agrarian country with a backward agriculture and still existing traditions of a purely Turkish attitude to women.

From the examples given it is obvious that this document cannot be regarded as the programme of a Communist Party.

It is a confused, anti-Marxist article which projects the Communist Party onto to path of nationalism, and Yugoslavia onto the path of bourgeois degeneration.

The draft programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia shows that the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party mirrors the present situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

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

NO.14 (17), THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1948

TRAITORS TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—the Tito-Kardelj-Djilas-Rankovic clique—have done everything possible to conceal their betrayal of Communism.

Actually, however, they merely proved that they have adopted the position of nationalism and hostility to the united international socialist front.

The Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party proves this to the hilt. It is now perfectly clear that the composition of the Congress was handpicked by the police apparatus under the guidance of Rankovic. So-called delegate commissions were elected. These commissions, directed by people sent from above, selected candidates whom they interviewed beforehand. Once the delegate commission was convinced of the “reliability” of a candidate, the latter was recommended to the meeting for nomination.

This “election work” was accompanied by terror-like repressing against those who were in the least suspected of being unreliable.

After the Congress membership had been so well-picked, Tito and Company could boldly count on receiving its unanimous support. This encouraged them to unfurl their national anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist banner completely.

The nationalist position of the Yugoslav Communist Party was the underlying theme in the reports of Tito, Rankovic, Djilas and Kardelj. This was reflected in their distortion of the circumstances in which Yugoslavia was liberated. They distorted the Marxist-Leninist principle about the possibility of building Socialism in Yugoslavia by claiming again that this can be accomplished without the help and support of the new democracies, the Soviet Union and the international working-class movement.

Tito lied when he declared that someone wanted to underrate the role of the partisan struggle in the liberation of Yugoslavia. No Communist or Communist Party would ever dream of underrating the heroism and self-sacrifice displayed by the Yugoslav people. This is how the matter is presented by Tito who, having completely lost his head, is playing on backward instincts and fanning nationalist sentiments in the Party and among the people.

When Tito declared in his report that the Germans could not conquer Yugoslavia because the Yugoslav army numbered 300,000 men, he cut a ridiculous figure. In his ignorance and conceit he thinks he can play the role of military genius. World War Two was not a question of thousands but of millions of men. As is known the Germans had an army of more than 10 million. Tito had to resort to this trick—a most illiterate one from the military and political point of view—so that he could prove that Yugoslavia smashed the Germans singlehanded and won her liberation without the help of the Soviet Union and the other countries.

International reaction has lost no time in supporting Tito on this score. The following day the British reactionary journalist Lindley Fraser declared that the liberation of Yugoslavia was the work of Tito and not of the Red Army. Brigadier General Fitzroy-Mclean declared that Yugoslavia alone expelled the Germans with the help of considerable British and American air support. Tito asked for these compliments when he stated in his report that Yugoslavia was helped at a critical time not only by Soviet troops but also by the Western allies.

Kardelj, Rankovic and Djilas tried to "prove" that Yugoslavia, can build socialism alone, since it enjoys all the necessary conditions for this.

Altogether the Yugoslav leaders present the sorry spectacle of people who are ignorant of the ABC of Marxism. They are so intoxicated with nationalism that it does not even occur to them that, however sincere its intentions, a country with a population of 15 million, and an economically backward country at that, will be strangled in the space of a few months by the imperialist robbers if it has not the help and support of the international socialist front.

The Yugoslav leaders imagine that by means of a cheap stunt they can deceive their people and the international working class. The same Lindsey Fraser observed that Tito wants to dance at two weddings at once, that is, to choose the "middle" way between the imperialist and Socialist camps. But the more intelligent imperialist politicians believe that Tito and Co. will move into the imperialist camp, at first for the sake of trade, then for credits and finally for political support.

Not without reason did the bourgeois commentators point out that there was hardly any criticism of the "Western powers" at the Congress, whereas the Soviet Union and the new democracies were subjected to slanderous attacks.

The Yugoslav leaders are trying to foment hostility between Yugoslavia and the other new democracies. How else can one explain the statement of Tito to the effect that of all the countries occupied by Hitler Germany only Yugoslavia waged a struggle against the invader. How to explain his chauvinistic remarks addressed to the peoples of Hungary and Albania and to the people of Bulgaria in particular over the question of Macedonia.

And after this the leaders of the Yugoslav Party continue to describe themselves as Marxists. Their declaration of loyalty to the theories of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin can only be regarded as a pharisaical mask for their opportunism.

Tito and his kind have deceived the Party and the people. They concealed the fact that every Communist Party refused to send fraternal delegates to the Congress because the leaders of the Yugoslav Party had betrayed the international Communist movement. had betrayed the cause of the working class and of Socialism. They concealed this knowledge from the membership because they knew perfectly well that its dissemination would reveal them as traitors, would make it plain to all that things are far from being as they should be in the Party.

Notwithstanding the terror and deception, the verbosity against the USSR and the pharisaical Marxist pledges, both inside the Yugoslav Party and among the people, many are already conscious of the abyss into which the traitors Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic are dragging Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party and the working class will have the last word and will not permit the vital interests of the Yugoslav people to be sacrificed by a clique of traitors.

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

NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

UNDER THE BANNER OF CRITICISM.

**V. Chervenkov, Central Committee,
Bulgarian Workers' Party**

An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) attended by the secretaries of the regional Party committees held on June 27, discussed and approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The meeting decided to take a number of practical steps to explain the Resolution to the Party members, to Fatherland Front members and to the people.

It also decided to convene another Central Committee meeting very soon to discuss thoroughly the lessons and the conclusions that the Party and its leadership can draw from the Resolution, and particularly from the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), on the mistakes and deviations of the Yugoslav leaders.

This second Central Committee meeting was held on July 12 and, 13. For the Political Bureau, the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade George Dimitrov, reported on the basic lessons and conclusions to be drawn by our Party from the crisis in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Both the report and the discussion following it, extensively examined the work of the Party and the Party leadership on the basis of outspoken Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

The meeting unanimously declared that the leadership of our Party has never doubted the leading role played by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union in the democratic camp. Neither has it ever doubted the position of Bulgaria inside the united front of the Soviet Union, the people's democracies and the democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

Regarding the leading role of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet Union in the light of an indisputable truth, both for itself and for the Party as a whole, the leadership of the Workers' Party has been educating the Party—and through the medium of the Party the working people of the country—in the spirit of infinite love for the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin—the brilliant teacher and leader of the working people of all lands. It is educating them in the spirit of resolute international solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and socialism.

The leadership of our Party has always been convinced of the need to strengthen the leading role of the working class and of its Communist vanguard, the Bulgarian Worker's Party, and has taken every possible step to do this.

The meeting also considered that the success of our Party in rallying around it the democratic forces of the Bulgarian people, in strengthening the people's democracy, in reconstructing the national economy on the basis of the new democracy, irrefutably shows that the Political line of our Party has been basically correct.

However, the meeting pointed out that a correct political line and the good results achieved thereby does not mean that there are no weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the Party and its leadership, nor that the Party leadership had not made mistakes, sometimes quite serious mistakes.

Dwelling on our not inconsiderable achievements, the meeting also stressed that the Party must not forget that the Soviet Union, by its help and support played a great role. We must not forget that immediately after September 9, the presence of Soviet troops—the liberation troops in Bulgaria made it considerably easier for us to defeat

reaction speedily and decisively and enabled us to ensure and strengthen the leading role of the working class. Because of this, weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes in the Party's work did not greatly harm the general positive results of the Party's struggle, as they might have done had not the Soviet Army been present in the country. Nor must we forget the invaluable and timely help we received from the Bolshevik Party in the form of counsel, advice, criticisms and warnings. That is why we have no reason to be conceited and complacent over our successes, nor to underestimate our weaknesses and shortcomings,

The meeting of the Central Committee declared: "Certain mistakes have been made, chiefly those of underestimating the inevitability of the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to socialism, of illusions concerning an easing-up of this struggle because of the specific conditions in our country; of overestimating the forces of reaction and underestimating the forces of the working class. This latter resulted in slackened vigilance and in procrastination before the proper steps were taken to eliminate our inveterate internal enemies and to smash their economic basis".

The meeting also said that in the Party "there was not sufficient clarity about the perspectives and rate of our development toward socialism".

In this connection the meeting drew attention to the fact that "during the transition from capitalism to socialism the class struggle is bound to grow sharper, since the enemies of the people's democracy and socialism will do everything to stop progress and restore the power of the capitalists and reaction". The meeting called upon the Party "to be increasingly vigilant and irreconcilable in relation to the class enemies—saboteurs, wreckers, spies, traitors, blackmarketeers and disorganisers of the national economy, and to fight for their complete elimination".

Our leadership never attempted to revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism. But the Central Committee has often issued directives which lacked a Marxist-Leninist basis. The meeting considered this insufficiently serious approach to theoretical formulations a major weakness of our leadership. The formulation of important policies was often improvised without preparation beforehand. This was mainly due to the fact that, as a rule, these questions were not discussed and decided collectively by the Central Committee. The meeting condemned this harmful practice which, unquestionably, should be stopped immediately.

Busy with day-to-day practical work, the Central Committee undoubtedly severely underestimated the need for a collective and theoretical solution to fundamental policy problems in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Usually these matters were handled haphazardly. In many instances biased, inaccurate and completely incorrect formulations were made.

Among such incorrect formulations were the following: — those concerning the harmonious combination of the three sectors in the national economy—the state, cooperative and private sectors; the possibility of toning down the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to socialism; overestimation of the specific features of the so-called Bulgarian path to socialism and so on.

Considered that inner Party democracy was by no means perfect even though elections were held annually in all Party organisations. The Central Committee has not always functioned as a collective organ. It has not completely changed its method of issuing commands to Party organisations. It underestimated the Party as a self-acting organisation and did not always listen to the voice of the membership nor take into account the experience of the Party. Criticism and self-criticism, regardless of persons, are not, as yet, the motive power of our Party's development.

We often speak about criticism and self-criticism, but have not, as yet, created the necessary conditions for criticism to function properly, moreover, there were quite a number of occasions when criticism was suppressed.

Nor is all well with the composition of the Party. Viewed from this angle, our Party does not meet fully the Marxist-Leninist requirements to the effect that the Party must consist of the most advanced elements of the working class and the working people.

The ideological-political level of our Party members is still far behind that necessitated by the tasks facing the Party. There are, especially in the countryside a number of Party members and even entire basic Party units which do not carry out their vanguard role, lagging behind events and often becoming the exponents or obsolete views.

The Central Committee meeting approved a number of measures to secure a full-blooded Party life and to develop criticism extensively, starting with the Central Committee right through to the leadership of the basic organisations, on the basis of collective work, and the participation of all members in the discussion of Party problems. It also decided to take steps to eliminate the Party's backwardness on the theoretical front, to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of its members in every possible way and to change the composition of the Party.

The meeting decided to summon a Party Congress on October 31. In addition to the report of the Central Committee, the Congress agenda will include reports of the Five-Year Plan on Marxist-Leninist education and ideological struggle, suggestions for the Party programme, changes in the Statutes of the Party and on other organisational questions.

After discussing the crisis in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist policy of the Yugoslav leaders, the Central Committee considered that we, as an immediate neighbour of Yugoslavia, having close ties with the Yugoslav Communists, had not displayed the necessary vigilance toward the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and were uncritical even though certain facts made it apparent that there was every reason for criticism.

The Central Committee had not taken sufficient interest in the political activity of the Yugoslav leaders with the result that their policy had a certain harmful influence on the policy of our Party. A certain weakening of the Party leadership resulting from the reorganisation of the Fatherland Front into social-political organisation was undoubtedly due to the influence of the detrimental policy of the Yugoslav leaders. As a result of our uncritical attitude to the Yugoslav leaders and to their policy, we failed to stop the pernicious practice of sending unofficial emissaries, leaders of the Communist Party of Macedonia, to Bulgarian Macedonia where these emissaries took it upon themselves to create the impermissible situation of a state within a state and to incite Macedonian hostility toward the Bulgarian people.

The meeting raised particularly sharply the question of vigilance toward enemies of the people. It drew attention to the need for special measures to raise the vigilance of the whole Party, of the Fatherland front and of all public and state organs so as to smash in good time the attempts of our class enemy to undermine the national economy and prevent our forward movement.

The decisions of the meeting are now known to the Party and to democratic public opinion. They are being discussed by all Party organisations which are thoroughly examining and revising their work on the basis of these decision and are developing widespread criticism and self-criticism.

Party organisations must now expose more boldly the weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes in their work. They must take steps to eliminate them, to strengthen inner Party democracy and to enable the Party to lead a full-blooded life. They must rally the Party ideologically and politically around the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Dimitrov.

“Taking into account the invaluable and timely help rendered our country and our people by the Soviet Government and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union in liberating Bulgaria from fascism, in safeguarding our freedom and independence against the encroachments of the imperialists, in speedily reconstructing our national economy; recognising the decisive role played by the Soviet Union as the main force in the democratic camp in the struggle for peace and for strengthening the international front of democracy and socialism; drawing the necessary lessons from the crisis in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Central Committee called for the education “with redoubled energy of all members of the Party, of the Fatherland Front, the youth and the Bulgarian people as a whole, in the spirit of firm loyalty to our united front with the Soviet Union, with the other new democracies and with the democratic movement in the capitalist countries, as the most powerful guarantee of the freedom and independence of our country and its development along the path of a people’s democracy and socialism”.

The Central Committee meeting called on Party members “to study and apply extensively the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in accordance with conditions in our country; to heed, as hitherto, the wise advice of the great teacher and leader of the working class and working people of the world, Joseph Stalin”.

By openly recognising its weaknesses and mistakes, by disclosing the basis of these mistakes and taking the necessary steps to overcome them, our Party will strengthen its ranks as the militant vanguard of the working class and of the working people and will carry out its duty to them and to the democratic camp, headed by the great Soviet Union.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy!

NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

PARTY CHRONICLE

Chinese Communist Party Approves Information Bureau Resolution

A resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia reads as follows:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China fully agrees with the resolution adopted by the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy. The convening of the Information Bureau meeting and the adoption of this Resolution was a duly incumbent upon Communists of all countries for the defence of Marxist-Leninist principles, of the revolutionary cause of the working class and the peoples of the world.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party believes that the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is not an accidental nor isolated phenomenon. The opportunist elements which express bourgeois counter-revolutionary views will always try to penetrate the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat and the Communist Party, hoping to undermine them from within. Such phenomena occurred on many

occasions in the history of the international movement. They found expression at one time in the Chinese Communist Party.

Such phenomena make it imperative that Communists should take every measure to raise their political consciousness and their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory so that they can distinguish the bourgeois elements and combat them. They must defend the cause of the proletariat and the people as a whole from sabotage, and safeguard the ideological and political clarity of the Communist Party.

With this aim in view, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that Party members should thoroughly study the Information Bureau's Resolution in order to strengthen the class and international spirit of the Party, and criticism and self-criticism within its ranks.

Indian Communist Party on Information Bureau Resolution

A statement issued by the Communist Party of India on the Resolution of the Information Bureau lends in part:

The Resolution of the Information Bureau clearly sets forth the shortcomings and mistakes of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party. These serious and grave shortcomings were pointed out by fraternal parties, all of whom have a prolonged record of glorious fight against imperialists. Among them is the great revolutionary Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—the Party of Lenin and Stalin. It is the policy of this Party, and the heroic Soviet people led by Stalin that saved the world (including Yugoslavia and its leaders) from fascist bondage.

A warning coming from the fraternal parties, especially when the initiative in giving that warning is taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, must be taken very seriously by any party calling itself Marxist.

The blank refusal to discuss questions raised, only exposed how deep down in the mire of bourgeois nationalism the Yugoslav leaders have sunk; and how in their bourgeois conceit and arrogance they are openly refusing international cooperation and mutual help.

Only the confirmed agents of the bourgeoisie can denounce such cooperation between Communist Parties as interference in each other's affairs. The bourgeoisie have always denounced every kind of international cooperation among the workers as foreign interference. The Yugoslav leaders seem to hold the same view when they refuse to discuss their policies before the Information Bureau.

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

NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

PETTY-BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST OUTLOOK OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP.

**Vasile Luca, Secretary, Central Committee
Rumanian Workers' Party**

The Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties declares that the roots of the mistakes made by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia must be sought in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements... dominate in the leadership, and that the leadership of the Yugoslav Party, having broken with the

international traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, has taken the path of nationalism.

Tito and his clique are trying to deny the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia's liberation. They are trying to deny the role and significance of the aid, direct and indirect, given by the Soviet Union, by the new democracies and also by the new democracies and labour movement throughout the world, in safeguarding Yugoslavia's very existence and national independence, in developing and strengthening the democratic order in the country.

The anti-Marxist position of the present leaders of the Yugoslav Party reveals their nationalist and petty-bourgeois outlook; it is driving them toward isolation from the Soviet Union and the new democracies into the arms of imperialism.

What is the ideological and practical difference between the exponents of the "third force" and the Tito-Djilas-Kardelj-Rankovic group who, by their anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist behaviour are playing into the hands of imperialist circles, who have taken the path of nationalism, of breaking away from the united socialist front against imperialism and who have betrayed the international solidarity of the working people?

The Right Socialists, reformists and opportunists, invoking the "higher interests" of the nation, have always betrayed the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation—the working people.

"Defending" the interests of the nation in this way, the Right Socialists split the internal socialist front, and reject all cooperation with the Communists. They consider themselves to be the creators of the "third force" which they allege, is neutral, standing midway between the socialist democratic forces, headed by the Soviet Union and the forces of imperialism headed by the United States.

Just like the exponents of the "third force", Tito's petty-bourgeois, nationalist group confuses—in a bourgeois sense—the interests of the working class and the working peasantry with the interests of the nation; it ignores the existence of antagonistic classes and the sharpening of the class struggle in Yugoslavia and thus denies the danger of the rebirth of capitalism in the country.

Tito and his clique are trying to convince the world that they have discovered a new way of building socialism, peculiar to themselves. They even tried to export this and certain of their "theories" to other countries: for instance, the "theory" of dissolving the party of the working class in the mass organisation of the People's Front, or the "theory" that "final victory over the invader can be achieved with the help of partisan warfare" as General Vukmanovic declared in one of his works.

The paths which Tito proudly claims to have discovered were, as a matter of fact, the paths taken in the past by the Narodniks, Liquidators, Mensheviks and the Trotskyites, and are being followed today by the Right Social-Democrats. These paths lead inevitably to the camp of imperialism and not to socialism.

Nowhere does Leninism deny the peculiarities or specific features of the social revolution in each given country. The people's democracy is a specific and special form of the transition to socialism.

In October 1917, Lenin declared that all nations would advance toward socialism but not along one and the same path, that each nation would contribute its specific features to the one or other form of democracy, to one or another tempo of socialist changes in the different aspects of social life.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, however, fail to appreciate that this specific form does not at all signify the dying out of the class struggle. Quite the

contrary. The people's democracy cannot be a form of transition from capitalism to socialism without engendering sharp clashes between antagonistic classes, sharpened class struggle and not the easing-up of this struggle—such is the law or development of the people's democracies toward socialism. Failure to appreciate this and to educate the party of the working class in this spirit, failure to mobilise the working class and its allies in the struggle for socialism (which is exactly what the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is doing) is tantamount to helping the People's Republics degenerate into ordinary bourgeois republics, tantamount to depriving the working class of its leading role in the historical development of the given country,

Nationalist conceit hinders the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from seeing that the defeat of fascism and the liberation of Yugoslavia did not as yet signify the complete victory of the people's democracy, did not completely clear the path for the building of socialism. In Italy, France and the other countries where the workers' parties displayed the same heroism in the struggle against the Hitler invaders, and where the influence exercised by all these parties among the masses of working people is as strong as the influence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the other Communist and Workers' parties in the People's Republics, the struggle for democracy and socialism is developing differently and under much more difficult conditions than in our countries, which were liberated by the valiant Soviet Army.

One of the really decisive factors favouring the formation and development of the people's democracies was absent in Italy, France and the other countries of the West and also in Greece. These countries were entered by the armies of the imperialists who trampled underfoot every principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the liberated countries, the principle of granting each nation the right to decide its own fate and to choose its political and social order.

The presence of the Soviet Army as an army of liberation, the might of the Soviet Union and its influence on world politics, prevented the imperialists from interfering successfully, on behalf of reaction, in the affairs of the people's democracies. The Soviet Union and its army secured the free development of the democratic forces in the liberated countries. This was how the people's democracies arose and developed, where the hegemony belongs to the working class which, under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties, is engaged in bitter struggle and constructive work.

Viewed through the narrow prism of nationalism and petty-bourgeois conceit, one cannot but be blind to the role of the heroic struggle of the working class, of the democratic forces of Western Europe against imperialism, against reaction and the rebirth of fascism, a struggle which is a serious obstacle in the way of the imperialists who are bent on destroying the new democracies and on turning them into a supporting base against the USSR.

The betrayal of socialism and democratic unity by the Tito group is pushing Yugoslavia on to the path of degeneration into a bourgeois republic dependent on American imperialism. The petty-bourgeois conceit of the Tito clique, is nothing short of idolatry. Everything centres around the individual.

It is not the "Leninist youth" but the Tito youth", the "Yugoslavia of Tito", and the "Tito Party," The Party as such is substituted by Tito the man. All this points to Tito's aspirations toward personal dictatorship, and has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism which defines the role of the individual in history quite differently.

The Tito group represent themselves as the makers of history and believe that the globe should revolve around Tito. Because of their nationalist, petty-bourgeois, narrow-mindedness, this group fails to see the previously mentioned conditions, which enabled the peoples of Yugoslavia to achieve their successes in the struggle against the invader and in fostering democracy in Yugoslavia. Conceited to the point of absurdity, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party ascribe everything "heroic" and "sagacious" to Tito. They have forgotten the Marxist-Leninist teaching to the effect that people make history, but always under definite material conditions. The influence of outstanding personalities and their role in history depends on their proper understanding of objective laws and the main trends in the development of social life.

The successes of the national liberation struggle and the achievements of the people have blinded Tito and his clique. The enemy is taking advantage of the petty-bourgeois conceit and arrogance of men who confuse the masses and the history of the masses with their own personality, thereby isolating them from the masses. The absence of control, of criticism and self-criticism has resulted in the fact that Tito has surrounded himself with petty-bourgeois fawning elements and has landed him in the swamp of betrayal of the Ideas for which the Yugoslav people went into battle, And now, caught in the net spread by the imperialists and having taken the path of adventurism, Tito is dragging the people and their country into the clutches of imperialism.

It is also known that those who, in the past, tried to reverse the march of history, contrary to lawful development, and thus inflicting untold suffering on their own and other peoples disappeared ignominiously from the political scene.

Petty-bourgeois conceit is preventing Tito, Djilas, Kardelj and Rankovic from honestly recognising their mistakes, on the basis of criticism, and from rectifying them. They claim that this would lower the prestige of the Party leadership. This anti-Leninist attitude to criticism and self-criticism explains why the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are hypocritically denying the facts and why they have become deeply entangled in their pernicious practice.

The reply of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party to the Resolution of the Information Bureau is replete with slanders against the Soviet Union and its heroic Bolshevik Party. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have reacted with hostility to the fraternal help of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties. They regard this as a blow to their prestige, which just goes to show the extent of the moral and political disintegration of these leaders.

Tito and his clique tried, with the help of the recent Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to strengthen their nationalist position against international, socialist and democratic solidarity. They saw to it that the Congress was not organised along democratic lines.

Threats, blackmail and terror were used against those who remained true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Tito and his clique are relying on the state machine, on the petty-bourgeois masses, on the kulaks,

In these conditions, the healthy forces in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia must wage a bitter struggle for the Party, for a free and independent Yugoslavia. Marxism-Leninism has triumphed, and will always triumph, and there can be no doubt whatsoever that the time will come when the Yugoslav Communist Party will severely condemn the nationalist and petty-bourgeois leadership, will replace this leadership and once again take the path of Marxist-Leninist internationalism,

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO. 15 (18), SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1948

PAS DE CALAIS COMMUNISTS PROTEST AGAINST TITO'S SLANDEROUS STATEMENT

Democratic opinion in various countries, particularly in France, are protesting sharply at Tito's slanderous statement that before Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union the only people and the only party which fought the German fascist invaders were the Yugoslavs and the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The Pas de Calais Federation of the French Communist Party has passed a special resolution indignantly repudiating the false and ambitious claims of Tito.

The resolution states: "Without underestimating the fighting spirit of the working people of Yugoslavia in the struggle against Germany, nevertheless the Communists of the Pas de Calais Federation consider it necessary to recall that only a few days after Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos had made the historic call of July 10, 1940, they carried out the first act of resistance against the German army when, under the leadership of Charles Debarge, they set fire to a great motor transport park. In response to the call of Thorez and Duclos, the miners, led by the Communists, conducted a remarkable patriotic strike during May and June 1941, thus proving to the enslaved peoples that it was possible to fight the fascist invaders on their own soil.

"The Pas de Calais Federation of the Communist Party most strongly protests against the calumnies of Tito and the other Yugoslav leaders.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

MACHINATIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY

Readers of our newspaper have sent us reports from London on the machinations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the matter of circulating anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist literature.

The Yugoslav bookselling agency, "Yugoslovenska Kniga", which handled the circulation of "*For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples Democracy*" when it was published in Belgrade has lists of our subscribers in different countries. Utilising these addresses, the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party is distributing booklets and material directed against the Information Bureau. These facts are further confirmation of the dishonest methods used by the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in their treacherous, undermining activity directed against the united Communist front.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

**TO THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES
BUCHAREST- Teheran, 14 July, 1948**

We, the undersigned, in complete agreement with your Resolution concerning the situation in our Party, today reported this decision to the Central Committee of our Party, and have requested that the leadership should unreservedly acknowledge their errors, correct them immediately, and take the only correct path of internationalism and proletarian solidarity.

Greetings to the Information Bureau, headed by the Lenin-Stalin Party.

With comradely greetings from the members of the Party group in the Yugoslav Mission in Teheran.

Secretary: Petar Kogol

Members: Asim Alihodjic

Mate Urlicic

Stanko Breshic

Teheran, 14 July, 1948

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

NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

HOW THE CONGRESS OF THE C.P.Y. WAS HELD

I would like to give some impressions of the conditions under which the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was held.

The Congress was held in the military barracks at Topchider, on the outskirts of Belgrade. The Mihailovic trial took place in this same barracks. Topchider can be reached by tram and bus out during the Congress but all traffic was prohibited in the area, and all approaches to the barracks were heavily guarded. Advanced posts were located at points several kilometres distant from the Congress hall.

The State security forces were reinforced with army artillery units in full fighting order.

All this beginning with the organisation of the Congress in the barracks and ending with the way in which it was conducted, indicates the purely military terrorist methods pursued by the leader of the Yugoslav Party. Rankovic, who combines the jobs of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Home Affairs, saw to it that the Congress delegates were well guarded. The ambassador of one of the new democracies, living in the vicinity of the barracks was not allowed to leave his house. You may well imagine the restrictions imposed by Rankovic on ordinary citizens not enjoying diplomatic immunity!

The Belgrade railway station, the railway lines and even the streets were patrolled by armed guards. Seeing them, I involuntarily remembered that the last time I had seen so many armed patrols was at the end of the war. But then Chetnik, and Ustashi bands were operating in the country. Why did Tito and company imitate them by putting the capital under martial law?

Delegates from the provinces were accommodated in three large buildings one of which was formerly the "Ivo Lola Ribar" students' dormitory. A few days before the Congress the students were moved elsewhere. Delegates had their meals inside the barracks. In a word, they were completely isolated from the outside world.

There were several cases of "unreliable" delegates being replaced by others. In Zagreb, for instance, two students, old Party members and former partisans, had

their credentials taken away because they questioned the integrity of the present leaders.

In selecting "reliable" delegates the Rankovic machine quite frequently resorted to slander and even arrested comrades who expressed the slightest doubt. Some delegates, elected at meetings on instructions from the top, but who later questioned the correctness of the Central Committee's line, were immediately replaced. The Party membership, of course, was not informed of this.

Congress discussion was manipulated to prevent delegates from debating the charges made by the Information Bureau against the Party leadership.

The moment Tito made his appearance a special group of cheer leaders began to shout slogans. Some of them were so zealous at this that it seemed as though this were their main job. However, their duties went a bit further—they kept close watch over the other delegates. Rankovic and his men had full command of the Congress hall and its surroundings. Hence the nervous atmosphere of the Congress and the complete absence of criticism.

The impression created was that delegates were obliged to speak about the "unjust" charges levelled against Tito and the Central Committee. Hardly a single delegate thought it worth while to take the floor after Rankovic's report on the organisational work of the Central Committee. Everything was concentrated on slandering the Information Bureau, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union.

Now that the Congress is over the Yugoslav Party are once again, and with redoubled energy, resorting to repressive measures against genuine Communists. At the Congress, Tito and his clique threatened any who wavered with severe punishment. All who expressed the least agreement with the Information Bureau Resolution are being hounded out of the Party and persecuted. A purge was carried out among student brigades working on the New Belgrade. The student Emilo Danilovic who at a Party meeting opposed the anti-Soviet policy of the Communist Party leaders has been expelled from the Party and deprived of his scholarship. On the way back from Zemun today was stopped by an air force captain who asked for a lift into the city. In the course of our conversation he said that Tito and his retinue ought to resign if they did not want to correct their mistakes. He was emphatic that Yugoslavia could not build socialism without the Soviet Union and the new democracies. He confirmed that a large number of officers had been arrested and that the State security organs had everybody terrorised. Arrests among Communists were particularly widespread in Zagreb.

Tito's name is being publicised the way Hitler's was in his day. In Zagren, Party members greet each other with the words 'Long live Tito!' In Belgrade one of the military buildings bears the inscription written in electric lights: "Party-Tito". The word "Party" dimmed out leaving the word "Tito" illuminated.

Portraits of Tito abound everywhere. And Tito's portrait is always bigger than any other and is always in the centre, flanked on other side with small portraits of sometimes Marx and Engels and Lenin and Stalin.

Indignation is widespread particularly among veteran Party members. It is clear that the honest Communists in Yugoslavia who love their country and who do not want to see it in bondage to the imperialists will, sooner or later, replace the leadership and thus save the Party and the Yugoslav Republic from degeneration.

This conviction of Yugoslav Communists is meeting with support among ever wider circles.

Belgrade
Micunovic

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

THE SECTARIAN, BUREAUCRATIC REGIME IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.

**A. Pauker, Secretary, Central Committee,
Rumanian Worker's Party**

One of the most serious mistakes made by the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the sectarian, bureaucratic regime which they created inside the Party.

The resolution of the Information Bureau, in its analysis of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, stated: "the type of organisation in the Yugoslav Communist Party can only be described as a sectarian, bureaucratic organisation". The system prevailing inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia reflects the profoundly incorrect and harmful attitude of its leadership. The departure from the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, and the negation of the leading role of the proletariat resulted, logically, in the leadership of the Yugoslav Party glossing over the role of the revolutionary party of the working class, in belittling the Party as an active and creative organism, and rejecting direct, open and day-to-day contact between Party organisations and the working people. And finally, it led to the Party becoming bureaucratic, to the cutting off and isolation of its branches and leading organs from the class and from the people.

Departure From Organisational Principles Of Marxist Party

This sectarian, bureaucratic regime, itself an expression of the departure the Yugoslav Communist leadership from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is, at the same time, one of the main obstacles in the way of rectifying the mistakes of the leadership.

Hence, the liquidation of this regime is matter of life or death to the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The resolution of the Information Bureau pointed out that the policy pursued by the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party "threatens the very existence of the Party and ultimately carries with it the danger of the degeneration of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia." It is up to the healthy elements in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to put an end to the sectarian, bureaucratic regime inside the Party in order to remove this danger.

The great Lenin teaches us that the Party cannot live and develop if it keeps aloof and isolates itself from the people. In order to exist and develop, the Party must maintain living contact with the masses through its organisations, must broaden out and strengthen this contact and in this way win the confidence, love and support of the mass of the people.

The experience of nearly half a century of the Bolshevik Party brilliantly demonstrates the correctness of the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine about the Party. The strength of the Bolshevik Party lies in its indissoluble ties with the masses, in its readiness not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them. The strength of

the Bolshevik Party lies in its consolidation and its discipline. But this discipline has nothing in common with “blind” discipline, with the discipline of the big stick. **“Iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes a conscious and voluntary attitude, for only a conscious discipline can be an iron discipline”.** (Stalin).

This historical experience of the Bolshevik Party was the basis on which all the Communist Parties grew and developed as Leninist Parties. Their own experience showed how correct is the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine about the Party.

But the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia deny these organisational principles. Blinded by nationalist conceit, Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic no longer think it necessary to be guided by the world historic experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and are now denying this experience.

The fact that one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party declared that Stalin’s “Short History of the CPSU (B)” should not be studied in Party schools on the pretext that this would result in a “mechanical” application of the experience of the CPSU (B) to Yugoslav conditions, cannot be regarded as a chance occurrence. It is not at all accidental that such objections were raised precisely in connection with the “Short History of the CPSU (B)” which is the clearest, most profound and militant account of the experience of the Soviet Communist Party.

The self-confident opinion of the Yugoslav Communist leaders who allege that they have contributed something new to the organisational principles of the Party is nothing but empty phrase-mongering. As a matter of fact their opinion is a weird mixture of Narodnik, Menshevik and Trotskyite views.

Close contact with the masses is the underlying principle of the activities of the Communist Party. How is this principle realised by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? “The primary party organisations are the foundation of the Party”. The primary Party organisation links the mass of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia with the leading organs of the Party. This principle is recorded in the Statutes of the CPSU (B) and in the statutes of the other Communist Parties.

But in the Yugoslav Party, the primary Party organisation does not reveal itself openly. Its membership, leaders and indeed its very existence are shrouded in secrecy. This state of affairs could only result in the Party and its leading organs breaking with the masses and the Party becoming a bureaucratic body.

The organisational structure of the Communist Party is based on the principle of democratic centralism. But in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there is no such thing as inner Party democracy. According to the principle of democratic centralism, the minority is subordinate to the majority. In the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, where Party meetings are not held or occur at very rare intervals. Party policy is not discussed by the Party members. They are told only of binding decisions taken “at the top”.

According to democratic centralism, Party members are subordinate to their Party leaders, the lower organisations to the higher. But this subordination is based on the principle that all Party organs and all Party leaders are elected. They are invested with the full and freely expressed confidence of the mass of the membership which has promoted them from its ranks as the best and most worthy representatives. Naturally, in conditions of underground work, the Communist Parties cannot always adhere to the principle of electing Party organs. But the Communist Parties have always regarded such conditions as abnormal and transient. With the destruction of the Hitlerite yoke, nearly all the Communist Parties which had been engaged in

underground struggle, set about the job of building up their party organs on the basis of election.

But a different situation prevails in the Yugoslav communist Party where the leadership has in fact rejected the principle of election. To this day, all Party organs in Yugoslavia are not elected but appointed from above: There is no justification whatsoever for this bureaucratic, anti-democratic practice.

Not democratic centralism but a bureaucratic, militarist system prevails in the Yugoslav Communist Party.

In 1923, Comrade Stalin, criticising shortcomings in Party work—for the Bolsheviks are never afraid criticism pointed out that the following measures were necessary to eliminate shortcomings in the Party:

“First, in every way and tirelessly combat the survivals and habits of the war period in our Party, combat the incorrect view that our Party is some kind of a system of departments and not a militant organisation of the proletariat which thinks actively, is self-sufficient, lives a full-blooded life, destroys the old and creates the new.

“Second, it is necessary to increase the activity of the Party masses by submitting for discussion all questions that interest them, since there is no reason why these questions should not be discussed openly, by ensuring the opportunity for free criticism of each and every point raised by Party organs. For only thus can Party discipline be transformed into a really conscious, really iron discipline, only thus can the political, economic and cultural experience of the Party masses be raised.

“Third, it is necessary to elect all Party organs and all officials... An end must be put to the practice of ignoring the will of the majority of the organisation when nominating comrades for responsible Party posts. We must see to it that the elective principle is carried out”.

Had the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia not thrown overboard the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, they would have long ago drawn the necessary conclusions from Comrade Stalin’s theses.

Turkish Regime In Communist Party Of Yugoslavia

The Communist Parties, true to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Party have learnt from their own experience that criticism and self-criticism are among the main means of strengthening and developing the Party. Criticism and self-criticism are an absolute condition for the existence of a revolutionary party. Criticism and self-criticism give expression to “the broad public opinion of the working class as a living and vigilant moral control, whose voice should be closely heeded by the most authoritative leaders if they want to retain the confidence of the Party, the confidence of the working class”. (Stalin), Criticism and self-criticism are the only method of drawing the working people into building socialism.

But criticism and self-criticism are banned by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Party membership is not educated in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Moreover, any attempt at criticism in the Party is fiercely suppressed. Nor is this merely a question of Party repression which, in itself, is impermissible as a means of banning criticism and self-criticism, but of repression by the state apparatus. The state apparatus of the new democracies which has the function of combating the class enemy in town and countryside, of discovering and punishing spies and other imperialist agents, is used to “solve” Party questions by means of brutal reprisals which include threats of physical extermination.

Such is the internal regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The shocking fact of the arrest of the Central Committee members, Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang, as well as other Communists, because they opposed the anti-Soviet line of the leadership of the Party, is not the only example of this regime which the Resolution of the Information Bureau justly described as a purely Turkish regime.

To this it should be added that the Yugoslav Communist leaders cultivate servility to the top-leadership and that the face of the Party is replaced with the cult of Tito which is fraught with grave consequences for the Party.

“The fact,” said Comrade Stalin, “that the leaders rising to the top become separated from the masses and the masses down below begin to look up at them, and fear to criticise them—this fact cannot but create a certain danger of the leaders drifting loose from the masses and the masses becoming separated from their leaders.

This danger may result in the leaders becoming conceited and regarding themselves as infallible. And what good is it if the top leadership grows conceited and begins to look down on the masses? It is clear that nothing but disaster can come of this for the Party”. (My italics, A. P.).

The atmosphere in which the preparations for the forthcoming congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are being made is indicative of the system cultivated by the Party leaders. The participation of the membership in these preparations is, for the most part confined to voting for resolutions pledging loyalty and allegiance and to electing candidates nominated from above. There is no critical discussion of the work of the Party. The leadership is carefully avoiding any discussion of the sharp, but justified criticism contained in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the system prevailing in the Party.

The leadership does not want to lace up to these questions that are in the mind of every Yugoslav Communist:—What is the explanation for the semi-legal position of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? If this is a mistake, why does not the leadership say so openly? Why is there a complete absence of elections and internal democracy in the Party? Why is criticism suppressed and punished? Why is the leadership pursuing a dual policy, concealing its real line which is leading the Yugoslav Party to complete isolation and to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party being condemned by the Communist Parties of the world, headed by the CPSU (B)?

It must be noted that in spite of the bureaucratic, terrorist regime in the Party, these questions are beginning to be raised by the Yugoslav Communists. Many Party members have already voiced disapproval of the Central Committee’s refusal to discuss the situation to the Yugoslav Party at the meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties.

A considerable part of the membership and non-Party workers refuse to believe that Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang are traitors. They know that these comrades took an active part in the struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. By opposing those who deny the Soviet Union’s great liberating role, by opposing the nationalist, anti-Soviet actions and policy of the leadership at the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang have carried out their duty as Communists.

The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party threw them into prison along with other Communists and then announced that they were “traitors”. This was done to intimidate Party members and to prevent them from openly criticising the anti-Marxist and traitorous policy of the leadership.

However, it is impossible to force genuine Communists who have been tempered in battle, and who recognise their duty to their own people and the international

proletariat, to succumb to the terrorist methods of the present leadership. It is this knowledge that convinced the Information Bureau that the people loyal to the great cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin will be able to save Yugoslavia from degeneration and disaster.

In order to do this, the sectarian, bureaucratic and terrorist regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia must be ended and the Party must be guided in its political and organisational work by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and, if necessary, the conceited and bureaucratic leadership must be removed.

Millions of Communists and non-party people are studying and discussing the Information Bureau's Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. From the example given by the Rumanian Workers' Party we can judge how the discussion of the highly important questions of principle raised in the Resolution is a powerful means of strengthening the Party. Members of the Party are not only trying to understand the essence of the mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but to draw the lessons arising from them for our Party. Discussion of the situation in the Yugoslav Party makes it the duty of every Party functionary to review our Party work critically and to pose the question: is all well with inner Party democracy, are the Party organisations reporting all their activities to the membership, are criticism and self-criticism being practised in all Party organisations from top to bottom?

The imperialists and their propaganda lackeys would like to regard the open discussion of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a sign of "weakening in the socialist front. In fact, however, such discussion helps to overcome weaknesses and to correct mistakes in the work of the Communist Parties, helps to strengthen the Parties and to consolidate the forces of socialism and democracy. To be true to the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, to strengthen the Party and to strengthen the united socialist front of the Soviet Union, the new democracies and the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries—such are the main conclusions to be drawn by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries from their study of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. These are the conclusions which should also be drawn by all Communists in Yugoslavia who are true to their country and to the great cause of the working class.

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

NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

YUGOSLAV TROTSKYITES' PATH OF BETRAYAL AND TREACHERY.

**R. Zambrowski, Secretary, Central Committee,
United Workers' Party of Poland**

In its unanimous resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties stated: "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”.

While severely criticising their mistakes, the Information Bureau Resolution gave the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party the opportunity to rectify them. We remember, however, how the Tito clique reacted to this Resolution. At the time, the Yugoslav renegades shed copious crocodile tears over the “injustice” of which, they alleged, they were victims and the “groundless” charges levelled against them. They swore fealty to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, to the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies.

Today, less than a year after the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, the Tito-ites have gone over completely to the imperialist camp, while the outrageous role they are playing in the interests of Anglo-American imperialism is fully in line with that of the Trotskyite renegades at the time of their final degeneration.

Now that the American imperialists are fruitlessly trying to disguise the aggressive nature of the Atlantic Pact behind a flood of phrase mongering about its defensive nature and the alleged aggressive aims of the Soviet Union, the help given by the propaganda apparatus of the renegade Tito is particularly important to them. This help is by no means disinterested. It takes the form of slandering the Soviet Union and circulating the lie that the U.S.S.R. does not observe the principle of equality of small nations, that it makes the People’s Democracies dependent upon it, holding up their industrialisation and so on.

In fact, the successes in industrialisation achieved by all People’ Democracies precisely because of the fraternal aid given by the Soviet Union, particularly expose the treachery of the Tito clique which is deflecting Yugoslavia onto the path of economic degeneration, the path of capitalism, of enslavement by the imperialists. The Tito clique’s provocations in the Balkans, the constant threats to Bulgaria and Albania are of considerable use to the American imperialist warmongers who are surrounding the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies with a vast net-work of military-strategic bases and who are attaching particular importance to strategic bridgeheads in Italy and Greece. The imperialist press expresses the hope that Tito’s constant threat will hamstring the People’s Democracies in the Balkans.

Finally, an essential factor linking the Tito-ites with Anglo-American imperialism is their foreign trade policy which, under the cover of talk about Yugoslavia’s industrialisation, is actually drawing the country into the Anglo-American imperialist sphere of influence and is turning it into a base of strategical raw materials for Wall Street. Joseph Alsop, writing in the “New York Herald Tribune”, cynically stated that there was no need to fear that American arms sold to Yugoslavia would fall into Russian hands, for the bullet sold today to Yugoslavia would most likely find its way to Russia through the skull of a Russian. “News Week” let the cat out of the bag when it stated that the American Government had decided to enter into normal economic relations with Marshal Tito and to end Yugoslavia’s economic quarantine. Firstly, the export of strategically important goods on the 1 B list will be allowed (the export of certain goods to Eastern Europe is prohibited). Later the export of certain goods on the 1 A list (scarce raw materials, planes and military equipment) will be allowed.

True to their Trotskyite nature, the Tito-ites are trying to disguise the whole of this treacherous, renegade policy with Left, socialist phraseology. They either put forward the ridiculous argument that they are deceiving Anglo-American imperialism into helping Yugoslavia to “build Socialism”, or they refer to a “Borba” article in which in

some obscure way, for appearance sake, they once expressed themselves against the Atlantic Pact, or to the speech of Tito at Brion who, according to the "Washington Post" of April 12, hurled imprecations and accusations against the Information Bureau and against the capitalist press for criticising his regime. It is well-known that the capitalist press stopped criticising Tito long ago and that Tito only brings the capitalist press into the picture in order to get more publicity for his slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Incidentally, the capitalist press shows a considerable amount of understanding toward these "Left" manoeuvres of Tito. For example, the abovementioned article in the "Washington Post" declared: Tito must act with the greatest circumspection. There is no doubt that many of the Communist who support him... might leave him if it became known that this split was not only political but also ideological.

The speedy rapprochement between the United States and Tito is causing alarm among certain monarchist-fascist circles in Greece who are afraid that the stream of dollars pouring into Greece might diminish as a result of an agreement between the United States and Tito. For instance, the Greek fascist newspaper "Etnikos Kyais", fearing Tito competition, made a pathetic appeal to the Americans. "What are you expecting from Tito?" it wrote. "He proved to be a poor friend to the Russians and will never be a good friend to the American... Beware of buying him too dearly. Devote your attention to Greece and to Greece alone".

The Tito clique's foreign policy which leads to Yugoslavia's growing economic and political dependence on the war mongers' camp and assigns her a temporary role of a disguised base of imperialism against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, is closely linked with the Thermidor policy of the Yugoslav Trotskyites, with their course set for steering the country into a bourgeois State.

True, in all their speeches, the Yugoslav leaders swear that they are "building Socialism" and that they "remain loyal to internationalism". Actually, under the mask of socialist phraseology, these Trotskyites are doing everything possible to plunge the peoples of Yugoslavia into the struggle against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Tito is trying to rally round his "platform" all sections of the Yugoslav people, including the most reactionary political groups of Nedic and Pavelic. The Skupshtina, each regional council, university, diocesan gatherings of the clergy, sports club—all are forced by the Tito-ites to adopt "unanimously" slanderous resolutions attacking the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

This campaign is accompanied by a systematic incitement to nationalism, the revival of Great Serb chauvinism and speculation on Croat and Slovene separatism.

The short-lived and ostentatious organisational regeneration in the Yugoslav Communist Party was undertaken by the Tito-ites because they feared that the Information Bureau would immediately be supported by the whole working class. The provisionally camouflaged People's Front recently celebrated the triumph of the policy of the above class People's Front as the "main political force in Yugoslavia".

The Yugoslav Trotskyites' rejection of the principle of the leading role of the working class both in theory and practice becomes clear when one considers also the mass enrolment of officials, petty bourgeois and kulak elements into the Communist Party, the fierce terror of Rankovic's agents who are recruiting collaborators from among the Chetniks and Ustashi to work against the proletarian core of the Communist Party; when one considers that the Tito clique is systematically lowering the living standards of the working class, and placing the entire burden of Tito's Caesar-like plans on their shoulders; when one considers the mass exodus of workers to the

countryside and, finally, the degeneration of the voluntary brigade movement into a system of compulsory labour.

The Tito clique has actually deprived the Yugoslav working class of its leading role; the working class is oppressed by an increasingly degenerating military-bureaucratic clique which, together with the kulaks, constitutes the pivot of the Tito dictatorship. In 1937, Comrade Stalin defined Trotskyism in these words: Present-day Trotskyism cannot be described as a political trend in the working class movement. It is an unprincipled gang of wreckers, saboteurs, spies, murderers, of inveterate enemies of the working class hired by the intelligence services of foreign States.

Later the activities of the POUM trotskyite group in Spain and of the remnants of Polish trotskyism, who, under the Hitler occupation, engaged in anti-Soviet and subversive activities, fully confirmed this definition by Comrade Stalin.

The situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia differs from these examples in that this clique of Trotskyites is in power in Yugoslavia. Here we have a case of the Thermidor degeneration of people who ascribe to themselves the merits of the working people and who are cashing in on the Yugoslav people's heroic struggle for social and national liberation, a struggle which was victorious only because of the Soviet Union's victory over Hitler fascism and because of the concrete help the Soviet Union gave to the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The fact that they are in power determines the characteristic features of the Yugoslav Trotskyites. But no matter how much the woe-begone Trotskyite theoreticians of the Djilas and Moshe Pijade breed declaim about the "dialectics of Yugoslavia's specific road to Socialism" about their "fidelity" to Marxism-Leninism, the activity during the last twelve months of the steadily degenerating Tito Trotskyites unquestionably proves that here we have to do with an "unprincipled, careerist clique of political swindlers, a gang of political double-dealers", who are leading Yugoslavia along the path of increasing cooperation with Anglo-American imperialism, along the path of restoring capitalism and transforming the country into a bourgeois state.

The essence of Trotskyism as is well-known, was that it fought against the Soviet power, trying to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union as the vanguard and stronghold of the international proletariat. Trotskyism sought to destroy the confidence which the working class of all countries reposed in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks); in the Bolshevik Party as the party embodying all that is most advanced in the international working class movement; as the party which, thanks to the genius of Lenin and Stalin, developed Marxism-Leninism and is rightfully recognised as the leader and teacher of international Communism.

The Yugoslav Trotskyites of the Tito clique, as was the case with Trotsky, are engaged solely in trying to destroy the confidence of the world proletariat in the Soviet Union. They are doing everything to undermine the international prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in an attempt to prove that Bolshevism is not the most advanced science, is not the strategy and tactics and the model for all Marxist Parties.

Following in Trotsky's footsteps, the Yugoslav Trotskyites are now parroting his words about the "dogmatism" of Bolshevism and its theory.

The Tito clique is banking hard on the past, shamelessly monopolising all the credit. Because of this it has up till now succeeded in influencing certain sections of the working class and those groups of Communists less tempered in the spirit of internationalism. But at the same time, the ranks of those Communists faithful to the internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav working class and loyal to the Yugoslavia

which not so long ago was developing and strengthening in the ranks of the camp of Socialism and democracy headed by the Soviet Union, are increasing.

These detachments of Yugoslav Communists will grow in spite of the Rankovic terror and the malicious propaganda of Djilas and Moshe Pijade. Their influence on the ranks of the Yugoslav working class and working peasantry will become stronger.

They will be able to end the shameful period of Tito-ite treachery and bring People's Yugoslavia back onto the path of Socialism and real national sovereignty, back into the fraternal family of the countries of Socialism and people's democracy.

The Polish working class which moulded its internationalism in a stubborn fight against nationalism, a struggle which was fought over a number of years, watches the struggle of the Yugoslav Communists against the nationalist and Trotskyite Tito clique with hope and confidence. It is convinced that the struggle in Yugoslavia is a guarantee of the country's revolutionary, and socialist regeneration.

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy!

No 10(37); SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1949

POLITICAL PROVOCATEURS.

**V. Poptomov, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee
Bulgarian Communist Party**

For a year now the Tito clique has openly demonstrated its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the democratic and socialist front headed by the Soviet Union.

The Tito clique has accomplished a truly remarkable evolution in the direction of becoming transformed into a special agency of Anglo-American imperialism. A host of irrefutable facts show how, by making more grievous its nationalist mistakes, this clique developed from being renegades to Marxism-Leninism into political provocateurs against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

Everyone remembers how the Tito clique reacted to the criticism of its nationalist mistakes made in letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and in the Resolution of the Information Bureau. They assumed an air of injured innocence and began to scream that they had been "misunderstood", that the charges did not "fit in with the facts" and that this "misunderstanding" was the result of ignorance of Yugoslav affair on the part of the leaders of the CPSU(B) and other Communist Parties. The Tito-ites tried to hold Comrades Juovic and Hebrang responsible for this "misunderstanding" alleging that they had slandered the "innocents" Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and company and misled their Soviet comrades.

What do we see today?

Today the Tito-ites themselves admit that the break with the Information Bureau, with the CPSU(B) and other Communist Parties is not due to a "misunderstanding" or "slander" by "traitors". It is now clear that this is the result of a deliberate, hostile policy against the Soviet Union and the

People's Democracies in the interests of Anglo-American imperialism.

Addressing the Slovene Academy of Sciences in Ljubljana on November 16, 1948, Tito offered quite a different explanation for the situation that had arisen between the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, and the CPSU(B) and the Information Bureau. He advanced the provocative thesis that the reason for unfriendly relations was the economic policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies

toward Yugoslavia, a policy which he claimed did not differ from the policy of the capitalist powers. "Such is the gist of the matter. There is no question of our withdrawal from the path of Socialism," was Tito's shameless lie. Addressing the Skupstchina in Belgrade on December 22, 1948, Tito again repeated the provocative thesis—this time in a more open and flagrant form.

Kardelj also echoed Tito when he spoke at the Second Congress of the Serbian Communist Party. Accusing the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union of waging a "slander campaign" against Yugoslavia, Kardelj let slip that "the essential point in this campaign is: what should be the relations between socialist countries." Having betrayed the socialist camp, the Tito-ites charge the U.S.S.R and the People's Democracies with having a "non-socialist" attitude toward them.

By indulging in such monstrous slander the Tito clique thought they would be able to kill two birds with one stone. First, hoped that this slander would serve to conceal from the Yugoslav people the treacherous policy of turning the country into a semi-colony of the American imperialists. Secondly, by slandering the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, they hoped to present the situation as though it were the camp of democracy and Socialism and not the imperialist camp that is today threatening Yugoslavia's independence. Here the role of the Tito clique as the agent-provocateur of Anglo-American imperialist interests is seen in all its ugliness.

In their last May Day manifesto, the Tito-ites again openly demonstrated that they were the agents of the American pretenders to world domination. In order to cover up the aggressive nature of the North Atlantic Pact which is directed against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, in order to besmirch the widespread movement for peace and its great standard bearer, the Soviet Union, the Tito-ites, with the cynicism of professional provocateurs, accused the Soviet Union of "suppressing the principle of defence and aid to small nations, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, of rejecting the principle of economic and other cooperation and the principle of ever closer rapprochement among the socialist powers on the basis of equality." ("Borba", May 1, 1949).

The imperialist intelligence services must have been very pleased with the Tito-ites covert provocations inside the Socialist camp. And now that the Tito-ites have deliberately broken with the Socialist camp, the intelligence services are just pleased to see them in their new role.

Every day the Tito clique add to their provocative activities against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Tito-ites have turned Yugoslavia into a torture-chamber for all true socialists and democrats and into a promised land for all the enemies of democracy and Socialism. Fascist and reactionary dregs of the old regimes, all kinds of renegades, trotskyites, anarchists, professional Anglo-American spies, adventurers, murderers, thieves and other such rabble who fled from the People's Democracies to escape punishment, are today sheltering under the wing of the Tito clique. Tito's notorious police chief, Rankovic, has boasted more than once in official speeches about the number of criminals who have swarmed to Yugoslavia from the neighbouring People's Democracies. Naturally, he has tried to present them as martyrs for "Tito Socialism". Now Rankovic is hand-picking his spies, diversionists and terrorists from this counter-revolutionary riff-raff and is sanding them to work in the New Democracies. A number of subversive gangs of this type was recently discovered in Albania. It was ascertained at their trial that these people

had arranged to murder leading figures in the Communist Party and state apparatus of the Albanian People's Republic. Similar gangs have recently been discovered in Bulgaria.

The bourgeoisie has always relied on provocateurs, sending them into the ranks of the working class. There are many examples in history of a dying class, in an attempt to retain or restore its power, resorting to the services of people who are capable of the foulest activities. The Tito-ites are following in the footsteps of the arch provocateurs Azef and Doriot, Trotsky and Bukharin.

They are playing an important role in the frenzied efforts of imperialist reaction to split the international working-class movement. They have been assigned a difficult job by the Anglo-American imperialists; to disrupt the Communist Parties in other countries, particularly in the People's Democracies and to form counter-revolutionary factions there, using for this purpose provocations taken from the trotskyite arsenal of treachery. And to this end the Tito-ites are already working feverishly. Their embassies in the People's Democracies have become centres for circulating nationalist propaganda and rallying points for provocateurs and spies.

Recently Tito invented a monstrous new provocation which was given world publicity by imperialism's powerful propaganda apparatus. "We have proof", he alleged, "that there are agents of capitalist states among high officials of certain Communist Parties." The object of this provocation is clear: to undermine the Communist Parties. The Tito news agency, Tanjug, which is now one of the main sources for feeding the Anglo-American imperialist propaganda machine with provocative slander, put out the falsehood that 300 Bulgarian Communists had been arrested on espionage charges. This canard was reproduced by the press and radio in all capitalist countries and was the basis for yet another reactionary campaign against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union.

Tito agents have also attempted to disintegrate the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece, to drive a wedge between the Slav-Macedonian and Greek working people and sow discord among them in order to weaken the liberation struggle in Greece. On May 5 the "Free Greece" radio station was compelled to expose this criminal provocative role of Tito agents in Greece.

To provide additional weapons for the imperialists' propaganda arsenal, the Tito-ites have recently staged a number of trials, putting in the dock former war criminals and other elements who are forced to slander well-known members of the Parties and governments of the People's Democracies. Two such trials were held with the People's Republic of Bulgaria "in the dock": one in Skopje last year and the other in Nish last April.

When, in the autumn of last year the Churchills, Bevin, Blum and other war-mongers met in London to set up, under the aegis of American imperialism and behind the back of the West European peoples, a unified, western bloc military command directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, when they prepared the ground for the North Atlantic Pact the Tito-ites came to their assistance with another provocative lie designed to divert public opinion. In the Skupstchina on September 30, 1948, the Prime Minister of Serbia, Stambolic, put out the Tito-fabricated slander that government spokesmen in Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania were engaging in propaganda against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia. Imperialist propaganda lost no time in taking up this piece of slander

to present the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union as the aggressors and disruptors of peace.

An even more fantastic fabrication against the U.S. and the People's Democracies was spread by the Tito-ites last March, at the very time when secret talks regarding the exact nature of the North Atlantic Pact were in progress in Washington and the Pact was about to be signed. On March 6 "Borba" carried a sensational article by one of Tito's henchmen, Moshe Pijade, headed "Regarding Balkan Federation." This concoction about the future unification of the three parts of Macedonia into a single independent state was levelled against the Bulgarian Communist Party which, it was alleged, was seeking to build up a "Greater Bulgaria" at the expense of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and Greece."

This piece of slander was immediately flashed to the dollar-subsidised propaganda apparatus of the capitalist countries. For weeks running the reactionary press of America, Britain, France and Italy intimidated world opinion with nonsense about "Moscow's new plans in the Balkans" which "threaten the integrity of Yugoslavia and Greece", with "concentration of troops near the frontiers of these states" and similar fantasies. The London "Times" (March 21) in an article entitled "U.N. Watch on Moves in Macedonia" wrote: "The increased interest in this area is appreciated by the Greek Government because of reports, so far unconfirmable here, that Bulgaria, with the help of Russian instructors, is organising brigades of Bulgarian Macedonians for raids on both Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia... in preparation to proclaim the establishment of a Macedonian State comprising the Greek, Bulgarian and Yugoslav areas as part of a Balkan Communist Federation under Bulgarian direction". The "New York Times" repeated in an editorial on April 23 the slander about Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia being annexed to Bulgarian Macedonia to form an independent state under Soviet control.

What aims did this deliberate provocation by the Tito-ites serve?

First, they put up a smoke-screen of slander hoping it would hide from the world the vast plot against peace that was being hatched in Washington. At that particularly critical moment it was necessary to divert the people's attention from the Anglo-American warmongers. The Tito-ites offered their services for this and beat the alarm about the serious danger threatening the Balkans".

Second, the Tito-ites wanted to smear the Greek Communist Party as a "traitor party" which, it was alleged, was preparing to dismember Greece. In this way they sought to strengthen the position of the decaying monarcho-fascist clique in Greece which has been completely discredited in the eyes of the masses.

And finally, their aim was to justify the despatch of fresh contingents of British and American occupation troops to Greece.

By slandering the leaders of Bulgaria who, they assert, are seeking possession of all Macedonia, the Tito-ites are at the same time trying to foment nationalism and to present themselves as "peaceful lambs" attacked by wicked wolves.

Tito himself has only recently given further irrefutable proof of the deliberate collaboration of his gang with the American warmongers in political provocation. It can be found in his replies to questions submitted by Kingsbury Smith, European General-Manager of "International News Service", published in the Yugoslav press on May 7. In his answers Tito tries, through this American agency, to alarm world opinion with his old story that Yugoslavia's independence and territorial integrity is threatened, hinting that certain outside efforts are being made to break Macedonia away from Yugoslavia.

The political diversions and provocations against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies in which the Tito-ites have lately been specialising will only hasten the day when, stripped of the hypocritical mask of "builders of Socialism", the real face of the traitors to their country, provocateurs in the service of the Anglo-American warmongers, will be exposed to the Yugoslav people.

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

NO. 12(39), WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1949

KULAKS IN YUGOSLAV COOPERATIVES

New "peasant cooperatives" have sprung up in Yugoslavia like mushrooms after rain, following the "historical" Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

In the course of a few weeks, broad masses of the peasantry were "re-educated" and "voluntarily" joined the cooperatives. What the Yugoslav adventures are so loudly advertising as a mass cooperative movement of the working peasantry is actually the forcible recruitment of the rural population into the so-called cooperatives. It is no less than a new form of the Yugoslav kulaks' exploitation of the poor peasant. This campaign was necessary to the Tito-ites, the enemies of the Yugoslav people, so that they could discredit the idea of Socialism among millions of Yugoslav peasants.

The hypocritical phrase-mongering by the Tito "theoreticians" that capitalism is no longer growing in the countryside and that the Yugoslav village is undergoing successful "socialist" reorganisation, was recently unwittingly exposed by the Tito paper "Omladina", organ of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav People's Youth Organisation, in its issue, No. 50.

In an article entitled "On the attitude of certain district organisations to the question of developing agricultural production" the author gleefully reported that 30 new cooperatives were formed in the Ruma region in the course of three months. But the inexperienced author slipped up. By the end of March, we read, 21 "groups of youth activists" were formed in newly organised cooperatives. These groups were made up of 350 poor peasants, 450 middle peasants and 400 rich peasants.

And so, among the activists alone, there are 400 kulaks! This shows that the Tito way of building Socialism is very acceptable to the kulaks and their sons, seeing that they have decided to become his activists. What "Borba" conceals, "Omladina" reveals.

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

NO. 12(39), WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1949

ENEMIES OF MARXISM

P. Yudin

In the Tito clique of bourgeois nationalists, Kardelj has the reputation of being a theoretician.

On May 28 this year, Kardelj made a speech in the Yugoslav Skupshtina about the people's committees.

In his speech the most striking thing was the petty-bourgeois bragging. He boasted that they (Kardelj, Tito and their cronies), had never made mistakes in estimating the nature of people's democracy, and made the claim that they were the first to give a

Marxist analysis to the new phenomenon of the development of the people's democratic system. After falsely, like a goo trotskyist, accusing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and other Communist Parties of ideological and political confusion, Kardelj says: "You will not find such phenomena and theories in our country nor in our literature, nor in the policy of our Party".

Nobody has ever even thought of Tito, Kardelj, Rankovic and Djilas as Marxists. Neither the history of the international Communist movement nor the history of the Communist movement in Yugoslavia knows anything about their Marxist merits. The Tito gang, pretending to the international role of "developers of Marxism", and shamelessly ascribing to themselves the merits of the Yugoslav people, usually clamours: We organised the partisan movement in Yugoslavia, we waged a national liberation war... consequently we are Marxists.

But nobody can seriously pretend that a partisan commander is a Marxist simply by virtue of being a partisan commander. Nor has the entire Tito clique any better reason for claiming the role of Marxist theoreticians than such a partisan.

Who can seriously regard Tito as a Marxist—Tito who declared that the programme of the People's Front was the programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? It seems that the People's Front, whose social composition is extremely mixed (including kulaks and speculators) dictates its programme to the Communist Party. Kardelj boasts that they have never been confused in their theoretical estimation of people's democracy. But here is what Tito said in 1946 in Zagreb on the nature of people's democracy: "We tell the peasants that they are the firmest basis of our State not because we want to win their votes but because they are really this basis." It is purely social-revolutionary, kulak chatter which denies that the proletariat is the main leading force in the system of people's democracy.

In 1947, Djilas tried to prove that it was "completely incorrect and senseless to call separate meetings of the trade unions and the people's Front. They should be held together for the trade union is also in the Front". Djilas belittles the role of the working class to such an extent that he considers independent working class meetings impermissible and drives the organised workers to attend meetings of the Front where they are dissolved in the general mass of Front members, including kulaks and speculators.

Writing in "Borba" last year the "theoretician" Moshe Pijade maintained that in Yugoslavia the trade unions—that is, the working class—did not play any role in the liberation struggle and because of this were not the main force in the Yugoslav State system.

In his speech in the Skupshtina, Kardelj, generalising on the question of the negation of the leading role of the working class in the People's Democracies said that "for the dictatorship of the working class it is not violence that is essential, as the philistines believe..." Consequently, according to Kardelj, only philistines think that violence is an essential feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that violence is not imperative for the dictatorship of the proletariat. And thus we get dictatorship of the proletariat without the violence against the bourgeoisie! This reveals Kardelj as an out and out bourgeois nationalist.

And all this is presented by the Tito obscurantists as "a further development of Marxism in Yugoslav conditions".

V. I. Lenin had gentlemen of the Kardelj type in mind when he wrote:

"In defining the term 'dictatorship', Kautsky tried his utmost to conceal from the reader the fundamental symptom of this concept, namely: revolutionary violence."
(Vol. XXIII, p. 343, Russ. Ed.)

Refuting the anti-Marxist assertions that the dictatorship of the proletariat allegedly concerns only the use of force against the bourgeoisie, Comrade Stalin points out: "But of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean only force, although there is no dictatorship without force. ("Problems of Leninism" p. 129).

Lenin also wrote: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society." (Vol. XXV, p. 190, Russ. Ed.)

Anyone can judge now what kind of "Marxist" is Mr. Kardelj who has taken upon himself to teach Marxism to the CPSU(B) and to the other Communist Parties. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, including the suppression of the exploiting minority by the working class is not essential for Kardelj evidently, because it does not suit the Yugoslav bourgeois nationalists.

Kardelj had to falsify the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat so that the bourgeoisie of town and countryside should have no fears, so that the bourgeoisie would understand that the draconic measures of the anti-Communist Rankovic police regime were directed only against the Communists, the friends of the Soviet Union.

The anti-Soviet malice of Kardelj is boundless. An enemy of the Soviet Union, Kardelj denies that socialist democracy has been consistently achieved in the Soviet Union. He has the effrontery to say that: "the principles of socialist democracy... have not been realised to the full even by the Soviet power in the Soviet Union".

The falsifier, Kardelj, is doing all this to "prove" that the anti-Communist, anti-democratic regime set up by the Tito clique in Yugoslavia represents the highest type of socialist democracy!

It is known that in home policy the Tito-ites have irrevocably taken the path of restoring capitalism, a process which is being speeded-up particularly in the countryside where under cover of the ceaseless Tito propaganda about "producer cooperatives" and that "capitalism is no longer growing in the countryside", the kulaks are consolidating themselves in still stronger positions in economic and political life.

It is known that every day the Tito-ites are more and more drawing Yugoslavia into the orbit of Anglo-American economy, subordinating Yugoslavia's economy to Anglo-American imperialism.

It is known that both at home and abroad the Yugoslav provocateurs are pursuing an irreconcilably hostile anti-Soviet policy. The main thesis in their propaganda which Kardelj reiterated in his recent speech, is the well-worn thesis of the Hitlerites and the Anglo-American imperialists about "Soviet imperialism" reworded by the Tito-ites who present the Soviet Union as adopting an attitude of "inequality" toward small nations and subordinating them politically and economically to the interests of the Soviet Union.

Then Kardelj goes on to say that the Tito, anti-democratic regime is in form closest of all to the Soviet system.

Is not this the meanest of mean attempts to distort Soviet socialist democracy and once again deceive the Yugoslav people, making capital out of their genuine friendship for the Soviet Union?

The idea that the transition from capitalism to Socialism—that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat—can be realised in various political forms, is alien to Kardelj, the anti-Marxist metaphysician, the man who cannot understand the real meaning of

dialectics. He denies that the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are being carried out in the People's Democracies.

He cannot see that the revolutionary creative power of the proletariat is inexhaustible. Concrete historical conditions can bring forth and do bring forth new forms of the political organisation of working class power.

This has taken place in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe where it became possible to realise working class power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, not in the Soviet form but in the form of the system of people's democracy. This is a historical fact recognised by the entire international Communist movement.

Neither Lenin nor Stalin has ever made absolute one or another form of organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin repeatedly stressed that it was a question of the **type** of power, of the **type** of the State, that the dictatorship of the proletariat had existed historically in the form of the Paris Commune, and that it now existed in the form of Soviets. But this is one type of State—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin reason as really great dialecticians. They do not bind the hand of the proletarian parties in carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat. They point to the Soviets as a type of the dictatorship of the proletariat already realised in the Soviet Union under modern conditions. That is why the Soviets are the model for the proletariat of all countries. The Soviets are the type of State power for which the proletariat throughout the world should strive in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and build Socialism.

The generalisation of the experience of building Socialism in the People's Democracies and the scientific, theoretical definition that in these countries the dictatorship of the proletariat is being realised in the form of a people's democratic republic where the working class is the ruling force with political power in its hands, is a new contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and is a new triumph of the genius of Stalin's teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But Kardelj is not in the least concerned with the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He is not interested in the historical experience of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a number of countries in new forms of organisation of the working class power. Like one of Shchedrin's pompous characters, Kardelj declares that "this cannot be", and this is the end of his "science". He hysterically cries: "It is incorrect, unscientific and stupid to say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is expressed either in the form of the Soviet power or in the form of people's democracy".

Only a person who does not know the A.B.C. of Marxism and fumes against it could, like Mr. Kardelj, talk such nonsense which is contrary to reality and common sense. All this shows once again that the bourgeois-nationalist Tito clique has nothing in common with Marxism. How can there be any talk of Marxism when the Tito-Rankovic gang have destroyed a considerable part of the Communist cadres in Yugoslavia, when tens of thousands are languishing in prisons and concentration camps, and when thousands of Communists have been shot!

At the same time this gang has accepted into the Party many of yesterday's Chetniks and Ustashi, kulaks, speculators and other such elements and has turned the Party into an auxiliary apparatus of the blood-thirsty hangman Rankovic and utterly destroyed all the principles of a Communist Marxist-Leninist Party.

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

NO. 12(39), WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1949

TITO CLIQUE WIPES OUT COMMUNIST IN YUGOSLAVIA

Pero Popivoda

The nationalist Tito clique has treacherously attacked the finest section of the Yugoslav Communist Party. After the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, thousands of Yugoslav Communists who realised the danger threatening their Party, the working class and the people, fought back against the Tito-Rankovic clique. In some places—Sarajevo, Montenegro, Belgrade, East Serbia, Skoplje and Zagreb—entire Party organisations opposed the bourgeois-nationalist policy demanding that the Central Committee of the Party should abandon the path of treachery along which the nationalist leadership was taking it.

Seeing that they lacked support among either the Party or the people, the Tito-ites resorted to terror hoping in this way to halt the growing mistrust of the Party for the leadership, and break the resistance of the healthy forces. The cruelty of the Rankovic terror in Yugoslavia surpasses even that of the Gestapo and the Hiller invaders.

Arrests and murder of honest Communists known to favour friendship with the Soviet Union have taken on a mass scale. During the week that followed the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, the Rankovic janissaries threw 80 Communists—officers and junior commanders of the Yugoslav Army—into the Belgrade military prison.

Talking glibly about “democracy” in the Yugoslav Communist Party and proclaiming new “theories” about building Socialism, the bourgeois nationalists set out to commit dastardly acts. One of Rankovic’s henchmen, S. Penezic, Serbian Minister of the Interior, made this revealing statement at a meeting of officials of the State Security Board (UDB) from the districts bordering on Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria “After person caught on the border should be closely examined. If he turns out to be a Party member he should be quietly killed on the spot, no matter who he is, Central Committee member or Minister. The execution must be reported but there is no need keep such people in prison”.

The janissaries are diligently putting this order into effect. “Killed while attempting to escape” is an old Gestapo method, a favourite of the hangmen. They killed Arso Jovanovic, hero of the Yugoslav people in this way. In August 1948, at the village of Zombol, near Kikind, UDB men shot three Rumanian comrades, who supported the Information Bureau Resolution. Too cowardly to face their victims, the executioners staged an “escape” and shot their unsuspecting victims in the back. The man responsible for this execution is Andjelkovic, chief of the UDB highways department. He is getting considerable experience in this kind of thing. A few days later he shot seven more people “while attempting to escape.”

In the Toplicevo region, Comrade Janja, Secretary of the regional Party committee, was killed “on a hunting trip”. At Mali Hetin near Zrenjanin, four other comrades were killed. In the district centre of Ruma, Jovan Todorovic, Communist and partisan since 1941, was killed in a hotel. The number of victims of the Rankovic terror is enormous.

The regime in the prisons and concentration camps filled with Communists and honest patriots who rebelled against the Tito-Rankovic clique is so terrible that it would make the “holy fathers” of the Inquisition envious. Letter of prisoners who managed to escape from the Rankovic torture-chambers, reveal a grim picture of the physical annihilation of hundreds and thousands of Yugoslav Communists. No method of betraying the people is too vile for the bourgeois nationalists who have

entrenched themselves in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The baseness of the Rankovic provocateurs goes to the length of stirring up distrust between brothers and sisters, parents and children. In its numerous directives the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party orders each Communist to become an informer, spying on colleagues and acquaintances.

The UDH rules the Party. All Party organs are under its control. The leaders of the majority of the Party organisations are Rankovic agents. One of the orders of lieutenant-colonel Karic, assistant commander of the Fifth Department of the Serbian UPB, reads: "We have insufficient information about the real sentiments of the Party membership. The net-work of agents in the Party and in towns, villages and regions must be extended immediately, and complete control of all Party organisations and committees ensured. Anyone who has supported the Information Bureau Resolution, should be arrested at once; anyone showing signs of vacillation should be closely watched and all possible information about him collected. Detailed reports on the situation in Party organisations should be sent in the course of ten days to the address: No. 25/1 UDB of Serbia, lieutenant-colonel Radivoi Radovic". Tito and Rankovic lavishly reward their servants for each example of provocation and treachery. In Zemun, Salih Djaferagic, a UDB major, insolently boasted that if he could catch two or three more Communists supporting the Information Bureau Resolution, he would be promoted to lieutenant-colonel. In the course of six months the provocateur Savo Joksimovic, assassin of Comrade Ilya Bulatovic in Montenegro, "advanced" from being a major to major-general. Bojidar Maslarie, who distinguished himself in slandering the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, has been rewarded with the post of Minister of Communications. The traitor Dimitrie Georgevic, a UDB colonel, "rose" to the rank of lieutenant-general in less than a year.

In their struggle against Communists and honest patriots the Yugoslav bourgeois nationalists are making use of declassified elements, former Gestapo agents and policemen who place wealth and rank above the interests of their people.

The Rankovic terror took us Yugoslav Communists unawares. We suffered from illusions and never believed that our frank and open criticism of the Party leadership would be dealt with in this manner. Many of our comrades began to discuss the policy of the Central Committee at Party meetings in a Communist fashion. We supported the Information Bureau Resolution in the hope that the problems it raised would be solved on the basis of democratic principles by a free expression of the will of the majority of the membership.

The brutal persecution of honest Communists by the Rankovic janissaries compelled the healthy forces in the Party to find other methods of combating the nationalists who had seized the leadership of the Party and the country. The question arose of going underground. This was a difficult matter, and its realisation took some time. At first a section of the Party members vacillated, still nursing illusions about the possibility of a peaceful solution of the "controversy", as some people at that time defined the treachery of the bourgeois-nationalist Tito-Rankovic clique.

But despite the difficulties, underground groups of genuine Communists and youth grew up spontaneously setting themselves the task of resolutely combating the Titoites. In Belgrade, Zagreb and Montenegro leaflets appeared exposing the treachery on the Party leadership and calling on the people to fight nationalism. These true Communists circulated news broadcasts from Moscow, Budapest and Prague.

Gradually the mistrust created among the membership by the Rankovic provocateurs

began to disappear, and the separate groups began to contact each other and work together.

In letter to the journal "Nova Borba", Belgrade University students wrote: "We are answering the intensified terror of the traitors with more resolute and organised struggle against the Tito-Rankovic clique. We are forming groups and circles, we listen to Moscow radio, read and circulate "Nova Borba", and give other students hard facts about the treachery of the Tito-Rankovic clique. We will do our utmost to keep our University a centre of struggle against the enemies of the working class." But this is not only indicative of the situation at Belgrade University. At hundreds of factories, in towns and villages, and everywhere where there are Communists and genuine patriots, the movement against the traitors of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party is growing in numbers and scope.

When the leaders of the underground organisations were faced with the task of helping the starving families of those Communists who had been killed or imprisoned, thousands of factory and office workers and peasants rallied to their aid, giving all they had. The working people of our country know that their future depends on their participation in the struggle against the traitors. The people are sheltering comrades persecuted by the Rankovic janissaries, helping them materially, warning them of the danger, circulating leaflets and newspapers and sabotaging the measures of the Tito-Rankovic clique.

in protest against the disastrous situation to which the criminal policy of the present Yugoslav leaders has brought the working people, workers of many enterprises have had recourse to strike action. Organised actions of workers took place at the Shtura iron and steel works, at the carriage-building works in Maribor and other places. Despite the draconic measures of the authorities and the UDB, Yugoslav working people are avoiding all the so-called voluntary work. The youth newspaper "Omladina" for June 7, wrote that "in April the programme of drawing young people into the Five-Year Plan jobs was fulfilled only by 80.6 per cent". In No. 57, May 17, "Omladina" wrote: "In the course of one month 75 out of 184 young workers left the iron and steel plant in Zeniza, and 355 out of 758 young workers left the Kreka mine". As evident from the statement by V. Shestan, of the Central Council of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia, published in the same newspaper on April 28, the Tito-ites this year had to send 80,000 men and officers of the Army to the Belgrade-Zagreb motor road. This is how "construction by the youth" and "voluntary" labour look in reality.

Many Communists who were threatened with persecution by the Rankovic janissaries emigrated to the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. Thanks to the wide support given them by public opinion in these countries they have been able to take an active part in the struggle against the bourgeois nationalists who have betrayed the interests of our country and our people.

At present the Communist political emigrants issue four newspapers. "For a Socialist Yugoslavia!", "Nova Borba", "Under the Banner of Internationalism", "Napred", as well as other publications which are of great help to our comrades in their work of exposing the treachery of the Tito clique.

Each day our newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets are circulated among the people on an ever greater scale, reaching the most remote corners of the country. People are looking for them, reading them, passing them from hand to hand, recopying them. No terror or obstacle put up by Rankovic and his servants can bar the voice of truth, the words that call on Communists and all honest patriots to fight against the traitors to the motherland.

Tito and Rankovic are aware of their impotence. Even in the ranks of the UDB many Party members understand what a loathsome and shameful role they are playing. These comrades are coming into contact with underground organisations, helping to expose provocateurs, giving warnings and saving the lives of the condemned Communists. In the UDB's plain clothes department, 20 men refused to obey orders. In Sarajevo the UDB colonels Stane Kovacevic, Rajko Petruka and Nenad Vasic—all of them partisans since 1941—were arrested for opposition to the nationalist policy of the Central Committee of the Party. The life of Comrade Riban, chief of the department of the interior of the Zagreb people's committee, was tragically cut short. This comrade chose death rather than carry out the orders of the hangmen to arrest and kill honest Communists.

Suppressing real patriots and genuine Communists of Yugoslavia and driving the healthy forces underground, the bourgeois-nationalists have turned the Yugoslav Communist Party into auxiliary political apparatus of the hangman Rankovic. All genuine Yugoslav Communists and the working class must re-create a party faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We can and must fulfil this task, for the future of our country depends on the re-creation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy!
No. 14 (41) FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1949

YUGOSLAV NATIONALISTS ALLY WITH GREEK MONARCHO-FASCISTS **JAN MAREK**

The Ellas Press Agency reports a Communique from the General Headquarters of the Greek Democratic Army stating that on July 5 monarcho-fascist troops in the Kaimakchalan region entered Yugoslav territory in order to attack Democratic Army units from the rear. At 10.30 p. m. the monarcho-fascist troops crossed the border a second time.

According to the "Elefleri Ellada" agency, a meeting of Yugoslav, Greek monarcho-fascist and American and British officers took place on Yugoslav territory. After the meeting the Yugoslav officers signed an order permitting the monarcho-fascists free movement in crossing Yugoslav territory. The monarcho-fascist delegation to the meeting was headed by Petropulos, Commander of the 516th monarcho-fascist unit. After the meeting units of the monarcho-fascist troops crossed the border on to Yugoslav territory.

The bare words of these agency reports give the facts without any comment. Nevertheless, they are an indictment of the entire counter-revolutionary Tito regime. The news of the Tito traitors stabbing the Greek revolutionaries in the back has shocked and angered democrats and honest people in all lands.

The plot between Tito and Tsaldaris recalls the secret agreement concluded between the Czar's and Metternich's police for joint struggle against the revolutionary movement.

To what depths have the Tito-ites descended!

The Tito-ites have "refuted" these facts reported by the two Greek telegraphic agencies. But what does another false "refutation" mean to swindlers who long ago lost count of their mass-produced "refutations" and slanderous statements? No matter how the Djilases and Rankovices try to remove the traces, it is clear that they are helping the Greek monarcho-fascists.

How can they do anything else but help Tsaldaris, when both Tsaldaris and Tito serve one and the same master—the Anglo-American imperialists. Bought with the same coin they are bound with the same dollar chain. What moral yard-stick is there to stop the Tito-ites from betraying the Greek people when they are ruthlessly eliminating honest Communists in their own country? Can people who obey the orders of British and American officers and who assist the executioners of the Greek people think of the interests of the working people?

This is where the logic of events has brought Judas Tito. From being a Marshal he has descended the scale and is now an obedient and diligent sergeant in the service of Anglo-American officers, turning a free country into a concentration camp and into a bridgehead for suppressing the revolutionary movement not only of his own people but also of the neighbouring peoples.

FROM. For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy!
No. 14 (41); FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1949

STOP THE ATROCITIES OF THE HANGMEN OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE!

In their news-papers “For Socialist Yugoslavia!”, “Under the Banner of Internationalism!”, “New Borba”, and “Forward!” Yugoslav revolutionary emigrants in the Soviet Union, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have issued a call to all working people of Yugoslavia and to world democratic opinion to raise their voices in protest at the fascist tortures and extermination of the best fighters of the working class and the working people of Yugoslavia.

The call says that in their attempt to suppress the steadily growing resistance to their treacherous, anti-popular policy, Tito and Rankovic, the bloodthirsty hangmen of the Yugoslav people, are throwing hundreds and thousands of the finest Yugoslav patriots into prison and specially organised concentration camps. The prisoners are tortured in ways which overshadow the horrors of the Inquisition.

For many months now Yugoslavia has been in the clutches of a terror, that can only be compared with the cruelty of Franco in Spain and the monarcho-fascists in Greece. It is directed, above all, against the working class, against its most militant and finest section, the Yugoslav Communists.

“Glavnjaca”, the former royal prison, cannot cope with the increasing number of the hangman Rankovic' victims. Today even big villas in Belgrade hastily adapted all prisons, are being used to jail Yugoslav patriots. But even this has proved insufficient. To deal with the situation the Tito clique has set up a number of concentration camps all over the country where the same brutal regime reigns in the “Glavnjaca”.

The “Zabela” camp is the most horrible of all. According to two Communists who escaped from this camp, second Lieutenant Vladimir Glumats and Rade Peshut, secretary of the Sonta village Party organisation, the camp differs in no way from the Nazi concentration camps. Here, after being beaten up the prisoners are thrown nude, into concrete cellars where the water is knee-high. They stay there for weeks and rarely get out alive. To terrorise prisoners in the “Kostolats” camp, where the people are working under the most difficult conditions underground, each day the executioners shoot some of those in front of the line.

Numerous letters from Yugoslavia report new facts of, atrocities against genuine patriots—facts which chill the blood. After being tortured the victims are carried out on blood-soaked sheets. Many prisoners have been brutally mutilated.

On the night of May 11 last the people of Novi Sad witnessed a terrible scene: the mutilated bodies of prisoners were carried from the jail through the streets of the town in a sewage cart. In "Glavnjaca" and other jails the prisoners are starved, brutally beaten up, blinded by powerful electric lamps, and chained for months in water-logged cells. Comrade Sreten Djuiovic member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Comrade Andria Hebrang, member of the Central Committee, Colonel Moma Djuric and many other heroes of the liberation struggle are subjected to these tortures. Djuiovic, who is kept in a windowless cell is forbidden to move.

After such "treatment" these people, innocent of any crime, are doomed to slow, agonizing death: they get 120 grams of bread and a litre of watery soup each a day. The result is that 40 per cent of them are now suffering from tuberculosis.

The "Glavnjaca" prisoners write that they are so exhausted that during their 15 minute exercise time they are only able to walk in the prison yard by leaning against the wall. Many of the prisoners have no strength to walk out of their cells and therefore cannot even profit from these rare exercises.

The families of the arrested and persecuted patriots are deprived of all means of existence and are also threatened with death from starvation.

All these facts show that the blood-thirsty Tito-Rankovic clique has set itself the terrible aim of exterminating all honest people who condemn and combat its treacherous anti-popular policy.

The Yugoslav revolutionary emigrants call upon world democratic opinion to raise its voice in protest against this fascist regime of the torture and extermination of the best fighters of the working class and the working people in Yugoslavia who are heroically struggling against the colonial enslavement of Yugoslavia carried out by the Tito-Rankovic imperialist agency which has won its terrible notoriety as a gang of blood-crazed hangmen. This is the Yugoslav patriots' call to the world:

"Stop the bloody axe of the executioners Tito and Rankovic!"

"All forces of democratic opinion for the struggle against the terrorist and anti-popular regime in Yugoslavia!"

"All help to the heroic peoples of Yugoslavia!"

**From *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!*
No. 15 (42), 1 August, 1949**

FAILURE OF TITO'S COLONISATION PLAN FOR ALBANIA.

**Enver Hodja, General Secretary,
Workers' Party of Albania**

A Two-Year State Plan (1949-1950) to develop the national economy has been adopted in the People's Republic of Albania. The Plan marks a further step forward in developing and strengthening the foundation of Socialism in the country.

The Plan allows for the biggest capital investments to be made mainly in the four leading branches of economy: basic industry; mining and oil drilling; agriculture; transport. Capital investments in these four sections, account for 86.78 per cent of the total investments planned; 13.22 per cent of the capital investments are allocated for the remaining branches of the national economy, including local building, public health, the people's education, and so on.

The success of the Plan of the Albanian People's Republic is due to the assistance Albania is receiving from the Soviet Union and the fraternal people's

republics. The Soviet Union has given Albania credits for equipment for her young industry. For example, it is supplying machinery and high voltage cables for a hydro-electric power station; machinery and piping for the oil industry, the copper and chromium mines; tractors and combines; engines and machinery for industry, transport and building; equipment for a textile mill in Tirana, for two wood-working factories, and much other equipment. In 1951-1952 it will supply equipment for an oil refinery with a yearly productive capacity of 150,000 tons, for an electric power station and a medium wave radio station of 60 kilowatts. The Soviet Union will also carry out scientific research work in a number of industries and will provide technicians to advise on installations of equipment.

The fraternal people's republics are also giving Albania credits for industrial material and transport equipment. Poland is sending two ships, Diesel engines, industrial coke, sugar and textiles; Czechoslovakia is sending heavy trucks, fire fighting equipment, all kinds of apparatus and instruments, machinery, school equipment, agricultural machines, glass and china. Hungary is sending telegraph and telephone equipment, aluminium utensils, shoe-leather and other consumer goods; Rumania is sending petrol, cement, roofing materials, and paper, fishing boats, nails, wheat, maize and oats; Bulgaria is sending steel wire, veneers, horses, pigs and pedigree cows. In exchange Albania is exporting the small amount of industrial and agricultural products and material the country has.

Without the large-scale and disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union, the great friend of the Albanian people, without the mutual assistance and friendship of the fraternal people's republics. Albania would not only be very backward in its economic and political development but its freedom won in the struggle against the fascist invaders at the cost of bloodshed and sacrifice would be in danger.

The truth is that the bourgeois-nationalist Tito clique has done everything to turn Albania into its colony. The assistance of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies has enabled tiny Albania to withstand the machinations of the imperialist agents.

The Two-Year Plan became possible only after the Tito clique's hostile activities against Albania had been exposed and counteracted. The Albanian People's Republic had to wage a sharp struggle against gross interference in its home affairs by the Yugoslav Government and its leader, the traitor Tito.

For some years the Tito-ites have been employing all ways and means of colonising Albania. Tito tried to follow Mussolini's policy toward Albania in 1939.

The Belgrade nationalists acted the same way, trying to bring to life the Greater Serbia dream of the Serbian bourgeoisie and the Serbian kings. According to Tito, Albania should have been annexed to Yugoslavia. Taking advantage of the friendly relations established between the Albanian and Yugoslav peoples during their joint struggle against the invaders, the Tito gang systematically began to seek Albania's liquidation as an independent and sovereign state. Tito's tactics were indeed diabolic, for the imperialist agent hid behind a Communist mask, the mask of the friend of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

The Tito clique started its attempt to colonise Albania by granting it a disadvantageous loan. Albania was to work for Yugoslavia and under guidance from Belgrade. Through economic pressure the Tito-ites forced Albania to abolish tariffs and tried to gain control of her mines. During the last period of his sojourn in Albania a Tito agent, Slavo Zlatic, went as far as to suggest that relations between Yugoslavia and Albania should be established on similar lines to those between the Benelux countries.

At one time Albania believed that the Tito's puppy Moshe Pijade had defended her sovereignty during secret negotiations with Tsaldaris, when he refused to accept the Greek premier's suggestion to partition Albania. But now it has become clear what Tito gang really hoped for. Tito and Moshe Pijade did not accept Tsaldaris' proposal to partition Albania because they were sure that the country was already in their pocket. After this, the Tito-ites, tried to bring their forces into Albania, to provoke an international incident and then occupy Albania under the pretext of defending it, putting their agents led by Kochi Xoxe in power. In this way they hoped to realise their dream of creating a "Greater Yugoslavia" stretching to the Aegean—a powerful bulwark of reaction in the Balkans, a fascist bridgehead directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. American imperialism found a suitable pawn in the person of Tito, the newly-hatched fascist dictator, a pretender to the role of Mussolini in South-East Europe.

Knowing very well that the Albanian Government would refuse to cooperate with them, the Tito clique provocatively raised the question of draining the Skodra Lake. The main aim of the Tito clique in this provocation was the struggle for Montenegro. The heroic Montenegrin people who courageously fought for freedom, for real democracy, fraternity with the Soviet peoples and close friendship with the Albanian people are now under the yoke of the Tito gang which has stifled all the age-old aspirations of the peoples of Montenegro and Yugoslavia,

This oppression is unbearable for the Montenegrin people who cannot tolerate the Tito clique slandering the Soviet people who brought them freedom. The people of Montenegro hate Tito and they are fighting against him. The Tito-ites are taking measures to suppress the resistance of this small, heroic people. Using the poisonous weapon of chauvinism and nationalism they try to set the people of Montenegro against the Albanians who, they pretend, are holding up work to drain the lake.

The Tito clique make use of the programme of draining the Skodra lake first to divert the attention of the Montenegrin people from their main task of liberating themselves from the enslavers and, second, to make the Skodra lake a concentration camp of forced labour for young Montenegrins. The people of Montenegro are aware of this nefarious game and refuse to be taken in by the tricks of the Tito-ites.

The Tito gang is using the foulest methods against the Albanians in the Yugoslav districts of Kosova, Metoikia and Macedonia. The Albanians in Kosova enjoy no freedom. Formally, some Albanian schools exist. But honest and conscientious Albanians have been removed from the organs of power. The agrarian reform has been carried out formally, but now land, live-stock and agricultural products are being seized from the peasants. The nationalist Tito clique is aiming at eradicating the Albanians in Kosova. It is planning to call-up seven groups of Albanians by which all the men of Kosova will be transferred from their homeland to camps, in the Banat and Slovenia. This crime against the Albanians in Kosova is a new crime against mankind.

The Belgrade gangsters have been defending the hangmen of Kosova and the Intelligence Service agents such as Gani Bekeriezu. They support such Albanian agents as Zen Elesi, Dan Kaleshi and others to use against the new Albania and also to suppress and eliminate the Albanians in Kosova.

The nationalist Tito clique is whipping up the old discord and chauvinism among the Serbs, Albanians and Montenegrins in Kosova. Courageous Montenegrin patriots who protect the Albanian population of Kosova against the Tito clique are

thrown into prison and tortured to death. The Tito-ites are trying very hard to prevent fraternal relations between the Albanians and the Yugoslavs. This fraternity is necessary because only through genuine fraternity between the Yugoslav peoples and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is it possible to safeguard the people of Yugoslavia against the catastrophe toward which Tito and his gang are leading them; only in this way will the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Albanian minority in Kosova, Metoikia and Macedonia win their freedom and their legitimate rights.

The Tito-ites are waging a fierce campaign of slander against Albania. Following the tactics of Tsaldaris they provoke armed incidents on the North border and make air attacks, violating Albania's sovereignty. They stand in the way of Albanian citizens passing through Yugoslavia, refusing them visas on utterly false pretexts. But little, heroic Albania is not afraid of threats or blackmail. The people of Albania and the Albanian People's Republic are gaining in strength every day, tempering themselves in the struggle. They firmly and resolutely stand in the socialist camp.

Albania's economic policy has already started to yield results. The working people of town and countryside have correctly understood and accepted the Government's new economic decrees. After defeating the Tito agency in the country and getting rid of the bourgeois-nationalist pressure of the Tito clique, the Albanian People's Republic is successfully mobilising the people to solve the vital economic and political tasks.

Albania possesses rich natural resources which should be fully exploited. In view of this, the Two-Year Plan envisages the maximum capital investments for industry and mining. However, some short-sighted people do not see the glorious future of our country. They consider it would be preferable if ins (SCANNING ERROR: COULD BE LIGHT INDUSTRY-OR AGRICULTURE.) lead of developing industry, which is of major significance, the country were to import consumer goods—in other words, if it were to live only on imports. Failure to build our own industry to exploit the country's natural resources, an industry capable of satisfying the people's needs at low prices, but instead to live only on imports would mean that the country would go bankrupt. The people prefer to increase the output of oil, chromium, copper, nickel and bauxite which are plentiful in the country. The Two-Year Plan aims to exploit these resources and place them at the service of the people.

With its disinterested assistance the Soviet Union facilitates the development of the national industry of small countries and peoples, and the strengthening of economic independence and national sovereignty of the countries that have taken the path of democracy and Socialism. A diametrically opposite path is the line of American imperialism in relation to Marshallised Europe. The Tito-ites, are following this path, imitating their imperialist masters in their attitude to small nations.

The broad masses of the working people of Albania have enthusiastically welcomed the Two-Year Plan, for it expresses their desires. Under the guidance of the Party and the Government the people of Albania, rallied around the democratic front, will mobilise all their forces to carry out this plan which is of vital significance for the country.

From For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 15 (42), 1 August, 1949

Tito Clique's Stab in the Back to People's Democratic Greece

Nikos Zahariadis
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Greece

Every inhabitant of Greece knows very well that monarcho-fascism would not have been able to hold out for a few months had it not been for the all-round and open aid of the American and British imperialists.

Our main difficulties arise from the fact that the Anglo-American imperialists are stubbornly trying to retain a foothold in Greece. The country is highly important to them for strategic reasons, and they are trying to turn it into a vital bridge head against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. Churchill's old plans in this respect, for instance, are well-known. However, foreign imperialism's positions in Greece were badly shaken last year by the military defeat of monarcho-fascism in the Grammos-Vitsi area and by the collapse of its strategic plan for 1948. The People's revolutionary movement and the democratic army extended and consolidated their positions in Peloponnesus, Rumelia, Thessaly and on the islands of Samos and Eubeia.

This placed the monarcho-fascist regime in a critical position. In their reports General Papagos, Vendiris, Tsakalotos and others openly admitted that army morale had been shaken. Hundreds of men and officers were shot. King Paul himself was compelled to speak about the moral crisis in the army. The Athens clique was in severe economic difficulties and the political crisis was steadily sapping the foundations of monarcho-fascism. Both at home and abroad, people who were by no means our friends began to realise that the only way out for the reactionaries was to reach a peaceful settlement and conclude an agreement.

The treachery of the Tito clique was disclosed at the very moment when the crisis of monarcho-fascism was coming to a head. Tito's treachery meant serious new difficulties for our people's democratic movement, for it strengthened the determination of the Anglo-American imperialists to retain, at all costs, their hold on Greece for the very purpose of making full use of the Tito clique and extending their base in the Balkans. At the same time the Tito clique's over to the camp of imperialism raised the deflated hopes of monarcho-fascism.

The people's democratic movement of our country has never, since the time of the first occupation, known of such a cunning and foul enemy as the Tito clique. The Great Serbia chauvinism of the Titoites in relation to the resistance movement in Greece was evident as far back as 1943, when the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party declared that the people of Aegean Macedonia could only win their liberation within the framework of Yugoslavia. The corollary of this was that it was the prime duty of all Macedonian patriots to fight against the Communist Party of Greece and EAM and instead to collaborate with the Tito agents.

This was the directive followed by Tito's man in Aegean Macedonia, Tempo (Vukmanovic). This was the directive applied in practice by their chief agent, Goce. Today it is being carried out by Goce-Koramidjiev gang. During all these years the Tito clique sent thousands of its agents into the Communist Party of Greece and into EAM with the job of undermining the Communist Party of Greece and splitting the unity of the people's liberation movement.

It is clear that Greek reaction and Anglo-American imperialism could not have found a better ally than the Tito clique. The following detail is extremely characteristic: in October 1944 when the British landed in Greece, Tempo at the head of the provocative movement against the Communist Party of Greece, informed the

Communists of Aegean Macedonia that he has asked Tito for two divisions to occupy Salonika. This was before the December events; the British were not sure that they could hold Greece. Preferring to see Salonika occupied by Tito than in the hands of ELAS, the British parachuted weapons onto the aerodrome at Grupista. These were sent on to Vapsori by Tito's agents - Tempo, Goce and Pios - to be used against ELAS. Even during the Hitler occupation Goce and Pios formed groups of Macedonian and collaborated with Tempo. It can be regarded as an established fact that, as a consequence, Evans, former representative of the British military mission in Macedonia, insisted on the network of these groups being extended. It was at the help of these groups that Goce, Pios and Keramidjiev carried out their disruptive activities against the people's liberation movement in Greece.

In December 1944 Tito, who dreamt of snatching Salonika from people's democratic Greece, did nothing to help us fight the British, in spite of all his earlier pompous statements. If anything, he stepped up his slander campaign against the Communist Party of Greece, especially Aegean Macedonia.

Tito organised the mass emigration of Macedonians to Yugoslavia thus depriving Aegean Macedonia of its Macedonian population. Incidentally, the Greek monarcho-fascists have been trying to do the same thing for many years, hoping to change the ethnical composition Aegean Macedonia. Then again, the Titoites are trying to recruit agents from these refugees who, after the necessary training, are sent to Greece to operate against the Communist Party of Greece, EAM and our people's revolutionary movement.

Since 1943 the Greek Communist Party and revolutionary movement have been two fires: on the one side the foreign imperialists and monarcho-fascist, on the other- the Tito clique and its executive organ, the Goce- Keramidjiev gang which had and still has hundreds of Yugoslav intelligence servicemen in Aegean Macedonia. In 1944, acting on orders from Skopje, Goce crossed over to Yugoslavia with his detachment. Today Goce and Keramidjiev have their headquarters in Skopje.

Time and again the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece drew the attention of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party to the counter-revolutionary actions of these agents, proved by irrefutable documentary evidence, and demanded that their activities should be stopped. The Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, however, did not do a thing to cut short these provocation actions. It has been proved beyond doubt that Hristos Vlachos, who in 1947 in Salonika killed Yannis Zevgos, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Greek Party, was an agent of the Yugoslav intelligence, service and had received his instruction from Skopje. He arrived in Salonika on orders of the Yugoslav intelligence, placed himself at the disposal of General Zervas, an agent of the British Intelligence Service, and later murdered Zevgos. Five monarcho-fascist officers, some of them murderers of the people, escaped to Yugoslavia from a war prisoner's camp with the help of Rankovic. The Central committee of the Yugoslav Party stated that it knew absolutely nothing about this, even though we gave them details of the date and the exact spot where the monarcho-fascists had crossed the border. Border officers and soldiers had informed us that the monarcho-fascists had crossed into Yugoslavia.

We have captured dozens of Yugoslav intelligence officers. In December 1948 two Yugoslav agents, Gunaris Menos and Gallios Mitsos, were detained in Prespa. These agents disclosed the names of the Yugoslav intelligence officers who had sent them and the assignment they had been given.

The Communist Party of Greece has at its disposal other damning proof of the treachery and disruptive activity of the Tito clique against the revolutionary movement in Greece. The nationalist gang of the treacherous Yugoslav leadership was always a mortal enemy to the Communist Party and people of Greece. Recent events are fresh evidence that the Tito clique helped and is continuing to help Greek and international reaction against the Greek people more and more openly.

In its communiqué of July 6, 1949 the General Headquarters of the Democratic Army stated that on July 5, 1949 monarcho-fascist troops used Yugoslav territory in order to bypass units of the Democratic Army in the Kaimakchalan area. The same day the "Free Greece" telegraph agency, basing itself on an official document (the report of lieutenant colonel Petropoulos, commander of the monarcho-fascists' 516th battalion, to General Grigoropoulos, commander of the 3rd army corps), reported that on July 4, 1949, that is, on the eve of the day when the monarcho-fascists crossed Yugoslav territory, a meeting of Yugoslav and monarcho-fascist Greek officers had been held in the area of Popovolossi and Kaimakchalan. This meeting was attended by British and American officers. The Tanjug agency did not refute this fact, neither did the representative of the British Foreign Office when asked about this meeting. Again, neither did Tito deny it in his speech at Pola (Istria), on July 10, 1949. Like the Tanjug agency, he merely tried to refute the fact that an agreement had been reached allowing the monarcho-fascist to use Yugoslav territory.

Such was the Belgrade version when the United Nations Balkan Commission in Athens published its communiqué on July 21, 1949. The sole aim of this communiqué was to cover up Tito's collaboration with the monarcho-fascists, a collaboration that had been laid bare by the General Headquarters of the Democratic Army and the Free Greece radio on July 6, 1949. This communiqué of the Balkan Commission is highly significant since, to begin with, for the first time in its history the Commission admitted that the monarcho-fascists had violated the Yugoslav frontier in the Kaimakchalan area on many occasions. It claimed, however, that this had been done by artillery and aircraft and not by infantry. Secondly, the communiqué admitted that a meeting of monarcho-fascist and Yugoslav officers had been held in the Kaimakchalan area.

After the Tito clique's betrayal of the Greek people's liberation struggle had been exposed in the eyes of progressive mankind and the Yugoslav people, the Yugoslav leaders found it necessary to mobilise yet another provocateur. On July 24, following the example of Tito and Djilas, Kardelj also made a statement to Tanjug on the Greek question. He denied everything: the agreement with Tsaldaris, the negotiations in the Kaimakchalan area, and the use of Yugoslav territory by the monarcho-fascists. He concluded by giving the Jesuit assurance that the Belgrade Government "continues to sympathise" with the movement of the Greek people, but that it "cannot force its assistance on them" and that "the agents of the Information Bureau who slandered Tito" are responsible for this.

We have never doubted the sympathy of the Yugoslav people. As for those who are responsible, "The Times" makes it clear when it writes that in his statement at Pola, Tito gave the Americans the necessary guarantees in advance for the dollars which he needs.

In order to mask their treachery, the traitors Tito, Djilas, Kardelj and company would have the world believe that morale of the Greek democrats is at a low ebb and that they are losing confidence in victory. As a matter of fact these Titoites are doing everything to undermine the morale of the Greek democrats. Tito's treachery and his long-standing subversive activities against the people's democratic movement in

Greece are causing us serious difficulties. Tito has a deadly hatred for the Greek people's liberation movement and is viciously fighting against it. But he is mistaken, and so are his monarcho-fascist allies and their common masters, if they think that they will be able to crush us.

Throughout Greece – in Rumelia, Thessaly, Peloponnesus, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace and on the islands – the Greek Democratic Army is continuing its struggle against the enemy with unshaken courage in the face of enormous difficulties. A broad strike movement covering tens of thousands of factory and office workers is gaining strength in the cities. Hundreds of thousands of peasants who are literally starving to death in the cities where they have been forcibly driven by the monarcho-fascists, hate the Athens Government with all their soul. Reaction in Greece is in the throes of an economic, political and moral crisis from which it can find no way out. The Greek Democratic Army will come face to face with monarcho-fascism in the great battles that will be fought in Grammos and Vitsi.

We are fight because we want peace, because we want to establish democracy and the independence of Greece. Reaction is out for war. It wants to crush us at all costs and is using the Tito clique for this purpose. Thanks to the assistance and solidarity of progressive mankind, including the Yugoslav people, the people of Greece will be victorious both in war and will win a people's democracy and national independence.

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

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THE TITOITES—SERVANTS OF IMPERIALISM.

**Rudolf Slansky, General Secretary,
Communist Party, Czechoslovakia**

After the break with the Communist Parties, the clique of Yugoslav nationalists slipped into the bog of capitalism with lightning speed. Those who a year ago still tried to conceal from the Yugoslav people their hatred of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, are now, with the full consent of the imperialists, imitating their anti-Soviet language and even trying to excel them.

In order to crush the revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia, and to eradicate the deep sympathy of the Yugoslav people for the Soviet Union, the Tito clique has set up a fascist-Gestapo regime. It is annihilating the best, honest sons of the people. Yugoslavia has been turned into a concentration camp, power has been seized by the agents of imperialism who are doing their utmost to earn the praise of their masters. The Tito clique is a gang of murderers, lusting for wealth and filled with hatred for the socialist camp.

The Tito-ites, who are doing nothing whatsoever against the imperialist camp, have concentrated all their forces in the struggle against Socialism.

How can anti-imperialist speeches be made, or the predatory and military plans of the Anglo-American monopolists be exposed when the Tito-ites are establishing extensive trade relations with them and are asking for credits, when they have gone over to the camp of foreign capital.

Everybody today knows what it means to orientate foreign trade on the capitalist countries and to ask for credits from the American monopolists. It means placing one's country and one's people at the mercy of the imperialist exploiters, being subservient to them; it means carrying out the orders of the imperialist creditors and giving them a free hand in the internal affairs of the country; it means allowing them to dictate home and foreign policy. The working people of the Marshall countries—Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Britain—are well aware of this.

This is the path being taken by Yugoslavia where power has been forcibly seized by the clique of bourgeois nationalists. This makes it clear why the representatives of the Yugoslav bourgeois-nationalist clique are systematically spreading the lie that the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies want to keep Yugoslavia on the level of a backward agrarian country and to exploit her. The Yugoslav traitors have to make these false assertions in order to impress upon the Yugoslav people that the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies are hostile to Yugoslavia and that therefore, an alliance with capitalism is the "lesser evil". The Tito-ites assailed Czechoslovakia when it was forced recently to annul its trade agreement with Yugoslavia because the Yugoslav Government was not meeting its obligations. Yugoslavia failed to deliver valuable raw materials stipulated in the agreement but it eagerly sold these same materials to the capitalist countries. Yugoslavia thus owed us for goods. The Tito-ites claimed that Czechoslovakia, too, was only interested in exploiting Yugoslavia and that Yugoslavia was not benefiting from trade with Czechoslovakia.

Such assertions are made by the Yugoslav vassals of the imperialists with the object of deceiving the Yugoslav people and impressing upon them the advantage of turning to the capitalist West and trading with it.

In his speech at Pola on July 10, Tito said: "We will be paid in foreign currency for the copper, lead and other ores which we sell to the West and with this money will purchase the machines and other things we need. We are asking for credits and will accept them from the Western capitalists—R. S.) for we need these credits. And those who grant such credits will also benefit from this for we shall use these credits to purchase goods and machinery from them."

Thus, according to Tito, Yugoslavia did not benefit from its trade relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. On the other hand it found trade with the Anglo-American monopolists beneficial and profitable! And this trade will be beneficial and profitable even though based on onerous credits granted by the Anglo-Americans!

This is how the Yugoslav nationalists want to build "Socialism" with their own forces! What kind of "socialist construction" is it that the Anglo-American imperialists are so ready to support? It is the kind of "Socialism" needed by the imperialists, the kind that will serve their interests and help them exploit the Yugoslav people. As in the case of the Marshall countries, the imperialists will supply Yugoslavia with the minimum of machinery and other valuable goods, will begin to flood Yugoslavia with the type of goods they must dispose of in view of the approaching crisis; they will purchase, at their own price, Yugoslav copper and tin to meet their war needs.

We see the same thing happening in Belgium. Belgium is selling Congo ore to the Americans and is forced to buy American goods. This is undermining Belgium's industry and swelling the country's unemployed army. The onerous terms of American trade and credits account for the acute financial crisis that today grips such a highly industrially developed country like Great Britain. Britain, too, is beginning to realise what economic dependence on the American monopolists means.

Tito is simply deceiving the Yugoslav people when he tells them that the American robber imperialists will treat "socialist" Yugoslavia better than Britain.

The Yugoslav nationalists are beginning to dance to the tune of the Americans. They already support the imperialist instigators of war by carrying out anti-Soviet provocations. They are spreading nationalist slanders against the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Albanian and Rumanian peoples. They have reached agreement with the Greek monarcho-fascists for joint struggle against the heroically battling Greek people. In foreign policy they have passed into the camp of imperialism; they are ruthlessly wiping out the genuine revolutionaries in the country.

To justify their despicable collaboration with the imperialists, a collaboration that has been steadily growing since the betrayal of the socialist front, the Yugoslav nationalists claim that the People's Democracies also are trading with capitalist states. In this connection they particularly point to Czechoslovakia whose foreign trade with the capitalist countries they claim is extensive and who, they allege, is also receiving credits from the West.

Here, again, the Tito-ites are distorting the actual state of affairs. Since February 1948 the capitalists have been so "fond" of Czechoslovak people's democracy that they are not giving Czechoslovakia any credits! They are so "fond" of Czechoslovakia that they are steadily whittling down their trade with that country, and the American imperialists are even refusing to sell Czechoslovakia different kind of machines and industrial equipment. The U.S. Government has gone so far as to withhold the export licence for machines which have already been paid for to the sum of 26,500,000 dollars. We are not receiving equipment for a steel mill which we purchased from the "Slabbing" firm in the United States and nor which we have paid 14,000,000 dollars. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, is being supplied with this equipment.

But the Western capitalists "hate" the "Socialism of Tito, Rankovic and the rest to such an extent that they are ready to negotiate with them, to conclude trade and economic agreements with them and to increase considerably Yugoslavia's foreign trade turnover. Yugoslavia recently signed a trade agreement with France which provides for a yearly exchange of goods to the sum of 12 billion francs: Also a five-year investment agreement (15-20 billion francs) was signed. In December 1948, an Anglo-Yugoslav financial and trade agreement was signed, providing for a £15,000,000 exchange of goods. This agreement also stipulates the payment of £4,500,000 by Yugoslavia for the nationalised property of British capitalists. An agreement has been signed with Trizonia whereby Yugoslavia will receive goods to the sum of 19,000,000 dollars in the course of the year, while Yugoslav deliveries will total 15,800,000 dollars. Apart from grain, Yugoslav supplies will mainly consist of pyrites, copper, antimony, and bauxite, in other words, the strategic materials

needed by the Ruhr's iron and steel industry. Here it should be noted that 1948 imports from Western Germany reached the sum of 1,000,000 dollars while Yugoslav exports were only 6,000 dollars.

Yugoslavia also signed recently a trade agreement with Italy.

At the end of March the "New York Herald Tribune" reported that the number of U.S. export licences to Yugoslavia was increasing. In the meantime the Yugoslav nationalists are selling copper to America. Metals, including copper and tin, to the value of 15,000,000 dollars were offered to the firm of Philip Brighter alone.

Yugoslavia has recently been negotiating with the Export-Import Bank for a 20 million dollars credit and with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a 250,000,000 dollars credit (according to "New York Herald Tribune"). The Americans have already expressed their readiness to support the request of the Tito clique, Mr. Hoare, Chairman of the American Commission of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, stated that, in general, the international bank does not grant credits to "Communist countries". He recalled that Poland had been refused credit in 1947, and Czechoslovakia in 1948. However, this bank is providing the money for the carrying out of certain plans in Yugoslavia. In exchange it will have the right to control the use of the money granted to the Yugoslav Government. As a sign of gratitude to their capitalist partners the Yugoslav nationalists have pledged to pay the British, American, Belgian and Swiss capitalists for their industries nationalised in Yugoslavia, and the pre-war debt of nearly 2 billion dinars to the United States.

All this clearly reveals the direction in which the Tito clique is heading Yugoslavia. It is orientating its economy, more and more, on the capitalist countries, is growing increasingly dependent on these countries and is steadily subordinating Yugoslavia to the imperialists.

We see the direct opposite developing in Czechoslovakia. The volume of foreign trade with the Soviet Union and the people's Democracies is steadily increasing. We know that Socialism can be built in our country only with the help of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. In general, there can be no Socialism in our country without the support of the Soviet Union. We have clearly seen that our economic relations with the Soviet Union are relations of a new type, impossible between capitalist countries.

The Soviet Union is rendering us disinterested, generous aid on the principle of equality. Proof of this is the assistance the Soviet Union gave during the drought years in Czechoslovakia. Without this assistance our country would have been faced with famine or would have been forced to throw itself at the mercy of the Western imperialists. The Soviet Union is helping us by supplying us with the valuable raw materials and machines which the capitalist West has refused to sell us and also by purchasing our industrial goods which the West is refusing to buy. The Soviet Union has also granted us a gold loan without making any discriminatory stipulations.

This support has enabled Czechoslovakia's economy to free itself from dependence on the capitalist West, and to secure the country's steady economic development.

The example of Yugoslavia clearly shows that a country which deprives itself of the reliable support of the Soviet Union is bound to become subordinate to imperialism.

There is nothing new in the fact that, for the purpose of deceiving the people, the worst and bitterest enemies of Socialism pretend to be socialists. Hitler and Himmler, too, claimed that they were socialists and even called their fascist party a socialist party. Tito and Rankovic are also much "socialists" as were Hitler and Himmler.

Every honest and progressive person will pose the question: how 'can it be that, in Yugoslavia, anyone who supports the Soviet Union and the international socialist front is hounded just as viciously and, maybe, even more viciously, than in the capitalist countries? How is it possible that Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia are persecuted and arrested in the same way, and may be even more brutally than in capitalist countries. How is it possible that the Yugoslav ruling circles speak of the great land of Socialism, of this principal bulwark of progress, with even greater hatred than the representatives of the most reactionary governments in the capitalist countries? How is it that the representatives of the Yugoslav ruling circles are abetting the struggle of the monarcho-fascists against the heroic Greek democrats that they have sealed the Yugoslav frontier to the democrats (as they themselves admit) and are allowing Greek monarcho-fascist bands to cross this frontier in order to reach the territory of democratic Greece, that they are taking the same stand as, for instance, Turkey, on the Greek question?

This is due to the fact that, now that its leaders have betrayed the front of democracy and Socialism, Yugoslavia has become a bourgeois republic and a vassal of the imperialist countries, as predicted in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties. And it is not a question of bourgeois republic where at least the remnants of formal democracy have been preserved, where the revolutionary working-class movement enjoys at least the minimum legal possibilities. Yugoslavia has become a State of brutal police terror which in no way differs from the Hitler regime of terror. The Yugoslav nationalists are inveterate bourgeois reactionaries, vassals of American imperialism whose anti-Soviet, war policy they are carrying out. And the Yugoslav people are today made to bear the burden of Tito-ite treachery.

However, the reign of terror of the Yugoslav fascists cannot last long.

The Yugoslav people and their working class, supported by the whole socialist democratic camp, will find the strength to overthrow the fascist-Gestapo regime of Tito and Rankovic, and, relying on the international forces of the working class, will take the path of building real Socialism

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

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**TITO CLIQUE HAS TURNED COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA INTO
POLICE APPARATUS.**

R. Golubovia

Imperialist reaction is doing everything to put off the hour of its defeat. It is seeking, by means of violence and deceit, provocation and intimidation, the whipping up of war hysteria and preparation for a new war against the U.S.S.R., and the People's Democracies, to bolster its domination—daily growing weaker—over the capitalist and colonial world. Establishing agencies in the ranks of the working class continues to be one of aggressive reaction's main instruments in the struggle against the forces of democracy and progress. The American imperialist agency represents the foulest and most unscrupulous gang. On the instructions of the Wall Street monopolists and for the sake of Wall Street money it commits the vilest crimes against the working class, including even the establishment of a fascist regime as is the case, for instance, in Yugoslavia.

The example of Yugoslavia glaringly reveals the machinations of imperialism's agency, its despicable methods in the struggle against the U.S.S.R. and the People's democracies, and against the entire democratic camp. Against this background the intrigues and Gestapo methods employed by the fascist Tito clique to disrupt the revolutionary struggle of the working class, to harness its people to the colonial yoke and to pave the way for an imperialist onslaught against the land of Socialism and the People's Democracies, stand out clearly. The dissemination of bourgeois ideas and bourgeois influence, the demoralisation of the masses and degradation of the country's political, economic and cultural life by fabricating foul lies and slander against the land of Socialism, against the Communist Parties and the democratic camp, the physical extermination of the finest champions of the working class, blatant provocations and calls for war against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies—such is the arsenal which the Tito gang has taken over from Hitler and Himmler.

By these methods this imperialist agency, which heads the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav State, succeeded, in alliance with its own bourgeoisie, in liquidating the Yugoslav Party as the leading force of the working class, in depriving the working class of its leading role, in wresting power from it and in establishing a fascist regime in the country thereby turning Yugoslavia into a colony of Anglo-American imperialism.

The prime task which the Tito nationalist gang set itself on the way towards realising its evil design was the destruction of the Communist Party as the leading force of the working class and its transformation into a tool of the Tito fascist policy. It is now quite clear that the Tito fascist gang had long ago set itself this task and that it was launched according to a definite plan.

This plan had two main phases. The first covers the period which preceded the open switch-over of the gang to the imperialist camp and the publication of the well-known Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party. During this first phase the throttling of the Communist Party was effected along two principal lines: firstly, along the line of organisational disintegration of the Party by enrolling kulak, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois elements, violation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of Party organisation, replacing these with military-fascist principles of command, and, secondly, along the line of substituting bourgeois ideology for Marxist-Leninist ideology in the education of cadres.

The second phase covers the period after the Resolution of the Information Bureau was published. During this phase the Tito gang began the plan of the destruction of the internationalist core of the Yugoslav Party by jailing, maltreating and murdering the finest Party member who had remained loyal to the Communist front headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). During this period the Tito fascist clique succeeded in completely turning the Yugoslav Party, the social character of which had already been changed, into an auxiliary of its fascist police apparatus.

During the war, the criterion in admitting new members into the Party was their attitude to the people's liberation struggle. This condition which at that period undoubtedly was all-important, was used by the Tito clique to enable not only petty-bourgeoisie but also numerous kulak and bourgeois elements to get into the Party. Thus, just before the war ended, the Party was flooded with bitter enemies of the working class, with members of the Ustashi, Chetnik, Nedic and other fascist organisations. Many of these had committed fearful crimes against the Yugoslav people during the war. Leaving one area of the country for another where they were not known by the masses, they joined the People's Liberation Army. As a cloak for their earlier treachery and crimes they became active at the very end of the war in the struggle against the invaders, and later were accepted into the Party. There have been numerous instances since the end of the war of these criminals being exposed while acting as leading functionaries in the Party. Brought to trial they were sentenced to penal servitude. But many of them were amnestied by the Tito clique which thus relieved them of all responsibility for their crimes. What is more, these inveterate enemies of the Yugoslav people continue to occupy high posts in the Army and in the State organs.

The Party lost more than three-quarters of its pre-war members during the liberation struggle. Of the 141,066 members at the end of the war there were only 3,000 whose membership dated from pre-war days. After the war, the Tito-clique opened wide the doors of the Party to various elements of the urban petty bourgeoisie and big bourgeoisie, to kulaks and elements belonging to other exploiting classes. Speculators and careerists qualified for membership because of their high positions in the State apparatus. There was a big influx of these elements during 1947 and in the first half of 1948, before the Resolution of the Information Bureau was published. At this time, the Tito clique was busily engaged, behind the back of the Soviet Union, in secret talks with Anglo-American reactionary military circles and was getting ready to go over openly to the imperialist camp. It is interesting to note that, in the period dating from the liberation until the end of 1946, approximately 48,000 new members were admitted into the Party, while from the beginning of 1947 until July 1948, the number of new members exceeded 278,000.

Data on the social composition of the Party in July 1948 reveal that even then more than 30,000 members came from kulak and other bourgeois elements while the number of workers (of whom the greater part were handicraftsmen) accounted for only 30 per cent of the total membership. Admittance of industrial workers was deliberately restricted. This is clearly seen from the following examples. Prior to the publication of the Information Bureau Resolution, there were only 245 Party members in three industrial enterprises in Slovenia which each, on the average,

employed 7,000 workers, that is a total of 21,000. At five industrial enterprises of Croatia, with a personnel in excess of 18,000, there were only 32 Party members. In one of the industrial enterprises in Bosnia, employing some 7,000 workers, only 92 were in the Party, while the Party members among the 952 office personnel in the same plant numbered 125.

Meanwhile, representatives of the different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties were accepted into the Communist Party: the Landholders Party, the Croat Peasant Party, the Democratic and Republican Parties, the Christian Socialists, and so on. At present these people hold important posts in the fascist Tito Government and in the other leading State organs.

Along with changing the social composition of the Party, the Tito clique discarded the Marxist-Leninist principles of Communist Party organisation, adopting instead the organisational principles of fascist parties. The election of Party organs was replaced by appointing and co-opting members. Nor do these organs report to their Party organisations.

The Tito gang substituted the method of issuing commands in the Party for criticism and self-criticism—the driving force and main method of strengthening the Party and of raising its militancy. An official directive was issued to the effect that Party members and organisations may criticise only the lower Party organs, up to the district committees. In definition of this directive, Djilas circulated the slogan: “At its source the water is pure but it becomes turbid in the lower reaches”.

Instead of educating the Party cadres in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, instead of raising the ideological level of the membership by means of a profound study of Marxist-Leninist theory, the Tito clique offered the Party membership an unsavoury compound of various bourgeois theories and a stew of all kinds of opportunist “doctrines”. This hash was served up to the membership as the very latest in theory.

And this party, swarming with kulak and other exploiting elements—a party whose inner life is anti-Communist, a party infected with bourgeois ideology—was submerged by the Tito clique in the multi-class People’s Front in which the leading positions are being monopolised by enemies of the working class. By these methods it completed the basis for transforming the Party into an instrument of the police apparatus.

Such a Party was incapable of fulfilling the duty of a Marxist-Leninist Party when the Information Bureau’s Resolution concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Party was adopted, was incapable of preventing the Tito gang from establishing a fascist order in the country for the purpose of turning it into a colony of Anglo-American imperialism.

Shortly before the Information Bureau’s Resolution was adopted and after its publication, the Tito fascist gang began to unleash a brutal terror against the Yugoslav Communists, a terror that even the Gestapo might have envied. All Communists who opposed the treacherous policy of the Tito clique, who stood for friendship with the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, were expelled from the Party and herded into prisons and concentration camps. Thousands of

Communists and non-Party friends of the Soviet Union were arrested. Special camps have been set up, as, for instance, in Zabela (Serbia), Lona (Croatia), Vrshats (Vojevodina) where thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Yugoslav peoples are interned.

Rankovic's fascists brutally manhandle prisoners, the opponents of the Tito regime; they torture and starve them, and put them to a fearful death. The entire country is in the grip of this terror. People are literally hunted. Those suspected of disloyalty to the fascist regime are murdered in secret. Stalwarts like General Jovanovic, Ilja Bulatovic and their comrades, are among the hundreds and thousands of the finest sons of the working class and working people of the country who have paid with their lives, victims of the blood-stained hands of the executioner Rankovic because of their love for the Communist Party, for their people, for the Soviet Union and the socialist front. The imprisoned Communist Party leaders, Sreten Juiovic, Andrija Hebrang, Bojo Liumovic and others are subjected to horrible tortures.

By these means the fascist Tito clique has smashed the international core of the Yugoslav Communist Party which resisted the treacherous policy of the Tito robber gang.

The Party has been placed under the control of Rankovic's Gestapo—the U.D.B. The Party organisations swarm with police agents who spy on the membership. Every Party member is obliged to spy on the other members of his organisation, to report their activities and contacts. Party members are also obliged to help the police organs in persecuting honest working people. The Party, in the plans of the Tito-ites, is to become a huge espionage organisation.

Either unconditional fulfilment of all orders issued by the Tito fascist gang in furtherance of its treacherous policy, or brutal persecution and physical extermination—such are the conditions Tito has created in the Yugoslav Communist Party. With its weak proletarian composition, anti-Leninist inner Party life and low level of Marxist-Leninist training, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was unable to stand up to this terror. Together with selling the country to the Anglo-American imperialists and turning the State power into a brutal fascist regime, the Tito gang succeeded in turning the Party into an auxiliary organ of its police State.

The official Communist Party of Yugoslavia is an instrument in the hands of Tito's fascist police apparatus.

But the Tito gang has not been able to destroy all the healthy forces of the Yugoslav Party. Equipped with the experience acquired during the years of Gestapo terror they are, despite the present brutal regime, resisting the fascist Tito clique. Day by day, more and more Party members are joining the struggle against the Tito fascist government. Also non-Party people: workers, working peasants, honest intellectuals, officers and rank and file soldiers, women and youth, are taking active part in the struggle. The flames of the revolutionary struggle against the fascist gangsters holding power, are spreading.

Parallel with this struggle, all the healthy forces in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the working class are faced with the urgent task of creating entirely new Party

organisations with a new central organ. Only a Yugoslav Communist Party organised anew will be able to develop a more vigorous kind effective struggle against the Tito fascist government for the speedy overthrow and destruction of the contemptible robber gang. The working class of Yugoslavia, together with the healthy elements in the Yugoslav Communist Party, possesses the means needed for forming this new organisation and it will do so.

This new Party organisation which will consist of the healthy forces in the Yugoslav Party, of honest workers, working peasants and intellectuals who have remained loyal to their people and to friendship with the Soviet Union, will be formed in stubborn struggle against the present organisation which is an instrument in the hands of Rankovic's police apparatus.

Only a new Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to accelerate the defeat of the fascist Tito gang and bring liberation to the peoples of Yugoslavia.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

TITO-SARAGAT ALLIANCE

A wave of indignation swept Italy, and especially Trieste, when it became known that two seamen who had fled from Yugoslavia and were on board the Italian steamer "Tergeste" had been handed over to the Tito police in Fiume.

Unwilling to be held responsible for this disgraceful action, the shipping company informed the press of the details and supplied a copy of the instructions issued to the captain by the Ministry of the Mercantile Marine (Saragat's Ministry) and by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ordering him to hand over the refugees to Rankovic's police.

Thus, the traitor Saragat obligingly helps the traitor Tito
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

RADIO STATION OF YUGOSLAV REVOLUTIONARY EMIGRANTS

The radio station belonging to Yugoslav revolutionary emigrants, which recently began broadcasting, has set itself the task of exposing the treacherous activity of the criminal TitoRankovic clique; of keeping the people of Yugoslavia posted about the real state of affairs in the country, and of exposing the lying Tito propaganda. It will acquaint the people of Yugoslavia with the successes and achievements of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, and with the struggle of the working people in all lands for peace, freedom and independence, against the instigators of a new war.

The broadcasts have been well received by the Yugoslav people. Yugoslav patriots, in letters to the editorial staff, praise the work of the station and speak, of the great help which it is rendering to the Yugoslav Communists fighting against the fascist

Gestapo Tito-Rankovic clique. The servants of the Tito-Rankovic clique are doing their utmost to jam the station. Brutal reprisals are taken against those listening to it, while the station is slandered in the press.

However, the voice of truth prevails. The Yugoslav revolutionary emigrants voice is heard by patriots in Yugoslavia, and the radio points out in its broadcasts that its audience is growing rapidly. It calls upon the Yugoslav Communists to strengthen and extend their contacts with the revolutionary migrants, who constitute one of the detachments of the Yugoslav proletariat, to circulate the journals "For a Socialist Yugoslavia", "Under the Banner of Internationalism", "The New Borba" and "Forward", to unite from scattered groups into a United front of struggle for the liberation of Yugoslavia from imperialist enslavement, for the overthrow of the fascist Tito-Rankovic clique

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 17(44), THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1949

MASS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE "FRANCE-YUGOSLAVIA" SOCIETY

Three hundred members of the "France-Yugoslavia" Society have cancelled their membership in protest against the policy pursued by Tito and his clique.

All these former members now support the "Defence Committee of the imprisoned and Persecuted Democrats of Yugoslavia" which was formed recently in Paris. A statement issued by these former members says:

"The 'France-Yugoslavia' Society, brought forth by the resistance movement, had as its aim the strengthening of contacts between the two peoples who jointly fought the common enemy.

"The present Yugoslav Government however, has committed shameful treachery toward the liberator of its country—the heroes of the Soviet Army. Its game is now exposed and the mask cast off, showing frankly that it bartered itself to the warmongers and joined the coalition which International imperialism seeks to form against the freedom-loving peoples and their defender, the Soviet Union.

"The Greek patriots were stabbed in the back. Thousands of Yugoslav patriots, resistance fighters, the liberators of their country and the champion of peace throughout the world, were thrown into prison where they are in solitary confinement, tortured and killed.

"At the same time the Yugoslav Government receives, in payment for its treachery, dollars and armaments from the Anglo-American capitalists".

Those who withdrew from the "France-Yugoslavia" Society include Marcel Cachin, Maurice Thorez, Henri Wallon, Florimond Bonte, Paul Eluard, F. Joliot-Curie, Marcel Prenant, Louis Aragon, A. Carrel, Pierre Got, Benoit Frachon and Louis Saillant.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !
NO. 28(55), TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1949

LONDON DEFEAT FOR TITO TOUTS

Plans of Tito's London Embassy to capture the British- Yugoslav Association and use it as a vehicle to slander the Soviet Union, the Communist parties and the peace

movement were heavily defeated when progressive forces gained a majority of the Executive Committee of the Association recently elected in London. Foremost Tito supporter was Mr. K. Ziliacus, assisted by five other London Members of Parliament.

Tito's clique planned to subsidise an illustrated magazine. To gain control of the Association, pro-Tito supporters had been whipped up—even the Anglo-Yugoslav Shipping Co. having applied for membership. But progressive members of the Association delivered a fitting rebuff to the machinations of the Belgrade fascists.

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

NO. 28(55), TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1949

Enslavement of Yugoslavia by Anglo-American Capital

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In 1947, Tito pompously declared that the Yugoslavia Five Year Plan would be completed in 1951. But none of the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of the Plan had been created in the country. The Plan contained unreal, astronomical figures and, in general, was framed in such a way as to break economic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and to subordinate Yugoslavia to the capitalist countries.

It is quite obvious that the main targets of the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan are totally unreal. For example, by the end of the Plan, industrial output is scheduled to surpass the 1939 level by 494 per cent, and the output of means of production by 625 per cent. To do this it envisages capital investment in industry to the value of 278,300 million dinars. To understand fully the unreality of this figure it is sufficient to bear in mind that the value of industrial production for 1951 is planned at 126 billion dinars, in other words, capital investments are twice this figure which in itself is unreal. In Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, capital investments envisaged by the Five-Year Plan amount to 336 billion crowns while the value of industrial production in the last year of the Five Year Plan will reach 454 billion crowns.

A feature of Yugoslavia's Plan is that it concentrates on developing production of those goods which were supplied to Yugoslavia by the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. It is on the production of these goods that the efforts of the Tito fascist clique are concentrated in the first phase of the Plan. For example, oil output, which in pre-war Yugoslavia was insignificant, is to go up 450 times by the end of the Plan; raw steel will rise 323 per cent; rolled metal, 311 per cent; coal, 272 per cent. The Titoites are doing everything to develop production of industrial coke. Their attempts to produce about 700,000 tons of coke a year will cost Yugoslavia 22 to 25 billion dinars. Yet, in the opinion of the specialists installing the necessary equipment, the production of coke from Yugoslavia's lignite is practically impossible, and such an attempt will cost the country dear.

By concentrating on production of those goods which Yugoslavia could receive on favourable terms from the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, the treacherous Tito clique is exposing its own long-planned aims and those of its

American masters to abandon economic cooperation with the camp of Socialism and make a complete break with it. These plans have been posed on the “basis” of false slogans about “Yugoslavia’s economic independence” and “building Socialism with our own forces”.

If in 1947-48 the targets were fulfilled in certain branches of industry, it was only because of the selflessness of the Yugoslav working people and because of the very great help given to Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies. Apart from the regular trade exchange through which Yugoslavia was supplied with products essential for reconstruction and construction, (for example, Czechoslovakia supplied coke, rolled steel, fireclay and so on), the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland signed special investment agreements with Yugoslavia. According to these agreements, Yugoslavia was to receive a total of approximately 30 billion dinars worth of investments. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia’s biggest supplier, granted and extended credit. Other People’s Democracies also gave Yugoslavia credits. Czechoslovakia, for example, refrained from demanding advance payments for Yugoslav orders.

The Tito clique rejected this assistance. By systematically violating agreements, and by a hostile policy toward the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, the treacherous Titoites severed economic relations with these countries. They deliberately deprived Yugoslavia of support, aid and the guarantee of its national independence. The country was placed at the mercy of the imperialist States.

The imperialist States, having earmarked Yugoslavia as an instrument in the struggle against the U.S.S.R and the People’s Democracies, are taking both open and secret measures to keep their hired Tito clique in power, at any rate for the time being. While the attempts of the People’s Democracies to establish economic relations on the basis of mutual benefit meet with no support on the part of imperialist powers, the Tito clique is given quite a different reception.

Here are some examples of this. Late in 1948, the Yugoslav Government signed a commercial agreement with Britain covering trade to the value of 200 million dollars. Recently a Yugoslav-Italian trade agreement was signed to the value of approximately £ 7 million, although before the war, when Italy was one of Yugoslav’s biggest trading partners, the total value of trade between the two countries was never more than £ 5 million. The United States is pursuing a policy of discrimination against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies. The U.S. also sanctioned the export of machinery and equipment for a steel-works to Yugoslavia to the value of 3 million dollars. The bourgeois press gleefully recalled that the repeated requests of Czechoslovakia and Poland for supplies of similar machinery equipment had been rejected.

At the beginning of September, the U.S. Export-Import Bank announced that it would grant a 20 million dollars loan to Yugoslavia. The American press made no attempt to conceal the political nature of this loan. The Washington correspondent of the United Press pointed out that the Bank had granted Yugoslavia the loan with unusual speed – less than two weeks after the official request. The correspondent stressed that, in his desire to help Tito, Acheson use pressure to get the loan through. According to the United Press, at first Johnson, Minister of Defense, opposed the

loan because he considered the United States should not do anything to strengthen the military potential of any of the East European countries. However, continued the United Press, Acheson managed to convince Johnson that a loan for Yugoslavia would give the U.S. a valuable diplomatic advantage in the cold war.

On September 23, a correspondent of the French weekly "La Tribune des Nations" reported: "The agreement to grant the 20 million dollar loan through the Export-Import Bank was signed on conditions which are gradually becoming clearer. It has become known that one of these conditions stipulated big zinc and lead mining concessions in Slovenia. Apart from this, the U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade is now negotiating for mining concessions in Kamnik for the 'Anaconda Copper Mining Company'".

In the light of the exposure of the Rajk espionage gang, Acheson's concern that Tito should receive a loan is quite clear: for a long time the U.S. imperialists have wanted to entrench themselves in Yugoslavia, and with the assistance of their hirelings, the Tito clique, they are trying to turn the country into a base for the struggle against the Soviet Union and People's Democracies.

As already pointed out, the most essential imports for Yugoslavia are raw materials and machinery necessary to develop a normal level of production. Formerly, Yugoslavia partly balanced its imports from the countries with planned economies by exporting non-ferrous metals and large quantities of wines, fruits, low-grade timber and so on.

Today Yugoslavia can find no market for these goods in the capitalist countries. Yugoslav wines, for example, cannot compete with Italian and French wines, and the same holds true for other products. Thus, Yugoslavia is now compelled to pay the capitalist countries for all its orders in the goods and raw materials that are most essential for herself. This is evident from trade agreement with Italy according to which Yugoslavia will export only non-ferrous metals, certain minerals, timber and grain.

Yugoslavia also supplies the U.S., Britain and Holland with non-ferrous metals. Two shipments of tin (5,000 tons and 3,000 tons) were sent recently to the United States. It is interesting to note that the Yugoslav satraps of the imperialists sell non-ferrous metals to their masters at much lower prices than they did to the People's Democracies. Here are some figures: Czechoslovakia was charged 19 crowns per kilo for tin, Britain 12.60 crowns, the U.S. (at the beginning of July) 15 crowns, and Italy (at present) 16 crowns. It should be noted that during the past few weeks prices of tin have noticeably increased on the world market.

The predatory felling and export of timber is further proof of the Yugoslav traitors' dependence on, and servility to, their Anglo-American masters. The country's timber resources are being expended at an unprecedented rate. For example, the 1951 target for timber exports has already been reached. The value of timber felled in excess of plan and earmarked for export has reached the enormous annual sum of 11,800 million dinars. And now the Tito clique is finding it necessary to export a considerable amount of basic foodstuffs which will add still more to the hardships of the Yugoslav people.

Despite the plundering of Yugoslavia's natural resources and the drastic measures that are forcing the living standards still lower, the Tito clique cannot make good the enormous loss caused by severing economic relations with the people's democracies and the Soviet Union.

Yugoslavia is now in a position where she has not enough goods with which to buy the necessary products abroad. In 1949 her trade balance had a deficit of 30-40 per cent. The situation is aggravated by the fact that Tito and Company have already exhausted the credits granted by the capitalist countries within the framework of the present trade agreements. By the end of 1948, the dollar reserves acquired when the U.S. returned the Yugoslav people's gold blocked during the war, were similarly exhausted. The capitalists will only grant new credits against sure guarantees. Such guarantees can only be full foreign monopoly control over Yugoslav economy and the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia's economy is already under the control of various "agents" and "representatives" of the imperialist countries, who, according to the Western press, are carrying on negotiations concerning the internal structure of Yugoslav economy, such as the level of production in various industries, and so on.

The number of those people in Yugoslavia grows from day to day. Recently it was reported that the London firm, the Mackenzie Engineering Company, was planning to build an iron and steel plant in Yugoslavia and was therefore sending many "experts" to the country.

Capitalist monopolies also control Yugoslav export. The Tito Government willingly sets up so-called joint societies to organize exports to various capitalist countries. Such societies have already been established in Britain and Belgium.

These are nothing but capitalist companies which, though pretending to serve Yugoslav interests, are, in reality, the means by which capitalist firms control Yugoslav exports and economy in general.

The oil monopolies are particularly interested in Yugoslav's oil. The U.S. State Department has sanctioned the export of drilling equipment to Yugoslavia on a scale denied even to the Marshall countries. It is also known that an agreement exists for building a large-scale oil refinery in Yugoslavia with American assistance. This will most probably be supplied with oil from the Near East.

Anyone with an understanding of the methods of imperialist monopolies will not have the slightest doubt that all these concessions will be paid for at the expense of unrestricted exploitation of the Yugoslav working people.

As regards the construction of an oil refinery, there is talk that the compensation may be military bases. Tito will probably try to conceal this in some way, perhaps by establishing a "transport centre" to buy the arms for the Yugoslav Army from the capitalist countries.

Thus, as a result of the Tito clique's deliberate treachery, Yugoslavia, whose people

won the sympathy of all progressive mankind by their struggle for national freedom, has lost its economic and political independence and is now being ruthlessly plundered and enslaved by the capitalist monopolies.

However, the real friends of the Yugoslav people in the democratic camp have no doubt that, led by the vanguard of the Yugoslav working class, the working people of Yugoslavia will not let the monstrous treachery of Tito and his hirelings deliver Yugoslavia into the hands of the imperialist bandits forever.

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Penetration of American Capital in Yugoslav Economy

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The meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties in Hungary in November 1949 established that ".....the Yugoslav Government is completely dependent on foreign imperialist circles and has become an instrument of their aggressive policy..." and that "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".

Events since the Meeting of Information Bureau not only fully confirm the correctness of these statements, but prove that penetration of foreign capital into Yugoslav economy is being intensified. Among the various monopoly groups, first place belongs to American imperialism, to the American monopoly groups which, more and more, are extending their control over the economic life of Yugoslavia.

Simultaneously with economic penetration and as an organic part of this penetration, American imperialism is creating in Yugoslavia strategic positions for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and countries of People's Democracy.

Even before the Second World War, the foreign capital held altogether strong positions in the economy of Yugoslavia. In 1939, foreign investments in Yugoslavia amounted to 7,375,000,000 dinars and were more than 50 per cent of the total capital investments. Although only a minor part of this investment consisted of actual capital brought into the country, the imperialists having acquired the major part by exploiting the working people of Yugoslavia, the Tito clique recognised all this investment as foreign property. The Tito gang displayed particular regard for American imperialists, to whom it has already disbursed approximately 20 million dollars in compensation. In addition, the Tito clique recognised the validity of all the old State debts of Yugoslavia, —including the debt to the United States, to the total of 2,000 million dinars (38.5 million dollars).

The Tito gang is doing all in its power to conceal from the working people of Yugoslavia and from world democratic public opinion that it has sold the country to the imperialists. The Yugoslav Press, as a rule, does not even mention the activities of the representative of various imperialist-monopoly groups in Yugoslavia. More than that, the Yugoslav Press even conceals the fact that there are representatives and bosses of capitalist trusts in Yugoslavia. The foreign bourgeois Press, however,

often blurts out these facts. For instance, "Tribune des Nations" wrote on January 13th that a representative of "Bethlehem Steel", the American trust, had arrived in Yugoslavia, but strange to say no-one mentioned this visit and the newspapers did not even mention his name.

Actually, Yugoslavia swarms with representative of capitalist trusts and banks, and above all, with American "specialists". Their task is to find the objectives which chiefly interest American capital and to secure the "guarantees" which the Titoites provide for foreign capitalist groups and imperialist State, underwritings the loans they obtain from the imperialists.

In a speech made recently in Yugoslav Parliament, Tito lied when he said the imperialists are granting loans to his fascist clique without selfish aims or political conditions. It is common knowledge that American imperialists, even in their dealings with such imperialist countries as Britain and France, grant loans only on condition of complete control over their economics and armed forces, and as far the People's Democracies, they are denied all loans by the American imperialists. It is equally known that any American bank can grant loan to a foreign State only with the consent of the U.S. Government, and that the American Government stipulates as a condition for such a loan that the economic and financial situation in the country be studied on the spot by an American Government Commission. It is therefore obvious that when the American magnates grant loan to the Tito clique, this is done at a price. The price is that of Yugoslavia's independence and of complete control over her economy by American imperialists.

That the Tito clique in return for U.S. loans has bartered the independence of Yugoslavia is evident from other facts replete with concrete data – if one makes a careful study of the press in the capitalist countries. The Swiss Press, for instance, released a very interesting item about a twenty million dollar loan which, on Truman's instructions, was granted to the Titoites via the American Export-Import Bank. According to one of the Swiss papers, the conditions stipulated by the Export-Import Bank are "becoming more and more clear". It went on to say that one of the conditions was big concessions in Slovenia, including the transfer of the Kaminka Mines in the area of the zinc and lead ore deposits, in the form of a concession to the American trust, Anaconda Copper Mining Co. The second condition stipulates that the U.S. Government will have the right to send, through various monopolist groups, "expert advisers" to the most important Yugoslav enterprises and that the Yugoslav Government shall ensure all the conditions to enable them fully to acquaint themselves with these enterprises. In other words, the Tito clique agreed to place Yugoslav industry under the American control. The dispatch of "expert advisers" is in full swing. Thus, late in 1949, the American trust, "Mackenzie Engineering Company", sent a big group of "expert advisers" to Yugoslavia.

This, however, does not by a long way exhaust the long list of conditions by which Yugoslavia ensures special rights to the Americans including access to Yugoslav airfields for "Pan-American Airways". This agreement was signed on December 24th, 1949.

The Tito clique has also pledged itself to import American "culture" into Yugoslavia. Under this agreement cinemas are showing only American films, a fact easily

corroborated by a glance at the adverts in the Belgrade papers. It is also worth mentioning that after World War II, Blum – the “leader” of the “French Socialists” who has aged in treachery – concluded a similar agreement with American imperialists, one which not only subordinates the French cinema industry to the Americans but simultaneously serves the purpose of spreading imperialist poison among the working people of France. However, the pact concluded by the Tito clique to spread American “culture” is not confined to cinema alone. The Tito – Djilas fascist press in Yugoslavia is, of late, devoting more and more space to information about “cultural life” in the United States. This shows that the Titoites are zealously carrying out their obligations to their masters.

The Tito gang want to make the people of Yugoslavia believe that now that the bauxite mines, the aluminium industry, the molybdenum and the copper mines have been turned over to the American imperialists, now that they control the economy and finances of the country, millions of American dollars will flow into Yugoslavia. But this is of course is out of the question. American monopolists did not lay their hands on Yugoslav economy for the purpose of giving; they did so in order to plunder. They give just enough to maintain their agents – the Tito gang – in power, to squeeze out of the people of Yugoslavia colonial super-profits, and to create strategic positions in Yugoslavia. Displaying caution, they are not granting Tito and his clique loans in bulk but in meager pittances, for they have learned from the bitter lesson in China. The Americans treat Tito as they do Franco – the hangman of the Spanish people. They give him no more than they believe necessary to secure for themselves the raw material resources of the country, and, in the first place, strategic raw materials, to secure colonial super-profits and to maintain Franco’s fascist rule over the people of Spain.

In accordance with this “principle” and practice, American imperialists (like all other imperialists) regard Yugoslavia as a raw material appendage of their economy. They have no intention whatsoever of developing Yugoslavia’s heavy industry. At the very most they will permit the Titoites to create a minimum base for a war industry, which they calculate, might become necessary in the event of an imperialist war of plunder against the free and independent nations. But “manufactured goods” (for example, armaments) will be supplied by the U.S. This is evident from Truman’s decision, reported in the American Press on January 12th. Outlining the viewpoint of the National Security Council, Truman declared that the United States would, under certain conditions, supply military requirement to Yugoslavia. Simultaneously, American imperialists and partly British and French are importing huge quantities of various strategic raw materials from Yugoslavia. As is known, Yugoslav copper is shipped chiefly to America. A similar situation prevails in respect to other non-ferrous metals.

Yugoslavia is one of the largest hemp producers in Europe, but the hemp is not grown for the people of Yugoslavia: in 1949 eighty per cent of it was sold at an exceedingly low price to the U.S. and Britain.

In addition to raw materials, Yugoslavia ships large quantities of foodstuffs to the U.S. or, on its instructions, to other capitalist countries. They ship most essential foodstuffs, vital to the people: wheat, maize and other foods urgently needed by Yugoslavia, but which are also needed by the imperialists. Thus, to please its

imperialist masters, the Tito gang dooms the working people of Yugoslavia to hunger and misery.

As pointed out in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties, it is becoming more and more evident that "the ever – increasing slavish dependence of Yugoslavia on imperialism leads to intensified exploitation of the working class and to a severe worsening of its conditions".

Despite the bloody fascist terror employed by the Tito-Rankovic gang against the working class and all the people of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav working people will never agree that their country, liberated by the glorious Soviet Army and for whose independence they themselves shed so much blood, should remain an imperialist colony. Under the leadership of the underground, genuine Communist Party they have joined the struggle against the treacherous fascist Tito gang and its imperialist masters in order that Yugoslav shall return to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

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STRUGGLE AGAINST TITO CLIQUE— INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

Two years have passed since the Conference of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties which adopted the well-known resolution "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". The events of these last two years fully confirm the correctness of this resolution. A profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in Yugoslavia enabled the Information Bureau to draw the conclusion that the policy of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia could only lead the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to ruin and the People's Republic of Yugoslavia to regeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic; to its enslavement by the imperialist states. The Tito clique quickly passed from bourgeois nationalism to fascism. The Yugoslav Communist Party found itself in the grip of assassins and spies. A coup d'etat was actually carried out in Yugoslavia, the main result of which was the liquidation of the people's democratic system. In this way the Tito clique revealed that it was in agreement with the imperialist circles in whose service it had been for so long. The far-reaching plans of the Anglo-American imperialists for overthrowing the system of People's Democracy in Central and South-East Europe, for wresting these countries from the U.S.S.R. and for preparing war against the Soviet Union were linked with the Tito clique. This precisely was the reason why the Rajk, Kostov, Dzodze and other counter-revolutionary conspiracies of the Anglo-American agents, placed at the disposal of the Tito clique, were organised. Belgrade has been transformed into an Anglo-American espionage centre.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau has increased considerably the vigilance of the Communist Parties and made it possible for them to expose the Tito agents. The plans of the Anglo-American imperialists collapsed. This was one of the serious defeats suffered by the imperialist camp since the Second World War. One of the biggest diversions in modern history suffered ignominious failure—the plan of the Anglo-American imperialists which calculated on alienating the People's

Democracies from the Soviet Union to place to latter in a position of international isolation and to throw back the democratic movement in Europe.

The insidious imperialist plot was not a surprise for the democratic camp. The imperialist secret service has been waging a secret war against the working class movement for many decades. With the growth of the Socialist working class movement, the undermining activities of the imperialist secret service are being increased considerably. Fearing the collapse of capitalism, the imperialists are recruiting the scum of society unstable elements and pessimists, traitors and adventurists whom they send into the ranks of the working class movement. The imperialist intelligence services have perfected the art of double-dealing, political camouflage and deception of the working people. How many thousands of the best sons of the proletariat have perished in prisons and in exile as a result of the actions of provocateurs! But the working class parties have sharpened their instrument of struggle against the imperialist spies—their political vigilance.

The imperialist intelligence services became particularly active after the working class in Russia had taken over into its hands. The history of the struggle of the Soviet people for freedom and independence shows that the imperialist States employ every possible means in an attempt to achieve their perfidious aims. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the Communist Party, is capable of leading the working people to the victory of Socialism. The vigilance of the Bolshevik Party enabled the Soviet State to smash all-enemy intrigues, including the foul Trotskyite-Bukharin imperialist agency.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union performed a great service inculcating revolutionary vigilance to the Communists of all countries. Lenin and Stalin showed in practice, in the struggle for proletarian revolution, in the course of building Socialism, how to expose the enemy, how to nip treachery in the bud. Bolshevik revolutionary vigilance is for all proletarian parties the iron shield which makes the stronghold of Communism impregnable to enemies and secures, despite the violent resistance of the enemy, the historical success of Communism.

Communism, as the scientific ideology of the working class, has already existed for a hundred years. Shootings and prisons, the undermining activities of various agencies, the cruel war and bloodshed the innumerable attempts to divert individual sections of the international working class from the right path—nothing can halt the advance of Communism. Under the banner of scientific Communism, the Soviet people have courageously covered the path to Socialism and are enthusiastically building Communism. Nowadays, all roads lead to Communism! A bitter and stubborn struggle is in progress. This struggle is deciding the fate of the entire imperialist system.

That is why the imperialists are making use of every traitor who can inflict some damage to Communism. Together with Right Socialist accomplices of the warmongers, they are making use of every Titoite spy and murderer despite the fact that they are suffering defeat-alter defeat. In France every Titoite agent is guarded by police under whose protection they are continuing their subversive activities. To restore the “Communist” reputation of the Tito clique, the imperialists are advancing as its advocates, their more concealed agents in the democratic movement. In its turn the Tito clique spares no effort to develop its rabid anti-Communist activity. All this necessitates increased revolutionary vigilance by the Communist Parties. Revolutionary vigilance is a vital necessity for a Marxist Party. Without it the party of the working class cannot develop normally. It should be remembered that the greater

the successes attained by Communism the more fiercely and cunningly will the enemy fight.

Evidence of this are the recent trials which exposed the Anglo-American espionage agencies in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania. The Government of the U.S. does not spare dollars in the matter of intensifying disruptive, anti-Communist activities.

It would be unpardonable to imagine that the more successful Socialism is, the weaker the resistance of the class enemy becomes. The experience of the Soviet Union, of the New Democracies and of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries shows that, the worse the situation of the enemy, the more desperate hits resistance.

The negative side of the successes in the Socialist camp is that these successes frequently give rise to complacency and smugness. The strongest weapon in the struggle against complacency is the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, criticism and self-criticism. Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, teaches all Communists, no matter what country they are working in and what Part task they are fulfilling, always to be principled, vigilant and ruthlessly to expose any display of nationalism and opportunism.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau which sounded as a call to revolutionary vigilance was, for all Communist Parties, a most important Marxist-Leninist document, facilitating the education of the Parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Communist Parties were able to rebuff nationalist deviations in the initial stage and succeeded in cutting short any attempts of the Tito clique to spread its influence beyond Yugoslavia.

The imperialists are trying to undermine the faith of the democratic forces in the Soviet Union. The Tito clique is making frantic efforts in this direction, counter-posing their specific, "Yugoslav Socialism" of Anglo-American origin to the Soviet Union. But this is bait which only people infected with the ulcer of bourgeois nationalism will fall for. By its policy, its successes, its influence on the development of the whole of world history, the Soviet-Union is proving day by day that it is a mighty bulwark of the anti-imperialist camp. It is impossible to advance the revolutionary movement without defending the U.S.S.R., without promoting its successes, without uniting all the democratic, peace-loving forces around the Soviet Union. Loyalty to the Soviet Union—the country of Socialism—is the touchstone and criterion of proletarian internationalism.

The line of the Communist Parties in the question of class struggle, Socialist construction in the People's Democracies, the struggle against imperialism and its agents was defined with absolute clarity in the Resolution of the Information Bureau. From the point of view of principle it is difficult to overestimate the entire significance of the Resolution of the Information Bureau which armed the Communist Parties, the entire democratic movement with a mighty weapon of transformation. This Resolution is a vivid example of the fruitful co-operation, co-ordinated action and exchange of experience between the fraternal Communist Parties.

Struggle against the fascist Tito clique is the international duty of all Communist Parties. The struggle for the liberation of Yugoslavia from the Anglo-American imperialist yoke is being waged by the Yugoslav Communists who, amidst serious hardships and in difficult struggle, are reviving the militant Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Many difficulties lie in their path. But these difficulties will be overcome for without a revolutionary, a genuinely proletarian Party, it is impossible to return Yugoslavia to the Socialist camp. The peoples of Yugoslavia

will throw off yoke of the Tito fascist espionage clique, will put an end to the transformation of Yugoslavia into a springboard for unleashing a new world war.

The struggle against the Yugoslav fascists—the worst enemies of peace—is the duty of all Communists, of all honest people, all to whom peace and the happiness of mankind are dear.

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

NO. 26 (86), FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1950

FORMATION OF "ATHENS-BELGRADE" AXIS—THREAT TO PEACE.

**Nikos Zahariadis, General Secretary,
Greek Communist Party**

The formation of the "Athens-Belgrade" axis is already under way or, to be more precise, is in its final stage. The imperialist war threat in the Balkans is becoming more and more real.

In the international sphere this axis is a concrete measure in carrying out the anti-Soviet, anti-people's and anti-democratic policy of American imperialism. This axis supplements and extends the North Atlantic Treaty.

The spearhead of the "Athens-Belgrade" axis is pointed first against the Albanian People's Republic; which the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Titoite provocateurs, in collaboration with de Gasperi's Italy, wish to divide among themselves; second, against the Bulgarian People's Republic which they, in collaboration with the Ankara cut-throats, wish to squeeze and suppress. With the "Athens-Belgrade" axis American policy in the Balkans acquires a still wider base and a new weapon for its adventurous war preparations.

For the Greek monarcho-fascists this axis represents a concrete form of subordinating Greece to the anti-Soviet aggressive strivings of the U.S. The only form of "construction" carried out by the Yankees in Greece was the laying out of dozens of up-to-date aerodromes, harbour improvements, a wide network of military roads, non-stop manoeuvres of the Greek armed forces conducted in the presence of U.S. observers and also continuous manoeuvres by American and British fleets in Greek waters. The newly-baked Marshal Papagos, who has never smelt powder, boasts of "500,000 well-armed soldiers of the Greek army," which alleges, is the best fighting force in Western Europe. And will be used for foreign political purposes. It would seem that Plastiras also fully agrees with these Papagos plans.

For the people of Greece this axis, constitutes a direct threat to the territorial integrity of their country (it must be borne in mind that Tito keeps a covetous eye on Salonika, the Vardar Valley and the whole of Aegean Macedonia). After ten years of ceaseless imperialist occupation and armed struggle, another war threatens the Greek people. The Americans reckon on making the Greeks the first victims of their unbridled military adventure.

As regards the espionage clique of Tito-Rankovic and company, this axis crowns their betrayal of the democratic struggle of the Greek people; a treachery which began in 1943 when the British imperialists realised that the national liberation struggle in our country, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece and the E.A.M., represented a mortal danger to their domination and to the regime of their lackeys in Greece. In the war which the imperialists perfidiously began against the Greek people, they used from the very outset, the Tito espionage clique. The main purpose of British policy was to prevent by every possible means the victory

of the people's revolution in Greece. And if, in the final analysis, this should prove impossible, the imperialists would force Tito occupy Salonika and Greek Macedonia in order thereby to tighten the noose around free Greece.

The story of the subversive activities of the Tito clique since 1943 is also an endless chain of sabotage, provocation, espionage and treachery towards the people's liberation movement in our country. The moment the Titoites established contact with ELAS they strove to create their own organisation and recruited agents, particularly among the Slav-Macedonians. Since then the aim of the Tito clique was to raise a wall between the Greeks and Slav-Macedonians for, even at that time, this clique had its designs on Salonika and, Macedonia. In fact, the Tito clique continued the Greater Yugoslavia policy of conquest which always had as its aim the whole of Macedonia, with Salonika as its centre. Since then, provocateur Tempo (Vukmanovic), who ran away from the Germans without giving battle and sought shelter in the regions occupied by ELAS, behaved like a little satrap, propagating dismemberment everywhere. As a result, late in 1944, in the critical days for our struggle, when the British were preparing an offensive against ELAS; Tito ordered the Slav-Macedonian units of ELAS, then under the command of the criminal Goce, to withdraw to Yugoslavia, which they did.

This was necessary for Tito since he wanted to use these units against ELAS. In December 1944, when in Athens and Piraeus, ELAS units were engaging troops of the British General, Scobie, and when the outcome of the battle was not yet decided, Tito and Tempo were preparing Yugoslav divisions and the Goce units, for the seizure of Greek Macedonia and Salonika, then in the hands of ELAS. The British supplied Titoite units with munitions flown from the air base of Hrupista. When, during the fighting in Athens, we asked him to help us with ammunition. Tito, contrary to his promises, gave practically nothing. And during the ELAS retreat, when we asked permission for our units to enter Yugoslavia in the capacity of democratic, political refugees, Tito again refused. All Greek political refugees, without exception, who entered Yugoslavia were subjected to quarantine, terror and pressure, Rankovic's agency and the military counter-espionage (Second Bureau) recruited among them hundreds of agents who gave written undertakings to work against the Greek democratic movement. A number of leading Communists were murdered by Titoite agents in the regions of Kastoria, Florina, Edessa and Karadiova, Vlahos, who assassinated; Janis Zevgos, a member of the Politbureau of the Greek Communist Party, was also a Tito agent from Skoplje"

Tito the spy, and his gang pursued this same line in of treachery and sabotage during the new stage of the armed struggle of the Greek people which began in March 1946. In the Greek Democratic Army, and in the liberated regions, they had their espionage centre headed by Mitrovski, Keramidejev and Goce. They tried to penetrate the leading bodies of the Greek Democratic Army (G.D.A.), to organise Slav-Macedonian units the commanding staff of which would be directly subordinate to Skoplje, and to know what was taking place in the High Command of the Greek Democratic Army. Tito's aims, from the very beginning of the new phase of our struggle, was to prevent by all means, the victory of the Greek Democratic Army and to obtain its defeat. And in the autumn of 1948 when Monarcho-fascism, after its defeat in the battle of Vitsi, was in the throes of a severe crisis. Both Tito and the Anglo-Americans realised that they must do everything possible to save the Athens government from catastrophe. At that time, Tito had already been exposed by the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties as a nationalist-renegade who had broken with Communism.

The Greek Democratic Army was a serious obstacle to Tito, to the Anglo-Americans and to monarcho-fascists. Beginning with 1949, the Keramidjiev-Mitrovski-Goce clique, which received its orders from the Titoite henchman, Kolisevski, in Skoplje, redoubled their efforts to undermine the Greek Democratic Army from within. The result was that Slav-Macedonian soldiers from the Greek Democratic Army began to desert to Yugoslavia where they were received with open arms and at once used for saboteur activities.

At this same time, the Tito clique, trying to conceal its relations with monarcho-fascism, intensified its slanderous campaign, the chief "argument" of which was an allegation that the Greek Communist Party and the Information Bureau were planning to betray the armed struggle of the Greek people. In this instance, Tito resorted to the old method of the robber who cries "Stop thief!"

Open collaboration between Tito and the monarcho-fascists began at Kaimakchalan in the spring of 1949. Only a few days after the meeting of Yugoslav and monarcho-fascist officers, under the observation of U.S. and British military representatives, the units of the Greek Democratic Army were out-flanked at Kaimakchalan on Yugoslav territory. Then followed the treacherous blow of the Titoite troops, delivered from the rear of the Greek Democratic Army, then fighting at Vitsi.

This completed the chain of betrayal by the Tito gang. Further details have now come to light in Athens. The open preference of the Tito clique for Plastiras has aroused the anger of Tsaldaris supporters.

One of the main reasons for this preference, and for the exclusion of Tsaldaris from the new government by the Americans, was the desire to, make it possible for Tito to claim that he was entering into agreement, not with monarcho-fascists, but with "democrats". In connection with this discord inside the fascist clique an extremely important fact was disclosed. Suggestions for a peaceful solution of the Greek question which the American and British Governments were forced to make early in May 1949, under the pressure of world public opinion and the peace policy of the Soviet Union and because of the severe crisis prevailing at the time in the monarcho-fascist army, were rejected by Tito because, more than anything else, he feared democratic Greece. At that time Tito promised to give every possible help to monarcho-fascist Greece against the Greek Democratic Army and demanded in return that the Anglo-American imperialists should relinquish any attempt to secure a peaceful solution to the Greek question. The latter gave their consent to this. And, as we saw earlier, Tito kept his promise. As admitted by Papagos and other members of the Athens Government, the Tito aid, which American journalists have rated the equivalent of the assistance received by monarcho-fascists from the Americans, the Athens Government won the decisive battle of Vitsi-Grammos in 1949.

Following the defeat of the Greek Democratic Army, another round of treachery by the Belgrade gang against the Greek people began. Unconcealed attempts to hammer out an "Athens-Belgrade" axis are underway: the North Atlantic Pact—the weapon for military ventures by the American imperialists against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies—is being extended to include the Balkans. For the purpose of concealing this new treachery, and to deceive the Yugoslav people and world public opinion, the Titoite spies declare shamelessly that the elections of March 5 in Greece constituted a "democratic revolution", that with the representative of this "revolution" -Plastiras- Yugoslavia can and should enter into an agreement. Tito thinks that the world is so naive as to swallow this fairy tale about a "democratic revolution" in Greece—a term which not even Plastiras dares to use.

Tito conceals the fact that Plastiras was one of the most despicable “heroes” of the so-called “Ukrainian crusade”, in other words, of the armed intervention by the Entente against Soviet Russia in 1918. He is silent about the fact that Venizelos, the most loyal ally of Tsaldaris, is Vice-Premier in the Plastiras Government. He is also silent about the fact that Papandreou and Tsuderis—out and out reactionaries and most reliable representatives of Greek plutocracy—participate in this Government. He conceals the fact that Plastiras came to power on the orders of Grady, the American Ambassador, who simply drove Venizelos out of the Premiership for the sole purpose of facilitating collaboration between Belgrade and Athens.

But twist as he may, the facts expose Tito. Tsaldaris declared in the Greek parliament, that Tufa, the Director of the Yugoslav zone in Salonika, had been in this post since 1949 when Tsaldaris was Prime Minister. This fact shows that Tito was already secretly negotiating with Tsaldaris in 1949 and only after all this did he discover the “democratic revolution” of Plastiras as a means of consolidating the imperialist essence of the “Athens-Belgrade” axis.

Papagos himself exposed Tito when, in one of his confidential orders to military units, referring to the need to support fascist organisations in Greece, it is stated: “It is absolutely essential that Tito supporters in Greece should immediately become organised; they are our genuine allies.” Having utilised Tito and his Army against the Greek Democratic Army, the monarcho-fascists now intend to use the Tito agents in Greece against the Greek Communist Party. Recently, Colonel Goodhouse, one of the chief British intelligence agents in Greece during World War Two, turned up once more in Athens. At present, Goodhouse, together with the gangsters from the Tito Embassy in Athens, is organising undermining work against the Greek Communist Party among former inmates of the concentration camps and recruiting agents from their ranks. At the same time, the “Voice of America”, the B.B.C. and the propaganda lackeys of Djilas are now waging a joint campaign against the Greek Communist Party.

The realisation of the “Athens-Belgrade” axis under American direction is proceeding rapidly. Kardelj declared on May 16 that not only diplomatic relations had been restored with Athens but also postal, telegraphic, telephone, railway, and air communications and that Yugoslavia would have the use of a free zone in Salonika.

Trading is also going on around the question of Greek children in Yugoslavia. Tito is already handing over children to the monarcho-fascists. At the same time he refuses to return children to their relatives residing in the people’s democratic republics.

And if a dog fight has recently broken out again between Athens and Belgrade on the Macedonian question, this is because each of the cliques tries to wrest from the other as much as possible, without a single thought for the Macedonian people who, with American blessing, are oppressed, tortured and exploited by both these cliques. Neither one nor the other has abandoned its plans for territorial expansion.

All this leads to one clear and definite conclusion: the “Belgrade-Athens” axis embodies the military strivings of the American imperialists against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, above all, against the People’s Republic of Albania, the dismemberment of which, is being planned behind the scenes (counting the chickens before they are hatched!). This axis constitutes a direct and mortal danger to the Greek people now their independence has gone—their country having been turned into an American colony—for they may be the first to become cannon fodder.

The insolence of the Belgrade clique at the present time, the reality of its alliance with monarcho-fascism, is evident from the statement of Kardelj on May 16

when he threatened that Yugoslavia would also undertake other measures against the people's republics and, it goes without saying, against the Albanian People's Republic in the first place.

"For the Greek Communist Party there can be no greater aim than to fight irreconcilably against the "Athens-Belgrade" axis. Without this, the struggle of Greece for peace, for its territorial integrity—which Tito has traded to the Americans—for its independence, for democracy and bread for the people, is groundless.

It is necessary daily and ceaselessly to enlighten the people whose blood is once again to be bartered. It is necessary to organise the people and also to organise the activity on a mass scale, of all the people, concretely, daily, constantly and tirelessly! It is necessary to struggle even more concretely—both in the Yugoslav zone in Salonika and against communication lines and rail deliveries between Greece- Yugoslavia—against every manifestation arising from the formation of the "Athens-Belgrade" axis.

The people have the forces with which to destroy this axis and the plans which American imperialism is building around it. In this way we shall begin in a practical and concrete way to realise our revolutionary vow: now, as in 1941-1945, the Greek people will not fight against the Soviet Union! In this way, we shall, in practice, impart a living and concrete content to our struggle for peace which is the most ardent desire of our people.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!
No. 26 (86), Friday, June 30, 1950

PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA WILL RID THEMSELVES OF THE CLIQUE OF TRAITORS.

**Jacques Duclos, Secretary,
French Communist Party**

Two years ago, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties adopted the Resolution concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The facts confirmed the correctness of this political document which, on the basis of a careful analysis of the situation in Yugoslavia, predicted the precise path the Yugoslav leaders would inevitably follow unless they honestly admitted their errors and took measures to rectify them.

At that time Tito and his henchmen resorted to endless vows of loyalty to the Soviet Union, posing as "innocent" people who had been condemned, they questioned the trustworthiness of the information which had served as the basis for the Resolution of the Information Bureau. In this way, the Tito clique sought to cover up its traces. Conscious of the dangers of public exposure, it believed that it could continue to serve the imperialist camp without being exposed.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau scattered these hopes of the traitors. The facts clearly show that, at the time this Resolution was published, Tito and his clique had already betrayed the cause of proletarian internationalism, the cause of Socialism that they had sunk into the mire of bourgeois nationalism, had deserted to the camp of imperialism.

The fate of the vows of loyalty by means of which Tito tried to conceal his anti-working class and anti-Socialist policy is now common knowledge. At present, the Tito clique openly serves the imperialists to whom it has handed over Yugoslavia for

the purpose of transforming it into an outpost for aggression against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the international working class and democratic movement having sunk to the position of bourgeois nationalism, and having subordinated the people of Yugoslavia to their dictatorship, the fascist criminals lost no time in joining the ranks of the bitterest enemies of Socialism.

It is obviously impossible to speak about advancing along the road towards Socialism while fighting the country which has made Socialism a reality over one-sixth of the earth's surface, which points the way to the working people of the world who see in the victory of Socialism the only way out of their misery. Therefore, when Tito and his clique speak about "building Socialism" in Yugoslavia, we know beforehand what these statements are worth. Truman welcomes the building of such "Socialism", and this, in itself, shows just what Titoite "Socialism" represents.

What are the Belgrade traitors doing to build up their "Socialism"? They have introduced forced labour under the pretext of "voluntary brigades", reviving to a certain degree the feudal system of serfdom. Thus, coalminers in 96 of the coal pits in Yugoslavia were forced to work five and a half million hours without any remuneration. The people of Yugoslavia have been reduced to extreme poverty. The American journal "Time", which can hardly be suspected of being hostile to the Yugoslav fascists, had to admit that the Yugoslav masses are getting less food than before the war. Basic prices of rationed food are two, three and four times higher than pre-war, while wages have barely doubled. The discrepancy in prices, writes "Time", is even more pronounced in other goods.

All this contrasts sharply with the life of luxury lived by Tito and his janissaries. In the old days, the king was number one landowner in the country. Today Tito holds first place. Tito owns numerous estates, 27 castles, yachts. His henchman, naturally, have also provided themselves with the best in the name of what they have the audacity to call "Socialist construction". It goes without saying that the estates of this new Belgrade aristocracy are maintained at the expense of the people. This situation has aroused indignation among the broad mass of the working people of Yugoslavia who believed they were building Socialism and are now gradually beginning to realise that they have been brazenly deceived and betrayed by the Tito clique.

At one time attempts were made to represent Tito as the defender of small peasants, but all are now aware that the position of the toiling peasantry is far worse than ever before. The peasants are oppressed by taxation and are doomed to forced labour. The producer co-operatives that have compulsorily been set in villages, are run by kulaks and thus represent a new form of exploitation of the working peasantry. The peasants have, in the final analysis, been made to work for the kulaks who, of course, support the Tito regime.

Even the above mentioned "Time" admits these facts. One of its correspondents wrote that it was quite certain that several thousand grumbling peasants were thrown into prison in 1949. In some villages, about 50 peasants were arrested overnight. The "Time" correspondent once saw a column of some 200 peasants with picks and spades on one of the roads in Serbia. The correspondent was told that they were volunteers. But at the head and in the tail of the column marched soldiers armed with tommy-guns.

It is obvious that the workers and toiling peasants who have been deprived of all liberty and are subjected to the most brutal exploitation are extremely hostile to the Tito clique. But the Rankovic police ready for any vile act, for any crime, are everywhere enforcing silence and suppressing the protests of the people.

In these conditions, none of Tito's supporters dared take seriously the recent elections to the Yugoslav Skupshtina. It is known that balloting was far from secret; any who wished to vote against the official Tito list had to place the ball into special box which act at once gave them away to the Rankovic police. The Western "democrats" who employ other methods of falsifying elections, naturally had nothing to say against these methods. They need Tito and approve beforehand any method this bandit employs to try to retain power.

The animal hatred for Communism, characteristic of the imperialists, is also characteristic of their Belgrade lackeys whose dependent position is quite obvious. Yugoslavia is forced to pursue the policy of those who invest capital in the country and who, naturally, intend to control that capital. That is why the advocates of the Tito clique who dare talk about building "Socialism" in Yugoslavia and about her "independence", simply want to conceal the actual state of affairs.

Comrade Stalin has clearly shown that the country which opens its doors to free capitalist penetration can preserve neither its economic nor its political independence. Capitalist control, Comrade Stalin points out, means, above all, financial control, that is, the planting of branches of big capitalist banks in a country, the formation of the so-called "auxiliary" banks. Capitalist control means further political control, the elimination of a country's political independence, the adaptation of a country's laws to the interests and desires of international capitalist economy.

The estimation given by J. V. Stalin can be fully applied to Yugoslavia where Tito has done what the trotskyite criminals wanted to do in the Soviet Union.

Replying to the recent request of Tito for a new loan of 25 million dollars, Black, Chairman of the International Bank which, actually, is in the hands of the Americans, declared that such a loan would be granted. Commenting on this statement, the newspaper, "Le Monde" wrote on April 26, 1950: "In principle, the Bank should not grant loans for political ends. But, evidently, the splitting of the world into two camps has forced it to take into account the new situation".

However, American bankers are not the only people who concern themselves about Yugoslavia, The agents of all American intelligence organs also take an interest in it. The spy, Irving Brown, who organised the trade union split in France and who financed the disrupters, declared that he intended to support the activities of the Yugoslav trade unions and the economic efforts of Yugoslavia. Brown's statement shows that the Yugoslav trade union leaders are carrying out the role of government agents. This is the reason why these people were recently expelled from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Displaying an ever-greater subordination to the American imperialists, the Belgrade criminals, like their Washington masters, are banking on war. More than once they were given the task of organising provocations against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Quite recently, one of the most reactionary Paris newspapers wrote: "Everything suggests the idea that a coup d'etat is being prepared in Tirana with the help of Yugoslavia".

Obviously, the warmongers attach a special significance to the role which the Tito clique is called upon to play in unleashing a new war. That is why it is not surprising that Truman has requested Congress to sanction the despatch of open shipments of armaments to some countries not included in the "military aid programme". It is not difficult to understand that the question here is one of supplying armaments to Franco and Tito whom Truman puts on the same level, a fact which stresses the close kinship between the Madrid and Belgrade fascist cliques.

In a broadcast transmitted by the American radio network—an extremely indicative fact—Tito, zealous lackey that he is, declared against prohibition of the atomic weapon, masking his stand as warmonger with a hypocritical declaration about general disarmament.

This is the classical argument advanced by all those who are against prohibition of the atomic weapon precisely because their plans for war are based on use of this weapon of intimidation and terror.

Obviously, the warmongers seek to take the peoples unaware in order to plunge them into the abyss of war, This explains the publication of contradictory reports designed to confuse public opinion. Tito, clearly, is one of the instruments in this campaign. To lull the vigilance of the peoples, Tito declared: “I do not believe in the possibility of war”. However, sometime afterwards he said: “I have chosen the West,” and this choice, quite evidently, presupposes the possibility of war.

At present, with the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm appeal growing in scale everywhere, Tito and his clique are making every effort to prevent the success of this great people’s referendum. Consequently, it is not surprising that Tito-Kardelj-Djilas-Rankovic and Co. have banned publication of the Stockholm appeal in Yugoslavia, and, likewise, the campaign for signatures to this appeal.

Acting in this manner, the Belgrade traitors, spies and assassins are showing themselves, more and more, in their true colours; as zealous agents of the imperialist warmongers.

All these facts show that the Information Bureau acted quite correctly, when, two years ago, it adopted the Resolution on the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

At present, the situation is clear—the traitors stand exposed. A resolute struggle is being waged, and will be waged, against them, since the Tito clique is playing the role of an espionage agency operating with the money of the American intelligence service in various countries.

We express fraternal, militant solidarity with the Yugoslav Communists who have remained loyal to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. We are in solidarity with the Yugoslav people who are subjected to oppression, exploitation and who have been given into the power of the imperialists.

We are confident that these courageous people will rid themselves of the clique of traitors, spies, assassins and warmongers which has established a regime of brutal terror in Yugoslavia. Despite Tito and his evil clique, the cause of freedom, independence and peace will triumph.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy!

No. 26 (86), Friday, June 30, 1950

Editorial: Latest Step of Tito Clique to Restore Capitalism in Yugoslavia

A few days ago the Skupshtina in Yugoslavia enacted a law annulling the nationalisation of enterprises and placing the management of industrial enterprises, railways, ore-workings and mines in the hands of so-called “labour collective”. Thus the Tito clique has taken another step towards resorting capitalism in Yugoslavia.

As is known, the Tito clique never gave serious thought to building Socialism in Yugoslavia. It had to adopt measures such as nationalisation of industry and

transport to mislead the working people and to establish itself in power.

After the Tito clique effected its counter-revolutionary coup and seized complete power, the State sector of Yugoslav economy ceased to be people's property. The Yugoslav fascists used the nationalised enterprises as a means of exploiting the working class, i.e., of using surplus value extracted from the workers for the purpose of enlarging and maintaining the fascist army and the Rankovic police apparatus for suppressing the people.

The Tito clique subordinated the country both economically and politically to the Anglo-American imperialists.

And now the Yugoslav fascists are making a further step along the path of restoring capitalism and are openly annulling the nationalisation of industry. What reasons forced the Tito clique to hand over industry, ore-workings and railways to private enterprise?

The reasons for these Tito measures are as follows: (1) Utter failure of the so-called Five-Year Plan, failure of the organisation of "planned economy", which the Titoite propagandists had lauded to the heavens; (2) The demand of the Anglo-American imperialists for the restoration in Yugoslavia of private ownership in the means of production, for development of private enterprise.

Yugoslav economy is experiencing a decline. It suffices to say that many pits yield no coal because miners are refusing to work. A similar state of affairs prevails in the non-ferrous ore-workings. The reason for the decline in Yugoslav economy is the treacherous, adventurous anti-people's policy of the Tito clique and the growing resistance of the working class to the policy. Yugoslav workers see that they are toiling for the benefit of the Tito satraps, of the Anglo-American imperialists who buy at absurdly low prices the timber, copper, lead, antimony, and other natural wealth of the country. Only by means of widespread forced labour in the guise of so-called "voluntary brigades" has the Tito clique succeeded in partially meeting the demands of the Anglo-American trusts for supplies of strategic raw materials.

Now the Anglo-American ruling circles have placed a direct task before the Tito clique: to open up every possibility for the further penetration of foreign capital into the economy of the country, to clear the way for complete restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia.

But can the Yugoslav fascists immediately, by means of a single decree, completely restore private ownership in industry?

Of course not.

They cannot, because to do so would mean provoking a direct revolt on the part of the working class, would mean a spontaneous explosion.

The Tito clique decided on another, a round-about way, by means of which it hopes to deceive the workers.

By their demagogic talk about abolishing bureaucracy, “enhancing the role” of the working class, transferring enterprises, railways and mines to the “labour collectives”, stupid, ignorant talk about “the dying of the State” and a “rapid switch to Communism”, Tito and company are throwing out a smoke screen under the cover of which they are turning the enterprises over to their protégés.

In this Tito undertaking there is nothing new or original: it resembles in every detail the fascist cooperative system of Mussolini. The Italian fascists also formed so-called “labour corporations”, “drawing” workers into the management of industry. But this was simply a cloak to screen the imperialist essence of Italian fascism. It is quite clear that in the conditions of a fascist State such as Yugoslavia is industry, and with it the entire economy, will be managed as before by the Tito clique – the servant of Anglo-American imperialism.

Like every other fascist regime, the Tito regime seeks to disguise its capitalist make-up by means of “Socialist” slogans. But this reveals not the strength, but the weakness of fascism. It will be impossible to conceal from the peoples of Yugoslavia, that private enterprise has been given rein in their country, that private ownership has been openly restored, and that their country has been placed under complete control of the American monopolies. This cannot take place without further intensified exploitation of the working class, with the inevitable result that the indignation of the working people will grow more and more, and that it will organise a rebuff. As a result, the Tito clique will have to resort to still greater terror and repressive measures.

As for “theoretical” statements of Yugoslav fascist chiefs, they can only be characterised as the ravings of lunatics. The “speech”, delivered by the blockhead and ignoramus Tito, about the new law is an eclectic hash and consists of bits of Hitler, Ford and Mussolini statements strung together, a mingling of their “ideas” with those of the anarchists, trotskyites and other enemies of the working class and filled with rabid Churchill anti-Sovietism.

To declared that the “functions of the State are dying away in Yugoslavia”. Actually, the economic functions of the State are being restricted in Yugoslavia, restricted for the purpose of openly restoring private ownership in the means and instruments of production. The abandonment by the State of the function of organising economy is designed to secure that, in the conditions of anarchy of production now being revived, the factories, ore workings and railways will pass into the hands of exploiting elements. Such is the iron logic of economic relations. But in Yugoslavia, the Tito clique is developing, in every way, the military-police functions of the fascist State with the aim of suppressing the masses of the people.

Tito declared that “State ownership was the lowest form of public ownership”. In this, too, there is nothing new. It has been always said by the bourgeoisie, the upholders of private ownership in the means of production. It can be said in passing that Mr. Churchill, representing the most reactionary circles of British imperialism, uses this same argument in his opposition to so-called “nationalisation” in Britain.

The Class essence of the latest Tito clique undertakings will be more easily discerned when one hears how they are lauded by the Anglo-American imperialists.

This praise fully expose the Tito clique, exposes its vile designs aimed at the complete restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia.

From For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!

No. 27 (87), July, 7, 1950

YUGOSLAV GOEBBELS' IN THE SERVICE OF THE WARMONGERS.

**J. Chisinevschi, Secretary, Central Committee,
Rumanian Workers' Party**

In the interests of realising the criminal designs of the warmongers, the fascist gang of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and Pjade imitates the propaganda methods of Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler and their successors—Truman, Acheson, and Hoover.

Belgrade has now become one of the main branches of the war propaganda, espionage and sabotage of American imperialism.

The Yugoslav Goebbels—Djilas—has added to the Board of Information, a “Department for propaganda against the Cominform-bureau”, which is a branch of the “Cold War” office of the U.S. State Department. In 1948, 40 million dinars were allocated for this department: in 1949, over 100 million. Following the American example, Tito diplomatic missions have become hotbeds of espionage, and channels for distribution of the fascist booklets and leaflets issued by Djilas and Pjade.

To repeal incessantly one and the same lie with the aim of weaning the people from, independent thought, and to fill them with standard fabricated principles—such is the Hitler method which has now been taken over by American propaganda and its Tito branch.

The pair of sorry theoreticians, the Tito Goebbels'—Djilas and Moshe Pjade—are following the same path. They have been set a foul task to wean the peoples of Yugoslavia from thinking and to make them accept everything Tito says as truth. The entire Tito propaganda is based on a few ideas”, on a few demagogic slogans continually repeated, such as for example, “build Socialism with our own forces”, “keep to our own path”, although it hardly needs saying that there is not even a trace of Socialism in Yugoslavia.

In the press, and in the vocabulary of the fascist State apparatus, slander against the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is the order of the day.

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Djilas and Pjade are doing their utmost to conceal from the peoples of Yugoslavia the criminal economic and political enslavement of the country by the Anglo-American trusts. During the so-called Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Djilas and Pjade claimed neither more nor less than that they, allegedly, were part of the united Socialist front and were ready to fight against imperialism. This “smoke screen” could not deceive anyone. Thereupon, Djilas and Pjade resorted to another ruse. They began to trumpet that Tito's position was allegedly “neutral”, and independent, that he was not tied to any bloc and wanted to maintain “equal” relations with West and with East. But this trick of a third “middle way” between capitalism and Socialism was a shameful failure. The enslavement and plunder of Yugoslavia by American imperialism became so obvious that the Belgrade traitors were compelled partly to admit their treachery, by talking of only “ordinary loans” from American banks. The fascist bandits and the chief fascist

butcher, Tito, were compelled also to admit that had begged these “loans” from the American imperialists.

“We are accused of pleading for loans. This is true”, the Judas Tito was forced to admit recently. Then, seeking to evoke the “sympathy” of his Wall Street masters, who “forgot” to send the promised assistance, the Belgrade gauleiter whined: “Recently we have only been asking for fulfilment of the promises given to us. We expect that those who made promises should fulfil their obligations in order to prove their seriousness and that these promises were not made merely for propaganda purposes”.

The hatred of the Yugoslav people for the American colonisers is so great that the Tito espionage fascist clique is mortally afraid of openly mentioning the names of those to whom they have bartered the national independence of Yugoslavia. “We maintain trade relations with those countries with which it is necessary for us to trade,” declared the American spy Tito to a “Daily Mail” correspondent. And the so-called May Day proclamation of the Tito bandits says that Yugoslavia has begun “to develop trade relations with countries willing to trade with us”.

Yet Judas Tito cannot deny that business is bad. “Our situation is not easy”, he declared at the Congress of the People’s Front of Serbia. This means that apart from speculators, kulaks, secret police agents and the military-fascist clique, the remainder of the population ekes out a miserable existence.

Failure of the economic plans of the Tito clique and a new attempt to deceive the working people of Yugoslavia are indicated by the law on the so-called factory workers’ councils, recently passed by the Yugoslav Skupshtina. Nationalisation is annulled; according to this law, factories and enterprises are now under the management of “labour groups” directed by the agents of the Tito clique. The Yugoslav fascists are following in the footsteps of Mussolini who, in demagogic fashion, also “drew” workers into the managerial corporations, The plan of the Yugoslav fascists is quite clear: to deflect the attention of workers from their difficult conditions and, by actually returning State enterprises to private ownership, ensure the complete restoration of capitalism.

Tito propaganda also brazenly lies on the question of “building Socialism”. In April, 1948 Kardelj declared: “The days of the exploitation of man by man are numbered in our country,” More than two years have passed since those words were uttered, and recently, on June 1, Tito himself had to disprove his own propaganda. He said: “We don’t claim that we will achieve Socialism in the immediate future”.

Hitler, Goering and Goebbels advocated harmony between capital and labour. Hoover and Ford plug the theory of “equal opportunity,” which says that all unemployed man and a multi-millionaire have equal rights in American “democracy”. and Tito, Rankovic. Djilas and Pjade preach that “class struggle had already died down during the war when all fought against the invaders”. Neshkovic, one of the Tito henchmen, has openly stated: “Too much attention should not be paid to the invention of some kind of class struggle in our country”. Under over of such false talk, exploitation of the worker and peasant masses is intensifying every day in Yugoslavia.

The Nazis used their propaganda method to create the myth of Hitler the “infallible fuhrer”, “founder of the national-socialist revolution”, “the man of providence”.

It is sufficient to look through the foul newspapers published by Djilas and Pjade to see the same attempts to create the Tito myth, the “super-man”, the “national liberator”, etc. Typical in this respect is the publicity given to Tito by the

American journal "Life". The executioner of the Yugoslav people received the American journalist in one of his numerous summer mansions. Tito posed for any number of pictures. In one, like Hitler in Berchtesgaden, he looks towards the wall, brows knitted; in another he stands at a billiard table, or on board his yacht, or he is seen fishing, or on horseback, ready to go hunting, accompanied by his bodyguard. The American journalist supplies interesting details showing the methods of Yugoslav propaganda in "idolising Tito". He provides pictures of Tito's cradle and his bed. "Life" stresses that each year the Yugoslav authorities hold a pilgrimage to the "Marshal's" birthplace.

For the purpose of advertising throughout the world the "prosperous" state of national-socialist Germany, the Hitlerites invited to Germany all kinds of adventurers, including leaders of the fifth column. On their return, pockets bulging with German marks, Doriot, Degrelle, Codreanu, Horia Sima, Henlein, Szalasy described "Hitler's civil liberties" and the "fuhrer's desire for peace". The Tito bandits have also adopted this hoary trick of Hitler propaganda. Adventurers and spies, trotskyite bandits, speculators and bourgeois thugs, are invited to Belgrade where, adopting a majestic pose, Tito receives them in one of his palaces, patting his dog and flaunting his bejewelled rings to the "guests". Afterwards, bored youths from America, Italian comic opera "partisans" and "anti-fascists" of the Zilliacus type, grant interviews in which they express their admiration of "genuine Tito Socialism".

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Djilas selected appropriate people for his tremendous propaganda apparatus. Honest people have been hounded from the press and radio. Their places have been taken by spies and agents, experts in misinformation and fabrication of foul slanders broadcast by the Yugoslav radio in 14 languages. They are echoed by bourgeois journalists, reactionaries and fascists, war criminals released from prison and educated in Goebbels' school. The Yugoslav radio is directed ideologically by the American Ambassador, George Alien, a former director of the "Voice of America".

Vladi Dedier, close collaborator of the spy Djilas, is director of the Board of Information and head of the "Party press" department. Dedier received his training in Chicago where he studied at the expense of the millionaire MacCormick. Later, Dedier acted as liaison between the Tito General Staff and Anglo-American intelligence.

The U.S. Government allocate special funds for building the ideological influence of the American imperialists in Yugoslavia, for training fresh cadres of Yugoslav Goebbels'. As was reported on May 6, by "Die Neue Zeitung", an American newspaper issued in Germany, the U.S. State Department proposed and the Yugoslav fascist lackeys adopted the programme for exchange of students, teachers and text-books between the U.S. and Yugoslavia.

Among the brood of fascist degenerates who form the so-called élite of the Titoite press, a leading position is occupied by Anglo-American spies: Perovic, in charge of "Borba"—the faithful follower of "Volkischer Beobachter"; Miloevic, director of the ditty rag "New Yugoslavia" designed for foreign readers, and B. Rybnikar, the so-called Hearst of Yugoslavia, owner of "Politika" and old imperialist agent, who during the war was manager of "Obnova", official organ of the Quisling Nedic. These people are the number one men of Titoite propaganda.

Bourgeois Yugoslav "literature" plays "the same" vile role as the Titoite press. Journalists of the type of Marian Yurkovic, former agent of "Standard Oil", or the provocateur Rade Nikolic are assigned the job of popularising the super-realism and

all the fashionable trends of decadent Western culture of agitating against Socialist culture, etc. At the same time writers who refuse to betray their people, who refuse to submit to the fascist Tito gang, are subjected to brutal police terror, as was the case with the writer Radovan Zogovic.

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The Tito clique has lately been ordered by Washington to smear the valiant peace movement, for the quantitative and qualitative growth of this gigantic movement is causing extreme alarm among, and is tying the hands of the warmongers. Titoite imperialist agents are carrying out this task, resorting, as was correctly noted in the "Pravda" article published in 1948 and signed, Tseka, to all kinds of machinations and slander, trying to accomplish the most unexpected and ridiculous, somersaults to convince the people of Yugoslavia that white is black and black is while, to conceal the fact that the Tito clique is the same camp as the bellicose imperialists and is their foulest hireling.

For many years, while the Nazis with the direct support of the Anglo-American imperialists prepared for war, the Hitler-Goebbels propaganda machine strove to convince everybody that there was no danger of war, that the Hitlerites were the most ardent peace defenders and that Germany would never attack anyone. Yugoslav fascists are also trying their hardest to conceal the war danger from the masses while waging a campaign of the most vile slander against the mightiest peace force, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies—against the peace camp headed by the Communist and Workers' Parties. These fascist hirelings of American imperialism are arming to the teeth, and, like leeches, are sucking the blood of the people of Yugoslavia, plundering without a prick of conscience the wealth of the country.

The Tito clique is a warmonger in the Balkans. Only quite recently the Tito clique, after a treacherous stab in the back of the Greek Democratic army, signed an agreement with the Athens Government. The "Belgrade-Athens axis" established under U.S. leadership, is a serious threat to peace in the Balkans.

The Tito clique provoked countless incidents along the borders of Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania and Hungary. These provocations pursue the aim of deflecting the People's Democracies from peaceful Socialist construction. The Yugoslav fascists are carrying out large-scale military strategic construction along the borders of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Albania. Aerodromes, motor roads and landing strips for jet planes are being constructed with all possible haste. Yugoslavia's airline and a number of ports on the Adriatic have been placed under U.S. control.

The American imperialists, as was cynically admitted by the commentator Alsop, reckon on using Yugoslavia as a source of cannon-fodder. The U.S. has raised the ban on armaments to Yugoslavia; trainloads of armaments are also arriving from Western Germany. Numerically, Yugoslavia maintains a war-time army: the Tito clique has transformed the country into a military camp. Officers and generals who remained loyal to the people were hounded from the army. Their places have been taken by out and out reactionaries, by known fascists and war criminals.

Striving to conceal its war preparations and to whitewash its master, the Tito clique has developed frenzied activities against the peace movement. Prompted by the Americans, now one and then another Titoite repeats the lying phraseology that present-day capitalism does not threaten the world with war, that it is the Socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, which is the source of the war danger. Recently, Tito described the movement for banning the atomic weapon as a "trifle". It is

perfectly clear why the imperialists needed this revelation on the part of Tito who has banned the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal in Yugoslavia.

“There is not a Government in the world that would openly and publicly stand for war”, said the professional liar Djilas, at a time when the Anglo-American troops and the Greek monarcho-fascists, taking advantage of Titoite treachery, were killing thousands of heroic fighters for freedom and peace. “They are but empty words to the effect that the press—we have in mind the newspapers and radio which play an important role in moulding public opinion,—openly calls for war or open aggression against another country,” wrote Djilas at a time when the “Voice of America” demanded the destruction of those peoples who would not submit to the U.S. billionaires, and the Washington “Times Herald” wrote that America would send aircraft with cargoes of atom, incendiary and bacteriological bombs to kill infants in their cradles, the aged during prayers and people during work. While the jackals of the imperialist press try to set one group of nations against another, the spy Kardelj propounds the theory about a “healthier capitalism”, stating that in all countries of Western Europe, capitalism has gained strength and now has no need for war. This Kardelj statement was made at a time when the general crisis of capitalism had sharpened seriously, when there are forty-five million unemployed in the capitalist countries.

The propaganda stunts of Tito, Djilas and Pjadic suffer failure one by one, just as the entire arsenal of Hitlerite propaganda, based on slander and lies, failed. Truth will triumph also in Yugoslavia.

Internal contradictions are sharpening in Yugoslavia. The indignation of the people with the Tito clique is growing and extending. Ever broader masses of the people are entering the struggle for the overthrow of the Tito clique. More and more news, testifying to the facts of this struggle, is available from Yugoslavia. The Communists who have remained loyal to proletarian internationalism are heading this struggle.

The propaganda of jingo fascist ideas and the American way of life does not find favourable soil in Yugoslavia. The peoples of Yugoslavia are deeply loyal to the camp of peace and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union and the fraternal People's Democracies. The fascist frauds will never succeed in getting the people of Yugoslavia to forget their liberator, the Soviet Union. They will never succeed in concealing the leading role of the U.S.S.R. in the struggle for peace. The peoples of Yugoslavia hate American imperialism and its brutal ideology.

The all-conquering ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin imbue the Yugoslav revolutionaries and patriots with strength, energy and valour in the struggle against the fascist regime. These ideas will triumph in Yugoslavia just as they will triumph everywhere throughout the world.

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MEETING OF YUGOSLAV EMIGRES IN AUSTRALIA

A few days ago a meeting of Yugoslav emigres in Australia was held in Sydney. The meeting adopted a resolution expressing no confidence in the Titoite representatives in Australia and complete support for the anti-Titoite Union of Yugoslav emigres in Australia.

The resolution supports the solidarity of the working class and calls upon the people of Yugoslavia to intensify the struggle for the return of their country to the democratic camp of the European countries.

Another resolution adopted at this meeting demands that Tito release all political prisoners whom he threw into prison when he broke with the democratic camp

From For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!

No. 27 (87), July, 7, 1950

Liberation Struggle of the Peoples of Yugoslavia Against the Fascist Tito Clique

R. Golubovic

I.

The Tito clique sought to conceal from the masses its direct switch-over in the spring of 1948 to bourgeois nationalism, and the crusade against the Communists who had remained loyal to the cause of proletarian internationalism, with demagogic shouts about "unjust" attacks by Communist Parties.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was not a Party with a clear and definite strategy and tactics, with a definite political line of class struggle which, had the Party pursued it, would have enabled the Party to rally around itself the broad mass of the working class, the working people of town and countryside in the struggle against the exploiting classes.

The Party which, during the war, had lost a great number of its genuine Marxist-Leninist cadres (the majority of whom had been physically eliminated by the Titoites); the Party into which the Tito gang had brought various fascist and exploiting elements, placing imperialist spies in the leading posts: the Party in which the Marxist education of cadres was systematically substituted by the inculcation of bourgeois ideology—such a Party, after its remaining Marxist core had been smashed and after a crusade of terror, unprecedented in its ferocity, had been carried out, found itself in the power of assassins and spies.

The blows at the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were only the beginning of the onslaught undertaken by the fascist-espionage Tito gang on the orders of its Anglo-American masters against the working class and other masses of the working people, with the aim of abolishing their revolutionary gains. It eliminated the People's Democratic system, detached Yugoslavia from the camp of Socialism which is headed by the Soviet Union, established a fascist regime in the country and turned Yugoslavia into a colony of U.S. imperialism.

The fascist-Gestapo Tito clique later launched an all-out offensive against the working people of Yugoslavia and their revolutionary gains. The working-class and the working peasantry were subjected to bloody terror and to severe exploitation, All representatives of the working class and the working peasantry were expelled from the organs of State power and replaced by the representatives of the urban bourgeoisie and the kulaks. The country was transformed into a huge forced labor camp where hundreds of thousands of working people are forced to work without pay to secure supplies of ore, timber and agricultural products for the Western capitalists and, above all, for the U.S. imperialists.

A brutal fascist regime was established in the country; a regime which is a weapon in the hands of the U.S. imperialists to turn the peoples of Yugoslavia into colonial

slaves, and which is directed against the working masses and relies on this urban bourgeoisie and the kulaks.

The elimination of the People's Democratic system and the institution of the fascist regime have resulted in the fact that the broad masses of the working people in Yugoslavia have come out against the espionage Tito-Rankovic gang and its bloody regime. Neither the slanderous propaganda of the Tito clique against the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp nor the mendacious tales about the ostensible "Building of Socialism" in Yugoslavia have been able to conceal from the broad mass of the working people the reactionary and fascist nature of the Tito regime and the essence of the policy and actions of the Tito gang. Therefore, after the open switch-over of the Tito clique to the imperialist camp the Yugoslav working people began a difficult and persistent struggle against the Tito regime.

Precisely because the fascist regime of the Tito clique has become a weapon in the hands of the Anglo-American imperialists for the enslavement of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the struggle of our peoples against this regime has assumed the character of a liberation struggle. The main force in the liberation movement in Yugoslavia is the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, led by the working class and by the illegal Party groups of the Communist Party which is being regenerated.

Two characteristic features in the development of the revolutionary liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia against the fascist regime of the Tito clique were that on the one hand this struggle was at first a spontaneous and unorganised struggle of the working people and, on the other, that a narrow, group-like approach had prevailed in the organisation and formation of a new Communist Party which must be a united leader of the liberation struggle of the people's masses. It can be said that this stage in the development of the liberation struggle is coming to an end. And although, as yet, there is no new Communist Party which would be a single leader in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the masses, in many places and enterprises there are, at present, illegal Marxist-Leninist groups which guide this struggle and which, at the same time, fight for the formation and regeneration of the Communist Party.

II.

The struggle of the working class of Yugoslavia has taken various forms in different periods.

At first it was of an unorganised nature and found expression mainly in individual resistance by the workers. Workers did not turn up to perform unpaid work, they did not work overtime, did not fulfil the daily targets and the work norms, produced goods of low quality and so on. In reply the Titoites resorted to various kinds of punishment: they deprived the workers of ration cards, reduced wages, curtailed holidays, deprived workers of free medical "treatment", sacked and arrested them, and so on. However, the struggle did not die away but became more and more organised.

Workers passed from individual forms of struggle to collective ones. Absenteeism acquired mass dimensions. As admitted by the Titoites, more than 400,000 workers in 1949 alone did not turn up for work daily. At certain enterprises, particularly at those mine workings where ore for export to the U.S. is produced, from 500 to 1,000 workers absented themselves from work daily.

To counteract such forms of workers' struggle, the Titoites passed a decision for the signing of labour agreements between workers and enterprises. According to official

Yugoslav figures, not more than 15-30 per cent of workers signed the agreements at the great majority of the enterprises. Actually, there is no enterprise where more than 50 per cent of the workers signed the agreement. In addition, the vast majority of the workers who did sign the agreements soon tore them to pieces and left the enterprises. The Titoites began to punish the workers by long-term forced labour at enterprises, thus turning great masses of workers into convicts.

Workers replied to these fascist measures with strikes, sabotage, non-fulfilment of production plans and by leaving enterprises on a mass scale. This resulted in a great fall in output and in the failure of production plans. The majority of enterprises did not carry out their 1949 plans by even 50 per cent.

To break the struggle of the working class, the Tito clique set up a punitive apparatus to seize and punish workers participating in the struggle. All districts have their UDB branches. But the struggle of the working class, despite the terror, is growing in strength and becoming better organised. Its organised character became particularly marked this year. A good example is the activities of the railway workers who are always disrupting and sabotaging the export of raw materials to other countries by the Tito clique.

The poor and middle peasants are especially active in their opposition to the mobilisation of peasants for unpaid forced labour carried out by the Titoites and to the collection of agricultural produce for export. The Titoite clique has launched a violent crusade against the toiling peasantry to ensure the export of huge quantities of iron ore, timber and agricultural produce. The Titoites robbed the working people in Yugoslavia of ten billion dinars in 1949 alone by forcing the working people of Yugoslavia to work without pay. At first, the resistance of the toiling peasantry to forced unpaid labour was also unorganised and individual, but in 1949 it had already assumed a mass character. Whenever the Titoites succeeded in mobilising them the peasants at once fled from their jobs. Thus, of the 600,000 peasants mobilised for work in Serbia in 1949, 430,000 escaped. At present, the Titoites cannot mobilise any appreciable number of peasants for forced labour in the countryside at all. They are making the servicemen and the numerous prisoners who, under the fascist-Gestapo regime number several hundred thousand, do the job.

To frustrate these rapacious collections, the Yugoslav toiling peasantry left uncultivated nearly three million hectares of arable land last autumn and in the spring of this year. The working peasants are now resisting these collections in an organised way. About six hundred rural representatives in Serbia protested to the government against the rapacious collections. Peasants in different regions are offering armed resistance when the authorities take their grain and other agricultural produce or they organise protest demonstrations, as was the case in Bania, Lica, Cordune and other places.

The struggle of the broad people's masses in Yugoslavia against the Titoite fascist regime in 1948 and 1949 mainly pursued economic aims. This year it has begun to develop into a struggle where political demands are advanced. This common struggle of the mass of the people against the Tito clique is rising to a higher stage. In March this year the Tito clique held elections to the so-called "People's Skupshtina of the FPRY". These elections showed that the broad people's masses politically condemn the fascist regime of the Tito clique. In a number of electoral areas the number of votes cast for the Titoite candidates did not exceed 30 per cent of the total number of registered electors. As reported by the London "Times" (which openly defends the Tito clique), the total number of votes cast for the Titoite candidates did not exceed in a number of places one third of the electorate.

The political demands—the overthrow of the fascist regime of the Tito clique, the establishment in Yugoslavia of a system of People's Democracy and the return of the country to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism—permeate the struggle of the broad masses in town and countryside ever more strongly.

Along with the struggle to win these demands, the working people in Yugoslavia are waging the struggle for peace, against the Anglo-American instigators of a new war, against the Tito clique which is their agency for unloosing war in the Balkans. The peoples of Yugoslavia know that the struggle for peace is linked indivisibly with the struggle against the Tito clique and that only the overthrow of this fascist regime will save them from the disaster of war into which they are being plunged by the Tito gang.

III.

The transformation of the unorganised struggle into an organised one, the link between the struggle on economic questions with the political struggle and the transition of both to a higher form of struggle and this will undoubtedly follow only after the strengthening of the illegal Marxist-Leninist groups of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which is being regenerated.

Following the arrest and assassination of the best members of the Communist Party, and after the rout of the internationalist nucleus, the Communists, who remained faithful to the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and who escaped arrest, have to carry on in the arduous conditions of fascist terror. For a long time their activities were those of a narrow group-like character and were not linked with the broad mass of working people because the Gestapo apparatus of Rankovic had succeeded in rounding up the illegal groups through the help of provocateurs and spies and because of insufficient vigilance among the Communists. In due time the groups acquired experience in underground activity, succeeded in strengthening their organisation and discovered a method of work which best guarantees them against police action.

The groups are passing from narrow propaganda work to widespread political agitation by spreading leaflets, illegal literature, chalking slogans on the walls of houses, etc. The groups linked themselves more and more with the masses and headed the mass struggle against the fascist regime of the Tito clique.

With the rising liberation struggle in the country, the Yugoslav revolutionary political emigrants in the U.S.S.R. and in the People's Democracies strengthened and organised their ranks. These emigrants now render great assistance in the struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia against the fascist regime of the Tito clique and are an important factor in this struggle.

The struggle which the Yugoslav refugees in the capitalist countries are waging against the fascist Tito gang also helps our peoples in their liberation struggle against imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The Titoite fascist regime is now experiencing a political and economic crisis, for it has compromised itself in the eyes of the broad working masses of Yugoslavia. The ranks of the fighters against the warmongering policy of the Tito clique are growing. The activities of the liberation front of the peoples of Yugoslavia are developing on an ever wider scale. The number is also growing of the rank and file, N.C.O's and officers of the Yugoslav army—sons of the working people and genuine patriots of our country—who declare they will not wage war in the interests of the American oppressors and their servitors—the Titoite espionage gang.

Fearing their defeat and punishment by the people, the espionage Tito-Rankovic clique is intensifying the fierce fascist reign of terror, drawing Yugoslavia ever more into the yoke of the Anglo-American monopolies and, on the order of their imperialist bosses, pushing the country into war adventures against neighbouring People's Democracies.

But by intensifying their struggle against the fascist regime of the Tito clique, the peoples of Yugoslavia are clearly expressing their will. They stand firmly for the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, headed by the mighty Soviet Union and led by the standard-bearer of peace, the leader and teacher of the working people throughout the world—J. V. Stalin.

The day is not far off when the peoples of Yugoslavia will fully reveal their strength and wipe the gang of warmongers in the Balkans and its fascist regime off the face of the earth, returning the country to the fraternal family of the peoples of the camp of peace, Socialism and democracy.

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YUGOSLAV PEASANTS FIGHT AGAINST FASCIST RULE OF THE TITO CLIQUE

As reported from Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav working peasants are opposing more and more resolutely the anti-popular Tito regime, the outrages, violence and plunder organised by the Belgrade rulers.

Whereas during last autumn and in the spring of this year the Yugoslav peasantry refused to sow—as admitted by the Tito press—and left uncultivated over 40 per cent of land, the peasants in many regions are now evading grain deliveries to the fascist authorities. By the beginning of August, in Serbia, which is the country's main granary, the Tito authorities had been able to “store up” no more than 30 per cent of the amount of grain envisaged by the “plan”, although this year grain threshing was conducted under police supervision and the grain was taken from the threshing-floor direct to the State stores.

In Macedonia, a mass withdrawal from the “zadrugas”—which are agricultural cooperatives forcibly created by the Titoites and run by kulak elements—was observed during the harvesting campaign. Fearing the disintegration of these “co-operatives”, the authorities resorted to repressive measures and organised scores of trials of working peasants as a result of which 50 peasants were sentenced to death. However, the Tito clique terror is unable to suppress the growing discontent of the Yugoslav peasantry or to prevent the withdrawal of peasants from kulak co-operatives. At the Serbian “Red Star” co-operative alone, more than 75 peasants have openly announced their withdrawal from the co-operative. Large numbers of the peasants have also left the “co-operatives” in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Poverty-stricken and oppressed by the Tito authorities, the peasants in a number of villages in Serbia, including the Belgrade region, are resorting to such protest actions as selling fire to the premises of the rural committees and to the grain belonging to these committees. The Yugoslav rulers and their fascist press are unable to conceal these facts of open peasant revolt against the treacherous Tito-Rankovic clique. Not long ago, in the village of Glina near Zagreb, Rankovic police arrested nearly 200 peasants who resisted the Tito authorities, forcibly taking the new grain from the peasants.

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

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**FOR THE REGENERATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY, GENUINE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA.**

Pero Popivoda

I.

The counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Yugoslavia dealt a heavy blow to the Yugoslav working class movement.

The Tito-Rankovic clique of imperialist hirelings devoted several years to preparing the blow against the working class of Yugoslavia. Having wormed themselves into the leadership of the Communist movement they systematically corrupted the Party ranks, removed, compromised and physically destroyed the healthy forces of the Party—their ideological and political opponents, the Communists loyal to the ideas of Lenin-Stalin.

The Tito clique deliberately distorted Marxism-Leninism and came forward as the bearer of ideological hotch potch and confusion in the Party. Hypocritically distorting the essence of the thesis that “Marxism is not dogma...” this clique resorted to incredible revisionist experimentation and deviations in order to carry out the assignments of the imperialist intelligence services and to deflect the Communist Party and the working class movement onto an anti-revolutionary path.

The Yugoslav counter-revolutionaries came out into the open and struck at the working class and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia precisely at that moment when it was no longer possible for them to mask themselves in the international working class movement, i.e. in the period of the resounding victories of the Communist movement throughout the world, of growing class contradictions. This revolutionary advance of the international proletarian movement—the outcome of the historic victories of the great land of Socialism, the victory of the Lenin-Stalin idea over fascism and international imperialist reaction, helped to lay bare everything alien and hostile to the revolutionary movement.

The fact that the class enemy—the Tito clique—succeeded, more or less easily, in smashing the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, is due to the serious ideological and political short-comings in the work of the Party. The misfortune of the working class movement and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is that for the greater part of the time, over a period of thirty years, (the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was founded in 1919) they were actually headed by bourgeois agents who always deflected the Party from the correct path, provoked crisis after crisis in it and eventually brought it to ruin and ignominious liquidation.

Imperialist secret service agents had for years been trying to worm their way into the so-called Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During those thirty years, the central leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was changed on more than ten occasions and each time, as a rule, (excluding rare individuals), it was a treacherous leadership, hostile to the working class. Of the dozens of general secretaries which the Party had, only one, Juro Djakovic, was not a traitor and an enemy of the working class! Every Yugoslav patriot and revolutionary recalls with indignation, with contempt and disgust the names Sima Markovic (Semic), Martinovic, Gorkic, Miletic, Josif Broz (Tito) and other traitors, spies and liquidators. It will not be amiss to recall

that Djakovic had been leader of the Party only for a few months when he was assassinated. His body was found on the Yugoslav-Austrian border!

In its social composition the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never was actually a proletarian party. Less than ten per cent were workers (and of these the majority belonged to the labour aristocracy and lumpen proletariat). This situation prevailed right till the liquidation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1948. Even after the war, when numerically the Party was at its highest level, this percentage not only did not increase, it declined steadily. In the main industrial centres of Yugoslavia: in industrial enterprises in Slovenia, in the Bor mines and in the mines in Bosnia, there were no party organisations before the war. According to the data quoted by the Tito-Rankovic clique at the Fifth "Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia", in 1948, three enterprises in Slovenia employing over 20,000 workers had a mere 245 Party members. In one of the industrial enterprises in Bosnia, and Herzegovina, which employed seven thousand workers and an office staff of approximately a thousand, only 92 of the Party members were workers at the bench.

The Tito clique—enemy of the Communist Party—brought into the Party, the agents of all kinds of imperialist intelligence services—capitalists, merchants, kulaks, bourgeois intellectuals, reactionary priests and even scions of the overthrown dynasty. For a long time, until his return to France, in 1948 ex-Prince Mihailo Petrovic, grandson of King Nikolai of Montenegro and notorious international spy and adventurer, was a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Titoites appointed this bandit to an important post in The Foreign Ministry!

In 1945 former members of over 20 reactionary bourgeois parties were in The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, many of them occupying positions in the central and republican leadership of the Party. Thus, after the war, the Titoites co-opted to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia, Marian Brezel—leader of the Christian Party (direct Papal agency in Yugoslavia) and son of the founder of this party.

In the course of the liberation war the Tito clique removed and physically destroyed the healthy forces of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. One has but to quote the basic figures. Due to the foul and criminal actions of Tito and his Anglo-American instructors, more than ten thousand of the total pre-war membership of twelve thousand in the underground Communist Party of Yugoslavia were killed! Two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and hundreds of the leaders of the republican and regional Party organisations were killed. The entire leadership of the Party organisations in Serbia and Vojevodina was wiped out. This was the infamous trotsky-hitlerite method of removing political opponents. Because of this fascist terror on the part of the Titoite gang against the healthy forces of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the leadership of the Party fell into the hands of spies, assassins and imperialist hirelings.

It should be emphasized, that the genuine Yugoslav Communists, despite constant treachery and sabotage on the part of the leadership, displayed, both before and after the liberation war, magnificent examples of fidelity to the Lenin-Stalin ideas. But always blocking their way was the treacherous leadership which reduced to nought all their successes and achievements.

II.

The working class in Yugoslavia is in a particularly difficult position at present. Tito's fascist regime is systematically dealing it heavy blows, gradually eliminating all the

gains of the Yugoslav working class movement and of the national liberation struggle of our peoples Having wrested the country from our great liberator and defender—the Soviet Union—and the entire democratic, anti-imperialist camp—the Titoites betrayed it and handed it over for plunder by the imperialists who are ruthlessly exploiting it. Yugoslavia has long since been deprived of its national sovereignty, political and economic independence; it is experiencing one of the gravest crises in its history and is actually on the brink of ruin and national disaster.

The working class of Yugoslavia is subjected to colonial exploitation in the interests of American-British imperialists. Workers are deprived of all rights, working class organisations have been broken up and turned into fascist-militarist organisations under the supervision of agents of American-British reaction. Tens of thousands of the best workers have been killed or are being put to death in the Rankovic torture chambers. Hunger and poverty, corruption and the black market, terror and lawlessness, forced labour and deception are rampant.

The present-day Titoite party, which the Titoites for demagogic reasons still call “Communist”, is, in composition, organisational structure, ideological base and political character, a fascist counter-revolutionary party. Its functions are those of a police-gestapo, terrorist-provocateur, predatory functions and directed against the peoples. The Titoite party is a hotch potch of the remnants of the old bourgeois parties, of counter-revolutionary trotskyism, of the liquidators of the Party and countless imperialist agents. It is a hotch potch of the most reactionary element: trotskyism, fascism, Right Social democratism, etc. This party is in the service of the American-British imperialists who supervise it. It is at war with all the Communist Parties of the world, its “leaders” are rabid enemies of Communism.

It goes without saying that such a “party” bodes no good for the peoples and the working class of Yugoslavia. The Titoite party is waging war not only against the Communist Parties of the world but also against the peoples of Yugoslavia. The Belgrade fascists are using this party as an instrument for suppressing the popular resistance to the imperialist plunder, for terror against the peoples of Yugoslavia, for plundering the national wealth of the country, for preparing war in the interests of the American-British imperialist aggressors.

III.

In the light of these facts and in the conditions of the growing resistance of the peoples of Yugoslavia to the fascist regime of the Tito clique, the question of re-creating a Communist Party of Yugoslavia is of paramount importance. The situation in the country, the growing liberation struggle of the people for the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia, the leading role of the Yugoslav working class in this struggle—all this urgently demands acceleration of the process for the creation of a genuine revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Yugoslavia—vanguard and leader of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau of Communist and Workers’ Parties rendered extensive and timely aid to the Yugoslav revolutionary forces. The Resolution “The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Assassins and Spies” states: “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 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia from imperialism”.

The results achieved prove that the Yugoslav revolutionary forces correctly understand their task. The numerous underground organisations in the country are, despite the difficulties, searchings and inexperience, successfully reorganising their work in keeping with the internal situation; they are establishing contact with one another and are taking deep root in the heart of the working masses. The struggle for peace, against the Tito traitors who are seeking to provoke a military conflict in the Balkans, occupies the central place in the activities of the underground Yugoslav Communist movement. Peace committees are being formed in the country, signatures are being collected to the Stockholm appeal calling for prohibition of the atomic weapon; the war provocations and preparations by the Tito clique are being exposed, and a struggle waged to disrupt the export from Yugoslavia of strategic materials for the American-British aggressors.

The Communist organisations are countering the fascist propaganda and ideology with which the Titoites are poisoning the minds of the peoples of Yugoslavia, with Marxist-Leninist teaching, with Lenin-Stalin ideas and the Stalin policy of peace and friendship between peoples. Revolutionary newspapers, leaflets and pamphlets are circulated, revolutionary slogans advanced, and reports by radio stations in the countries of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp circulated. The Yugoslav revolutionary forces in emigration are waging an active struggle against the Tito clique; they issue five weeklies and two bi-weekly newspapers which are successfully circulated in the country by the underground workers.

As a result of the struggle of the Yugoslav revolutionary forces, the Belgrade imperialist hirelings, despite the terror, and despite their demagoguery actually suffered a political defeat in the election held in March. In many places more than two-thirds of the total number of electors voted against the Tito candidates or openly boycotted the election by keeping away. The masses are waging a successful struggle against the plunder of the working peasantry. Less than 50 per cent of the export plan and "export obligations" has been carried out. Under the influence of the underground organisations the Yugoslav working people are refusing to perform compulsory labour; they are leaving the factories and mines working for the Western imperialists, boycotting work on military objects, refusing to unload and transport the war materials and munitions sent by the imperialists to the Titoites.

The imperialists and their Belgrade servitors are trying to plant their agents and provocateurs in the underground Communist Party and among the revolutionary emigrants. With this aim in view Rankovic sent UDB agents to work in the "underground" with the object of smashing the clandestine organisations. At first these degenerates caused considerable damage to the underground movement. Take the case of the provocateurs Sima Balen and Vojislav Luic within the country and Brankov and Hadjipanov abroad. Only by raising their ideological level and Bolshevik vigilance can the Yugoslav revolutionaries successfully combat the Rankovic bandits expose them to the people and warn the masses against the danger threatening them.

IV.

In its struggle against the Tito-Rankovic clique, and to build its vanguard—the Communist Party, the working class of Yugoslavia relies on the fraternal assistance of the international proletariat and Communist Parties, uses their rich revolutionary experience and, above all, the experience of the heroic Russian working class and the great Party of Lenin-Stalin.

The regenerated Yugoslav Communist Party must absorb the **best** militant forces of the working class and working people of the country. The loyalty of every Yugoslav Communist to the cause of Communism, to proletarian internationalism is being tested in the daily **practical** struggle against the Tito clique. The masses of Yugoslavia are opposed to this clique—their struggle must be headed and organised. But this can be done only by a militant, Marxist-Leninist party of the new type. There must be, and there will be such a Party in Yugoslavia!

The regenerated Yugoslav Communist Party will be successful provided it pursues the correct political line contained in the well-known resolutions of the Information Bureau. Our goal is to overthrow the counter-revolutionary fascist Tito clique, to return Yugoslavia to the fraternal family of socialist countries. This goal can be reached only if the regenerated Communist Party, and this must be particularly stressed, is permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the spirit of loyalty to the great bulwark of the international working class—the Soviet Union. We must always remember Comrade Stalin's words:

“The **revolutionary** is he who, without reserve, unconditionally, openly and honestly, without secret military conferences is prepared to defend the U.S.S.R., for the U.S.S.R. is the first proletarian revolutionary state in the world building Socialism.

The **internationalist** is he who unreservedly, without hesitation and unconditionally is prepared to defend the U.S.S.R. for the U.S.S.R. is the base of the world revolutionary movement and it is impossible to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement without defending the U.S.S.R. And he who thinks of defending the world revolutionary movement apart from and against the U.S.S.R., is acting against the revolution, is definitely slipping into the camp of the enemies of the revolution.”

The political line is carried out in practical, revolutionary work. The peoples of Yugoslavia, exploited and oppressed by the Tito clique, realise more and more from their own experience that Yugoslavia can be saved from national disaster, can be wrested from the clutches of the imperialists only by overthrowing the fascist regime. This sentiment of the masses should be channelled along lines of organised struggle. Only the Communist Party can do this. That is why the regeneration of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is a timely task. Success depends on how soon the transition will be effected from group and primitive methods of work in underground activities to unifying all the revolutionary forces.

The experience of the international revolutionary movement and the Bolshevik Party teaches that a revolutionary party must be built, above all, along lines of a genuine proletarian party; the working class is the most revolutionary of all classes, and the conditions under which it labours facilitate its being organised. The Yugoslav Communist Party must rally together, above all, the finest sons of the working class and become a force that enjoys the confidence and esteem of the whole working class, of all working people.

Our Party must be an **advanced conscious, Marxist** detachment of the working class, organised on the scientific, theoretical principles of Leninism. In order to carry out the great role of leader of the liberation struggle it must be an organised unit of the working class. This is of particularly great importance in conditions of the fascist terror unleashed by the Tito clique, when Communist must display great courage, selflessness, and iron discipline.

Lenin wrote: “How is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close

touch with, and, to a certain degree if you will, merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletarian, **but also with non-proletarian** masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correctness **by their own experience!**”

An extremely important aspect of the process of regenerating the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is that of educating Communists in the spirit of unflagging revolutionary vigilance. Revolutionary vigilance is imperative in order to safeguard the regenerated Party from provocateurs and traitors, in order to prevent a single Rankovic agent getting into the Party. Revolutionary minded people should be trusted, but it is also necessary to test cadres in practical work. No less important is the **technique of conspiracy**. The Tito clique has a ramified police apparatus and in order successfully to fight this apparatus we must know **how** to build the underground organisations, **how** to establish contacts, how to effect leadership. The proper handling of the technique of conspiracy will help us to avoid traps and at the same time enable us to establish contact with the masses, will help us to avoid sectarian mistakes. Our strength lies only in the masses! We must remember Comrade Stalin’s words that “a party perishes if it shuts itself up in its narrow party shell, if it severs itself from the masses.”

The uppermost thought and wish of the Yugoslav revolutionaries is that the new Communist Party of Yugoslavia from its very first step take the path indicated by the great leaders and teachers of the working class—Lenin and Stalin; that it regains as quickly as possible, its place in the family of the fraternal Communist and Workers’ Parties and in the entire international Communist movement. The Yugoslav revolutionaries realise that only by taking the path along which the great and glorious Bolshevik Party advanced and is advancing under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and along which the entire international working-class movement is today confidently marching forward, only thus will the new Yugoslav Communist Party be victorious in the liberation struggle, only thus will it wipe out the disgrace which the Tito clique has brought on the Yugoslav working-class movement.

Today, with the Yugoslav revolutionaries on the eve of building their new revolutionary Communist Party, they are imbued more than ever before with a feeling of infinite love, gratitude and devotion to the leader and teacher of the international proletariat and of all working people—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

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Foreign Trade of Tito Clique – Instrument of Enslavement of Yugoslavia by U.S.-British Monopolies

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The aid of the U.S.S.R. and co-operation with the People’s Democracies could have been the basis for the all-round development of Yugoslavia’s economic life, for the industrialisation of the country, the reorganisation of the countryside and steady improvement in the wellbeing of the population.

However, the treacherous Tito clique took Yugoslavia along another path.

The Tito clique was never interested in the industrialisation of Yugoslavia. In their memorandum to the UN Economic Council, the Titoites claim, in full keeping with the plans of the U.S.-British imperialists, that "Yugoslavia must develop as an agrarian-industrial country which will produce industrial and agricultural raw materials". In other words, Yugoslavia must remain a backward country, a source of raw materials and market for the imperialists of the West.

I

This treacherous and reactionary character of the economic policy pursued by the Titoites is reflected also in the sphere of the country's foreign trade.

In the years immediately after Yugoslavia's liberation, the Titoites quickly concluded trade agreements with the capitalist States, while trade agreements with the People's Democracies were signed after incredibly long drawn-out negotiations, protracted by the Yugoslav rulers and afterwards, as a rule, broken by the Tito clique.

Even before the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties exposed the Tito clique, the Yugoslav Government took the line of sabotaging its undertakings to the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. In relation to Poland, this unscrupulous Tito policy took the form of disrupting delivery of the raw materials contracted for, and vital to, the rehabilitation of our country (copper, lead, iron ore, etc.) while, at the same time, speeding-up the export of goods of second-rate importance such as wines and fruits. Meanwhile, Poland loyally supplied the goods designated in the agreement and needed by Yugoslav economy.

This policy of sabotaging the economic agreements, concluded by the Titoites with the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies, led to the suspension of trade relations with Yugoslavia in the second half of 1949. This was one of the results of the passage of the Tito gang into the service of U.S.-British imperialism. In November 1949, the meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties stated on the basis of numerous facts that "the Yugoslav Government is completely dependent on foreign imperialist circles and has become a weapon of their aggressive policy".

The Titoites seek to deceive the peoples of Yugoslavia, claiming that they will receive vast quantities of machinery, technical equipment and raw materials from the Western States. But the imperialists are not interested in the industrialisation of the country. The equipment and machines which the capitalists are inclined to supply are designed, above all, for those branches of industry which are of particular importance to them. The import lists feature mainly equipment and machines for extending non-ferrous ore mining, in the exploitation of which the capitalist monopolies are keenly interested. Yugoslavia receives machines for expanding the lumber industry.

The capitalist monopolies, guided solely by their own interests, supply Yugoslavia with items such as powdered milk and include in Yugoslavia's imports the expenditure connected with the construction of airfields and other military objects which are to serve as bases for the aggressive operations of the imperialists,

contrary to the national interests of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's imports include considerable radio equipment (valued at 600,000 dollars) for the radio stations which are being built, according to "The New York Herald Tribune", for "radio propaganda against the Cominform".

Together with such "goods", the Tito clique also imports a host of "specialists" from the capitalist countries who direct Yugoslavia's economy along channels that meet the interests of their masters and whose espionage activities are beyond doubt.

II

The considerable import of goods, often superfluous for Yugoslav economy, necessitated increased export which has been stretched to the utmost and now exceeds the country's economic possibilities. Even the imperialist press states that Yugoslavia's export plan is distended and impracticable.

An enumeration of Yugoslavia's export obligations for the current year to eight countries alone (U.S.A., Britain, Western Germany, Sweden, France, Italy, Austria and Switzerland), shows that they are in excess of 240 million dollars. Taking into account exports to the other countries with whom Yugoslavia has trade relations, it should be noted that compared with pre-war, when Yugoslavia was economically much better off, her 1950 exports are more than double.

Even with the sops handed out to the Titoites in the forms of credits, Yugoslavia's exports cannot cope with the tasks imposed by the excessive import, thus making doubtful the reality of Yugoslavia's foreign trade and further worsening the country's general economic position.

The Tito clique is forcing up exports in every way, regardless of the needs of the population, the crop and the economic interests of the country. Commenting on this policy of export "at all costs", "The New York Herald Tribune" wrote on February 1, 1950: The Yugoslav Government summoned all directors of industrial enterprises, trade union leaders and publishers and told them to inform the Yugoslav people of the need to export, this year, everything that can be exported.

The structure of Yugoslav exports emphasises still more Tito's servility to the imperialists and reveals the dependence of Yugoslavia on the capitalist monopolies.

The capitalist countries are interested in three main categories of exports from Yugoslavia: non-ferrous metals, timber and provisions. By the end of 1950, the intensified export of non-ferrous metals to capitalist countries will have exceeded the 1951 target by 10 per cent. Valuable strategic materials such as copper, lead, zinc and bauxite, which are not processed in Yugoslavia, are exported in large quantities to capitalist countries, thus enhancing their military potential. Unquestionably, the imperialists are interested in stepping-up the export of these valuable materials from Yugoslavia and are going to great lengths to hinder the development of the industry which could process these raw materials in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia's forests are rapaciously exploited. This year, the quantity of timber felled will exceed the 1951 target by 75 per cent. A comparison between these figures and

the catastrophically low targets in other branches of country's economy shows the disastrous position to which the Titoites are reducing Yugoslavia's economy.

The export of agricultural products and foodstuffs, articles of prime necessity, is beyond the economic possibilities of the country. In exporting foodstuffs, the Titoites are absolutely indifferent to the interests of the working class and of all the working people and aggravate still more their hopeless position, reducing them to poverty and hunger. Yugoslav deliveries designed for Western Germany include, according to "Der Kurier" of August 4, "100,000 tons of wheat, 300,000 tons of maize, 60,000 tons of oats, 50,000 tons of barley" and also store cattle, agricultural and industrial raw materials.

A comparison of these figures with the hunger rampant in Yugoslavia, the rising prices on staple articles, the prevailing disorganization in the rationing system, and the recent 10 per cent cut in the bread ration clearly reveals the abyss into which the fascist clique is leading the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Interesting in this respect is a report in the "Neue Zurich Zeitung" of September 12, confirming the vicious circle of Yugoslavia's dependence on the imperialists. While exporting food in large quantities, Yugoslavia, notes the paper, is at the same time "compelled to ask Brannan, American Secretary for Agriculture, for food supplies from America's surplus stocks. This illustrates the threatening state of affairs with regard to supplies in an agricultural country such as Yugoslavia".

The Tito clique is further aggravating this difficult position of the people by its policy of export prices. For instance, they sell maize to Western Germany at 4 dinars a kilogram while the price charged in Yugoslavia is 40 dinars; sugar is exported to Italy at 6.5 dinars a kilogram, whereas, in Yugoslavia, the people are forced to pay 500 dinars a kilogram.

Yugoslavia is still on rations. However, despite this, "The New York Herald Tribune" admitted in its issue of July 10 that food prices have doubled compared with 1949. In the same paper of August 10 we read that the already low standard of living of the Yugoslav people is falling catastrophically.

The political consequences of the aforementioned facts are just as grave for Yugoslavia as the economic consequences. The grain export ruins the poor and middle peasants, dooms the townspeople to hunger and, at the same time, creates a paradise for speculators and kulaks. In his election speech Tito was forced to admit that "many peasants are deprived of their last shirt....the peasants do not want to cultivate the fields".

Unable to cope with the difficulties, the Titoites are seeking a way out of the situation by handing over the industrial enterprises to foreign capital. Thus, for instance, the "Anaconda Copper Company", one of the biggest metallurgical concerns in the world, the "Mackenzie Engineering Company" and others have been granted concessions. Mixed companies are being formed in which half of the capital is foreign: for instance "Eastern Merchants Co." in Great Britain.

The monopoly societies formed in the capitalist countries to trade with Yugoslavia are completely entangling Yugoslavia in the network of their agents.

III

An analysis of the geographic trend of trade and agreements concluded with capitalist countries also exposes the criminal trade policy of the Tito clique and its servility in relation to the capitalists.

Having broken off trade relations with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, the Yugoslav Government is stepping-up exports to the capitalist countries and, above all, to the U.S.A. In the official UNO report for 1948 ("Economic Survey", page 128) the Tito clique ranks alongside Western Germany as the only country which in 1948 increased exports to the U.S.A.

The Tito clique ships to the U.S.A. mainly non-ferrous metals and strategic raw materials – copper, bauxite, zinc, lead, timber. As was pointed out by the newspaper "Monde", Yugoslavia exports practically all its copper to the U.S.A. Hence, it is not surprising that Yugoslav exports to the U.S.A., which in 1938 amounted to only four million dollars, reached 18 million dollars in 1949, i.e., increased more than fourfold, and that in 1950 the figure is expected to reach 30-35 million dollars, i.e., eight times more than pre-war.

At the close of 1949, Yugoslavia signed a five-year agreement with Britain, envisaging mutual trade to the amount of sixty million dollars annually, i.e., a six-fold increase compared with pre-war. The agreement provides for a steady increase of exports to Britain in the period from 1950 to 1954 of non-ferrous metals, lead, zinc, chrome and agricultural produce.

Since March 1948, Western Germany has become Yugoslavia's serious counter-agent. In conformity with the agreement of April 18 this year, the Yugoslav Government is pledged to deliver goods to the amount of 65.7 million dollars to Western Germany; import from Western Germany is envisaged to the amount of 61.2 million dollars.

A part of Yugoslavia's export which has not been seized by the U.S.A. and Britain goes to countries subordinate to American imperialism. She exports to France timber, ores, metals and agricultural produce to the value of six billion francs a year. Yugoslavia undertook to supply Italy with timber, bauxite, iron-ore, metals, etc. to the amount of 16 billion lira. But this trade has already increased to 54 billion lira in accordance with the treaty signed in August 1949.

Yugoslavia has similar agreements with other countries. As a result of the agreement with Austria, for example, meat consigned from Yugoslavia is plentiful in Vienna. Meanwhile, there is a food shortage in Belgrade and people queue for hours for 250 grams of meat.

IV

The newspapers in most capitalist countries abound in reports of loans granted to

Tito. What, in the final count, did the Titoites receive? Fifty-five million dollars from the U.S.A. (Export-Import Bank) and 2.7 million dollars for rapacious felling of timber, nine million dollars from the currency fund and eight million sterling from Britain.

The U.S. journal "News and World Report" wrote that Tito would finally receive dollar aid, but the U.S.A. would require Yugoslavia to abandon her industrialisation plans and, possibly, political or military concessions. The important fact, said this journal, is that Tito needs dollars and he will have to pay for them.

It follows that the people of Yugoslavia are paying. It is common knowledge that the international banks only grant credit on condition that they have the decisive say where, when and for what purpose the money will be used. The "New York Herald Tribune" writes that three-quarters of the new loan will be used for the purchase of American raw materials, machinery, lubricating oils, chemicals and so forth. The remainder is designated for the purchase of basic equipment and materials essential for increasing productivity in the mines of Yugoslavia.

But the Titoites did not receive at once even these paltry sops granted on the most enslaving conditions. For before the negotiations began, Tito had to curry favour with his masters, undertaking to pay huge sums in compensation for nationalisation and the debts incurred by the Royal government.

Tito undertook to pay 17 million dollars compensation for nationalisation to the U.S.A., apart from the 38.5 million dollars of pre-war loans received by the royal government. By its agreement with Britain, Yugoslavia undertook to pay 18 million dollars compensation for nationalisation but even this did not satisfy the capitalist sharks. The Tito Government also recognised Britain's right to a part of the produce and consequently to a part of the profits of those State enterprises of Yugoslavia where, before the war, British capital was a shareholder.

France received 1.6 million dollars compensation money, Switzerland, 75 million Swiss francs, Belgium, 365 million Belgian francs and Sweden, 41 million kroner.

The imports needed by Yugoslavia cannot be obtained and depend solely on the will and interests of the imperialist States and the capitalist monopolies. Export from Yugoslavia, as envisaged in the agreements, is rapacious and ruinous for the country. Both import and export fully reflect the adventurous and mercenary character of the Tito clique which is bringing the peoples of Yugoslavia into semi-colonial dependence on international capital.

If we compare the situation in Yugoslavia, which the imperialist agents – the Tito clique – are thrusting into the depths of backwardness and poverty, with the new economic successes of the People's Democracies, with the victorious fulfillment of their rehabilitation plans, and the building of Socialism, we shall see clearly that without U.S.S.R. aid and mutual cooperation with the People's Democracies, without utilizing the experience of the country where Socialism has triumphed – the experience of the C.P.S.U. (B), tested in battles and in labour – without applying the brilliant teaching of Lenin-Stalin, there can be no question of building a new social system, of building Socialism.

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**BELGRADE SPIES WITHOUT MASK.
Rudolf Slansky, General Secretary,
Communist Party, Czechoslovakia**

Way back in June 1948, the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties exposed Tito and his gang as imperialist agents.

To hoodwink the people of Yugoslavia, the Titoite gang tried, until recently, to convey the impression that it was independent of the American imperialists. Some time ago Djilas declared at a so-called Yugoslav peace congress that they had absolutely no contact with the West. At that time, Yugoslav representatives on the Security Council and in UNO cautiously "abstained", or for demagogic reasons, sometimes voted against the proposals of the Western powers.

However, no mask can conceal the real face of provocateurs: Tito is exposing himself more and more. He is ever more openly siding with the American-British imperialists; in UNO, representatives of the Tito clique now vote together with the imperialist bloc and openly defend American aggression in Korea and China. The Western press lauded Tito's declaration in "Borba" in which according to the "New York Herald Tribune" of November 11, he declared that "he might send units of his army to fight the North Koreans, the Chinese or Soviet troops". Tito has openly declared that he is prepared to approve any decision of the imperialists directed against People's China.

From lies and slander against the Soviet Union, presented in the form of "theoretical reservations" and "polemics", the Tito clique has passed to rabid anti-Soviet propaganda such as was not practised even by Goebbels and his ilk. At present, the spy Djilas writes and speaks about the American imperialists in the same tone as the mercenary hacks of the Hearst press: he lauds the American billionaires and warmongers, the Trumans and Mac Arthurs, and resorts to crude and foul slander against the Soviet Union.

Today, the Belgrade spies no longer pretend that the Tito clique has nothing in common with the imperialist camp; that it is allegedly independent and does not side with any of the two camps in their struggle. The Tito clique acts as a direct tool of the war camp.

What is the explanation for this quick "change over"? Firstly, because the imperialists have passed from preparation for war and incitement to war, to naked acts of aggression. They are forced now to let the Tito gang support their aggression openly. Another reason why they cannot help this is because they blundered grossly in respect to Korea.

The imperialists imagined that the conquest of the whole of Korea would be an easy matter and would compensate somehow for the loss of China. When they launched their criminal attack against the Korean People's Republic, the imperialists reckoned that this would enable them to drown in blood the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples, preserve and strengthen the domination of U.S. and British monopolists in Asia, and ensure for them springboards for an attack against People's China, against the Soviet Union and for the realisation of their plans of world domination.

The heroic struggle of the Korean people and the fraternal assistance which the Chinese people are rendering fighting Korea, frustrated these designs. The criminal

U.S. aggression evoked an upsurge of the peace movement and the movement against imperialism in all countries of the world. The liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia has developed in intensity.

The enormous successes of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies on the one hand, the menace of crisis and collapse and the growing difficulties and contradictions in the capitalist camp on the other, add to the panic and frenzy of the imperialist camp.

The policy of the imperialists is becoming more and more reckless and criminal. And the greater the role the agents are called on to play, the more intense must be the activities of the gangs of mercenary spies and assassins, and the more base the service the Titoites must render the imperialists.

Hence, the servile dependence of the Tito clique on the Wall Street rulers stands fully revealed. Today the whole world knows that Tito dances to the Washington tune. The imperialists give him assignments openly and he assiduously fulfils them. In relation to Yugoslavia, they use all the methods which the imperialist creditors employ in relation to a small, dependent State.

At the same time, the imperialists have in their hands all the compromising material concerning the shady past of the Tito gang.

Yugoslavia has become an appendage of America with Belgrade as a centre of war propaganda, espionage and terrorist actions in the Balkans. In his message to Congress, Truman frankly declared that his policy in relation to Yugoslavia was to render Tito such assistance as—"we" (i.e. the American imperialists) deem necessary for the defence of U.S. strategic and political interests in that area.

The imperialist press praises Tito for his friendship for the United States, Great Britain and Greece, for his peaceful relations with the Roman-Catholic hierarchy.

The American imperialists no longer try to hide the real essence of so-called American aid for Yugoslavia. In addition to economic plunder and the transformation of Yugoslavia into a strategic base, they are talking more and more openly about using the Yugoslav Army. The imperialists are saying openly that the reason for the loan to Yugoslavia is that Tito has offered to supply 32 Yugoslav divisions for their aggressive aims. They calculate, that the maintenance of these 32 divisions will cost less than the sum needed for the upkeep of one-fifth of an American division. And, therefore, it would be madness to reject "such good war business!"

Hence, Tito has not only exposed himself as a saboteur but also as a war criminal who has been assigned an "outstanding" role in provoking war.

There can be no clearer proof of the heinous crime perpetrated by the Tito clique in relation to the people of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav working class than Tito offering to trade Yugoslav divisions as "cannon-fodder" in exchange for dollars.

Hence, the working class of the world gets a clearer picture of the real political countenance of the Tito gang exposed in the Resolution of the Information Bureau. Simultaneously, the economic abyss into which Yugoslavia is being plunged by the Titoite agents of the imperialists becomes more and more evident. Economic subjugation of Yugoslavia by American imperialism goes hand in hand with an ever more catastrophic situation in supplying the population. Poverty and hunger have gripped Titoite Yugoslavia. Resistance of the people to the fascist regime is growing, acts of sabotage in factories and in the countryside are becoming more frequent.

The imperialists fear the overthrow of the Titoite regime.

The Titoite gang tried to blame the poor harvest and the drought for the famine. But, as admitted even by the reactionary press in the West, "no previous drought in the history of Serbia has caused such disaster". Actually it was not the drought that led

to the poverty in Yugoslavia. Other countries, such as Bulgaria and regions of Hungary bordering on Yugoslavia, also suffered from the drought. But there is no famine in those countries.

In fact, the Titoite talk about drought is just a belated argument designed to hush up the real reasons for the economic collapse. As far back as August 21, Belgrade radio liars, reacting to foreign reports about the threat of famine in Yugoslavia, boasted that "the first results of the State grain purchases testify to the contrary; they testify to the fact that grain purchases are proceeding more or less normally. Fifty-six per cent of the planned quantity was delivered within a month despite the fact that, in the greater part of Yugoslavia, grain delivery is only flow in full swing. There is no collapse in grain deliveries in Yugoslavia; not our plans are collapsing but the dream of the Information Bureau's propaganda about resistance of the working peasantry and famine in our country."

However, even if Yugoslavia has, to some extent, suffered from the poor harvest, her position might have been different had Tito not sold the country to the American imperialists. There was a severe drought and a very poor harvest in Czechoslovakia in 1947. But there was no famine in Czechoslovakia: a further advance was achieved in the development of Czechoslovak economy in these arduous conditions. This happened because Czechoslovakia received generous and selfless aid from the Soviet Union. The alliance and friendship with the U.S.S.R. and its fraternal aid helped Czechoslovakia fully to avert the threat of poverty and famine. The people of Yugoslavia, on the contrary, are paying the U.S., with loss of independence for the aid which has not yet been taken granted and which is designed not to avert famine, but, above all, to prepare for war and to drag Yugoslavia into war.

Before the war, Yugoslavia was able to provide all its food requirements. Today, peasants throughout Yugoslavia are slaughtering their livestock because they have no fodder. Discontent in Yugoslavia is growing; there have been revolts among the peasants who are ruthlessly exploited by the kulaks in the Titoite pseudo co-operatives.

The people of Yugoslavia have divined the policy of the Tito clique. They have learnt, from personal experience, whither the imperialist exploitation of the country's economy leads. They recall the time when life was better and when it became worse: the time when Yugoslavia still traded with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and now, when Tito has made a deal with the capitalist West. When trade relations existed with the Soviet Union, life in Yugoslavia was infinitely better, despite the fact that this was the immediate post-war period.

Now, when the Titoite gang has torn Yugoslavia from the camp of People's Democracy, deprived it of aid from the Soviet Union and converted it into an appendage of imperialist America, when batches of capitalists visit Tito, poverty and famine are rife in Yugoslavia. The people of Yugoslavia see the rapid economic development and the rise in the standard of living in all People's Democracies—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria; they see how the industrialisation of these countries is progressing, thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union.

The situation in Yugoslavia is so bad that the Titoite traitors can no longer chatter about industrialisation. They promised that Yugoslavia would receive the necessary supplies of machinery and equipment from the West which would make it possible to industrialise the country and fulfil the Five-Year Plan. On April 27 Tito boasted that everything essential for industrialisation would be produced by Yugoslavia herself, or would be imported from Western countries. There is, however, no equipment; the

mines and forests and Yugoslavia's natural resources are ruthlessly exploited, everything of interest to the imperialists is being shipped out of the country and, in return, Yugoslavia is supplied with out-of-date armaments left over after Hitler, and other stocks for which the American imperialists cannot find a market. Instead of industrialisation there is enslaving forced labour; instead of economic development, an economic collapse and famine—this is what Yugoslavia has gained from subordination to the American monopolies.

Tito has announced that there will be no new Five-Year Plan, and that the nationalised workshops will be returned to their former owners. Capitalist restoration cannot be concealed forever!

The more openly Tito is forced to act and speak, the more rabid becomes the fascist terror in the country. Yugoslavia has been converted into one huge concentration camp. This is linked up with a growing, increasingly frantic anti-Soviet propaganda, more foul than that conducted in any other capitalist country.

Belgrade has become the loud-speaker for the most brazen attacks against the Soviet Union. The paramount task assigned to Belgrade by the imperialists is to discredit the peace policy of the Soviet Union, to wage a subversive campaign against the peace movement and to help the aggressors prepare new wars.

The Titoites attack the Soviet Union—the stronghold of peace—and its consistent peace policy, with unparalleled insolence and slander; they basely attack peace partisans, strive to discredit peace fighters, to smash the ranks of those who support the Stockholm Appeal and slander the Warsaw Congress in every possible way, Their vilification abounds in fascist fury and baseness.

To discredit the Soviet Union, to trample on the hopes which all ordinary people throughout the world repose in the Soviet Union—this is one of the basic tasks of the Tito espionage gang. That is why the imperialists are trying to bolster up the Tito regime. But the people of Yugoslavia will have the last word. No police terror can save Tito from a just punishment!

The terrible sufferings of the people of Yugoslavia show whither bourgeois nationalism leads. The Tito clique has deprived Yugoslavia of independence, bartered the country to the imperialists, subjected the people to brutal exploitation, poverty and brutal fascist terror. The nonstop Titoite provocations convince the people of Yugoslavia of the necessity to intensify the struggle for the overthrow of the Titoite gang. There can be no doubt that, in this arduous struggle against the gestapo-fascist regime, new and tempered Communist cadres will come forward—cadres true to proletarian internationalism—and taking their place at the head of their people, will win freedom for Yugoslavia and return her to the camp of peace and Socialism. Today, the people of Yugoslavia know that alliance with the imperialists leads to poverty, to famine and to war, and that for the people, there is but one path to happiness and freedom: the path of fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

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**Tito Fascist Clique “Legalises” Capitalism in Yugoslavia
Miron Constantinescu
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If earlier, the Tito gang of assassins and spies went out of their way to camouflage the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, at present this is being done quite openly. At the end of August, the Tito-Rankovic fascist clique, which usurped power in the Party and in the State, announced “new economic law” which signified nothing more than a complete transition to open restoration of capitalism, open transfer of Yugoslavia’s national riches to the American and British imperialists, and the complete switching of the economy onto a war footing.

Publication of the “new economic laws” was accompanied by a fiercer criminal campaign of anti-Soviet falsehoods and by intensified provocations on the borders of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary. In addition, this act was preceded by visit to Yugoslavia of the arch warmongers – Harriman, General Collins, Admiral Edelsten, and other international pirates.

Taking the Hitler fascist regime as its model, the Tito clique borrowed – on orders from its American masters – not only the methods of Hitler and Goering in fascising the economy, but also their economic and political “theories”. The Hitler propaganda arsenal is the source of Titoite wisdom. They simply alter the terminology, substituting, for example, “national socialism”, the praises of which the Hitlerites had sung, with “Yugoslav national socialism”, etc.

Thus, the American-British imperialist fish the Hitlerite “theories” from the cess-pool of history and hand them over to their Titoite servants.

I

As early as 1949, the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers’ Parties pointed out in its Resolution the capitalist essence of State property in Yugoslavia. “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”. However, State property in industrial enterprises, mines and banks, even though capitalist, was, to a certain extent, an obstacle to its “free” seizure by the foreign imperialists, to the complete restoration of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie. So in June 1950, the Tito clique began to abolish the State sector, transferring enterprises to “workers’ councils”, which, in fact, are administrative councils headed by the former capitalist employers. For example, the coal industry is headed by former owners of the Varsca Ciuka and Resava Bare mines. The directors of the enterprises enjoy fantastic incomes in the form of salaries alone, exceeding 30-40 and even 50 times the average wage received by workers – a feature characteristic only of capitalist enterprises. Thus, by means of its “economic” measures, the Tito clique is also creating a section of new Yugoslav bourgeoisie. This conversion of State property into private property was described by the Titoite as the introduction of “people’s property”.

The transfer of the enterprises to the capitalists was hailed by the imperialist press with obvious satisfaction. The American bourgeois journal, “United States News and World Report”, for example, stated that bankers had been invited to act as advisers to bring order into accounting in the enterprises, and to establish whether they were operating profitably or not.

After capitalist trading had been officially introduced in January 1951, and after the

dissolution in April 1951 of the so-called State Planning Commission and all planning organs in the Republics, the Titoites produced a whole series of draft laws about the “new system in planning and finance” which signified the open restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, accompanied by organisational forms, “theoretical” terminology and argumentation taken from Hitler’s so-called Four-Year economic plan.

Capitalist exploitation of the working class in its most brutal form that of compulsory slave labour, disguised as “planned leadership of the national economy” is now being legalised in Yugoslavia. Article 1 of the “new law” relates to two types of plans for Yugoslavia: “social plans” of the Yugoslav State, and “independent plans” of the economic organisations and federations. The social plans foresee only “basic proportions of minimum exploitation of the production capacity of the enterprises, capital investments for construction, and the average norm of the accumulation fund and social funds”. These fictitious plans will be submitted to the capitalists in the administrative councils of the enterprises and economic federations for their approval. As for the “independent plans” of the enterprises, they will be prepared by the capitalist owners themselves, regardless of general planning. In drafting these plans, conditions on the capitalist market and the demands of the U.S.-British imperialists alone, are taken into account. It is quite clear that the introduction of these “social plans” and “independent plans” is nothing but out-and-out demagoguery and crude camouflage for the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia. Basically, these plans are but a new edition of the well-known “Deutsches Wirtschaftsrecht” (German Economic Law) which declared that the Hitler State allowed the “co-existence of State management and free enterprises in the most varied interlacing”.

Titoite legislation is not confined to “independent plans for the enterprises”, drawn up by the owners of enterprises. It also legalises combinations of owners according to industry and territory in the guise of economic federations. These “economic federations”, or “producers’ federations”, as they are also called by the Titoites, enjoy the right to approve “social plans”. Thus, the entire control of the enterprises passes to the capitalist federations. This also signifies that the so-called State social plan will actually be approved first by the foreign imperialists who play the leading part in the “economic federations” as owners of the mines and basic enterprises in Yugoslavia. As is known, the U.S. trusts, “Anaconda Copper and Mining”, “Continental Supply Corporations”, “Mackenzie Engineering Co.” and “Bethlehem Steel”, are now the masters of the basic natural resources and of industry in Yugoslavia.

The “new economic laws” end the State foreign trade monopoly in Yugoslavia. Enterprises have the right freely to export and import, to possess foreign currency and to perform financial operations with abroad, particularly through the “Export and Import Bank” established by the Americans. The rate of the Yugoslav dinars was fixed in accordance with the present foreign currency agreement, and this rate, of course, is extremely unstable. Income derived from the turnover with foreign countries is subjected to taxation only if not taxed abroad. Hence, the essence of these “economic laws” is that the imperialists are given a free in plundering Yugoslavia and are insured by most extensive conditions for colonial exploitation.

Simultaneously with the “new planning”, there were introduced also the “new system of piece-work payment” and a “new wage system”, both of which mean nothing more than the introduction of most unbridled methods of exploitation of the working people, and abolition of the minimum labour protection measures. According to the “new wage system”, two types of wages are introduced: “variable” – depending on the “profitability” of the enterprises, - and “permanent”. The nature of the so-called permanent wage is evident from the respective law: “If an enterprise does not ensure the fixed permanent wage fund and does not possess reserve funds, workers and employees will get their permanent wage in proportion to the available wage fund”. In other words, the workers permanent wage, and more so, his “variable” wage, is fixed at the will of the capitalist “councils” running the enterprises. To ensure the interests of capitalist bosses fully, the Titoite law says that prior to distribution of the variable wage fund, they must set aside from these means an obligatory capital investments fund. And the obligatory capital investments fund is fixed by the capitalist “independently”.

Thus, the predatory capitalist “regulations” of the Yugoslav enterprises are legalised. Under the cynical slogan: “Everyone works as much as he wants”, the eight-hour day was abolished, a 12-14-16 – hours working day introduced, and, simultaneously, norms were raised and wages reduced. For example, at the Bevare construction site, the working day ranges from 11 to 13 hours; in the Place port, 14 hours; Rijeka dockers had their payment for handling a ton of coal cut from 43.5 to 38.5 dinars. In the lumber industry in Herzegovina, norms were increased by 70 per cent, in Jirinitza lumber enterprise, 50 per cent.

Parallel with the open restoration capitalism in the towns, the Tito clique is hastily implanting kulaks in agriculture with a view to strengthening its class positions in the countryside. Even Titoite statistics show that each year 10 per cent of the working peasant household fall into the hands of kulaks; that the kulaks (6.25 per cent of rural population) own 50 per cent of the land.

The “new laws” place the trade network in the countryside wholly at the disposal of the kulaks. These laws envisage supplies of credits only for “profitable co-operatives”, i.e., for kulak ones. The taxes paid by poor peasants are mounting.

Under the pretext that it is impossible to ensure food for the urban workers, the Tito clique forces the latter to return to the countryside. For this purpose a special law – a replica of the Hitler “Erbhof” 1933 law – was issued. Over 500 enterprises were closed in Yugoslavia following the introduction of the “unprofitability” laws. According to the bourgeois journal, “Internationale Wirtschaft”, as a result of these laws, a “flow of the population to the agricultural regions” is anticipated. Thus, the object of all these “laws” of the Tito-Rankovic gang is also to lower wages, to expand the army of unemployed and ensure cheap manpower for the exploiters.

III

In an attempt to give a “theoretical” grounding to these laws, the Tito clique strongly combines its own petty “theoretical efforts” with the Hitlerite economic ravings. For example, the anarchic laws of capitalist economy are declared by Kidric, “Oberfuhrer

of the planned economy”, to be immutable and unalterable.

Using Hitlerite terminology, this paltry slave of the monopolists places the ruthless capitalist exploitation among the “immutable economic laws”; he declares production and distribution to be “the life-stream of the law of value”, asserting that a “larger part of the surplus labour” should be assimilated by enterprises and economic federations themselves; in other words, appropriated by the capitalists.

Kidric, the new fascist “theoretician” also resorts to the theories of Right-wing Socialists, describing imperialism as “developed capitalism”, and asserting that the last phase of capitalism constitutes the first phase of Socialism. The Titoites deny the existence of classes in fascist Yugoslavia. Using the terminology of Hitler and Mussolini they seek to prove that in Yugoslavia there is no working class and no capitalists, no working peasants and kulaks, no exploited and exploiters, only “direct producers”.

The introduction of the capitalist economic “system” in Yugoslavia was enthusiastically welcomed by American and British capitalists. Wall Street and City magnates acknowledge with satisfaction that Tito Yugoslavia is a place for “profitable and safe capital investments”. Not without reason did the “Economist”, organ of the leading financial circles in Britain, comment after publication of the new Tito “laws” that the theory on which the proposals were based could be accepted with satisfaction in the West, that the new system was a genuine achievement, that its author deserved the attention and full respect of the Western democracies, etc.

The establishment of the Hitler “order” in Yugoslavia’s economy is bound up with the continued militarisation of the country. As was the case at one time in Hitler Germany, so now in Yugoslavia, the “new, planned economy” provides, above all, for building strategic roads and military airfields for rearmaments, conversion of industry to war production, and transforming the State budget into a war budget.

IV

The open restoration of capitalism, militarisation of the economy and its subordination to the foreign imperialists, resulted in a catastrophic fall in the standard of living of the working people in Yugoslavia. The Titoites restored not only capitalist exploitation in Yugoslavia; following the example of the Hitlerites, they resurrected feudal and even slave forms of exploitation. Four hundred and fifty thousand people were sent for compulsory labour to the mines in Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia. About two million peasants were mobilised for forced labour. The Titoite gangsters stop at nothing. In Stip, youth found in the street were press-ganged by the Titoites for work on the Banja-Luca-Doboi Railway. In the village of Riejana, dozens of peasant houses were surrounded and the young men and women rounded-up and sent to compulsory labour.

Yugoslav workers get a scanty wage, inadequate for minimum requirements. The monthly wage averages 2,500-3,000 dinars. In Montenegro, for instance, building workers get 1,400 dinars a month, at a time when a kilogram of fat costs 800 dinars; rent, which was increased 30 per cent in 1950, recently soared another 30 per cent; the price of salt, matches, tobacco and kerosene rose 200 per cent. A system of

fining and deducting wages has been legalised in the enterprises. For example, at the Bogovina Mine, failure to fulfil the norm is punished by deducting 50 per cent of the worker's wages; at the Banovic mines, three days wages are deducted for a day's absence from work; in Sibenik port, only 6 of the 8 working hours are paid. By these methods a sum of 3.3 million dinars was deducted during first six months of 1951 at the Kreka mines, and 2.9 million dinars at the "Breza" enterprises.

The "new economic laws" are a heavy burden on the shoulders of the Yugoslav working people. The price of meat jumped threefold recently. The price of bread, sugar, maize and potatoes is rising rapidly, it soared in 1950 from 200 to 900 per cent. Although there is a scarcity of food, the Titoites are exporting nearly a million tons of wheat and maize to Western Germany; foodstuffs to the total of 50 million francs were exported to France. Yugoslav sugar is exported to Franco Spain at a price almost ten times lower than that charged on the home market.

The treacherous policy of the Belgrade fascist gang evokes the wrath and hatred of the Yugoslav people. The Yugoslav proletariat is acting ever more resolutely against the Tito regime. This is evident from numerous facts. For example, at the Jelsingrad steel plant engaged on war production, output dropped by 40 per cent, and at the Army footwear factory in Banja Luca, thousands of pairs of boots were defective. The plan for ore mining at the Bor mines has not been fulfilled for a number of years; in the Kreka coal basin, the workers brought work at 30 big mines to a standstill. Output of bauxites at the Dinas mines is 40 per cent short of plan. Strikes and absenteeism are widespread forms of struggle used by the working class. Every day tens of thousands of workers fail to report for work; ten thousand of the eleven thousand workers sent to forced labour in the Trepca mines absconded. Sabotage in transport is on the increase: in July, a shipment of iron-ore for Austria failed to reach its destination because 260 of the 300 cars were damaged. At the Ljubljana goods station, workers set fire to a warehouse stocked with railway materials; at Doboï Station, a depot containing military equipment was set on fire.

Together with the working class, Yugoslav peasants are more and more vigorously opposing the Tito regime. In the Banja Luca region, the Titoites collected a mere one per cent of the planned State quotas. Peasants react to the terror with armed struggle, as was the case in Cordun, Bania, Cazin, and recently in Topliza and Doboï. The other day new peasant disturbances were reported from Croatia.

The Tito gang uses force in its attempts to suppress the growing discontent of the working people. Nearly 250,000 workers, peasants and intellectuals – Yugoslav patriots – have been incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps. More and more often the Titoites send troops to suppress the working people's resistance. But the workers and peasants in uniform hate the fascist Tito clique.

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The "new economic laws" reveal the internal rottenness of the Tito fascist regime; they usher in the reign of complete anarchy in the economy and head it towards bankruptcy. The "new laws" will inevitably bring Yugoslavia to economic and political crisis from which there is only one outlet: overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of the Tito gang and the liberation of Yugoslavia from bondage to the U.S.-British enslavers.

From the flames of the heroic struggle waged by the Yugoslav working people against the Titoites, new cadres of tempered fighters and leaders are rising, cadres enriched with the experience of underground struggle and imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Under the leadership of the re-created Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the banner of Leninism, the working people of Yugoslavia will rout the Tito clique and return the country to the family of the peoples building Socialism.

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SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF BELGRADE BY SOVIET ARMY FROM HITLER INVADERS.

Dusko Novakov

October 20 marks the seventh anniversary of the Soviet Army's liberation of Belgrade capital of Yugoslavia—from the Hitler fascist invaders. This date is the greatest national celebration of the Yugoslav peoples—a celebration of friendship with, and affection for the great Soviet people, the liberator.

In 1944, Yugoslavia was in an extremely difficult situation. On the one hand, the Hitler invaders sought to hold Yugoslavia at all costs. On the other, the Anglo-American "allies" aided by Tito; their camouflaged agent, preparing to occupy our country themselves, were taking measures to smash and annihilate the genuinely patriotic and revolutionary forces of Yugoslavia. The fate of our peoples depended on getting the timely aid of the Soviet Army.

When the seventh Stalin blow in the Jassy-Kishinev area put 22 German divisions out of commission, and the Soviet troops began the liberation of Rumania and Bulgaria, the Hitler command made desperate efforts to organise a defence line on Yugoslavia's borders. The loss of Yugoslavia threatened the Hitlerites not only with complete collapse in the Balkans; it also meant that the Soviet Army had opened a way from the South to Hungary and Austria.

The Hitler generals concentrated enormous forces of the German fascist army on the territory of Yugoslavia. Moreover, numerous quisling units, commanded by the Hitlerite General von Weichs, were located in Greece and Albania. Clearly, only Soviet troops were in a position to liberate Yugoslavia from the German invaders; the lives of millions of working people in Yugoslavia depended on the successes of the Soviet troops.

The Yugoslav partisan units were in particularly difficult straits. This was due not only to the enemy's superiority, but also to the subversive work of the Titoites and the Anglo-American espionage "missions". Hand in glove with Tito, these "missions" had as their concealed aim the complete elimination of the partisan movement before the entry of the Soviet Army. As has since become known, the clique of Titoite traitors and Anglo-American spies were in touch with the Hitler invaders through the medium of Mihailovic's headquarters; they kept the enemy informed about the movements and composition of the partisan units, and in every way helped the German fascists in fighting against the Yugoslav partisans.

The working class of Yugoslavia, equally, was in difficult straits. U.S.-British aircraft ceaselessly and brutally bombed Belgrade, Subotica, Nish, Slavonski Brod, Leskovac, Osijek, and other towns. As a result, far more civilians were killed every day than was the case in the savage Hitler bombing of Belgrade in 1941. This attempt to demoralise the working class in connection with the approach of the Soviet troops, was carried out with naked cynicism. While tens of thousands of workers were killed by these raids, not a single Hitlerite garrison suffered from bombs dropped by Anglo-American aircraft.

Early in October 1944, the troops of the Second Ukrainian Front forced the Danube south of Turnu-Severin and began the battle for the liberation of Yugoslavia. Almost simultaneously, Soviet troops entered the northern part of Yugoslavia—the Voevodina—while the troops of the Third Ukrainian Front entered eastern Serbia. The Hitlerites failed to withstand the powerful pressure of the Soviet troops. Having spilt the German forces into a number of groups, the Soviet Army surrounded each group separately and smashed them at Negotin, Zajecar, Knjazevac, Pozarevac and other places, and it effected the speedy liberation of practically the whole of Serbia. Considerable enemy forces, surrounded on October 19, were annihilated south-east of Belgrade. Next day, the Soviet soldiers routed the enemy garrison holding Belgrade. The capital of Yugoslavia was liberated. As a result, the forces of the Hitler invaders, which had been assigned the task of preventing the liberation of Yugoslavia, were, for all practical purposes, put out of action. Hastily retreating in a north-westerly direction, the enemy abandoned the territory of Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Hercegovina, south-east Bosnia, and southern Croatia. Thus, as a result of 20 days fighting, the Soviet Army liberated the greater part of Yugoslavia. The country was no longer in danger of savage bombings by U.S.-British aircraft, and the partisan units were saved from destruction.

The successes of the heroic Soviet Army frustrated the plan of the Anglo-American imperialists to occupy Yugoslavia, as was the case in Greece. The Soviet Army saved Yugoslavia and brought freedom and independence to the Yugoslav peoples. During the first days of the fighting on the territory of Yugoslavia, many partisan detachments succeeded in forcing their way to the units of the Soviet Army. Having received Soviet arms and having multiplied their forces ten-fold, they developed into militant formations capable of actively assisting the Soviet soldiers in clearing the homeland of the Hitler invaders. In his order of the day on the occasion of the liberation of Belgrade, J. V. Stalin, Supreme Commander of the Soviet Army, noted the selflessness of the Yugoslav units.

The Soviet Government rendered great assistance to the working people of Yugoslavia in rehabilitating the national economy devastated by the Hitler invaders. All the booty captured by the Soviet Army on the territory of Yugoslavia was handed over, gratis, to the Yugoslav people. Soviet specialists rendered considerable technical assistance in rehabilitating Yugoslav enterprises, mines and transport which had been put out of commission by the Hitlerites during their retreat. For example, the Soviet Army built a railway bridge (nearly two kilometres long) over the Danube in the vicinity of Belgrade and presented it to Yugoslavia. The men of the Soviet Army built, as a gift to the working people of Yugoslavia, a large bridge over the Morava near Jagodina, and so on. In those difficult days for Yugoslavia, the Soviet Government provided food supplies for the working people. Thanks to the help of the U.S.S.R., in less than one year after the liberation of Yugoslavia from the Hitler fascists, the standard of living rose 4-5 times and was at least 8 or 9 times the present level.

Every Yugoslav patriot knows well that the Soviet Army saved the national independence of our country, that the selfless aid of the Soviet Government and the friendship of the Soviet people created conditions for introducing the system of people's democracy and the gradual socialist transformation of the country.

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However, today our peoples have been deprived of all their revolutionary gains, deprived of the possibility of openly celebrating the anniversary of their liberation from the Hitler fascist invaders. The fascist-espionage Tito-Rankovic gang, which has completely lined up with the U.S.-British imperialists in their struggle against the camp of democracy and peace, prohibits the working people of Yugoslavia from celebrating the national festival—the anniversary of the liberation of the homeland from the Hitlerites. The Titoites seek to strangle the noble feeling of gratitude and the affection of the Yugoslav working people for the peoples of the U.S.S.R., knowing that the affection of our peoples for the Soviet Union and friendship with it are the main obstacles standing in the way of the imperialists' criminal plans.

As early as 1948, the information Bureau of the Communist Parties in its historic Resolution, "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia", exposed the treachery of the Tito clique and warned our peoples that a mortal danger threatened their revolutionary gains. "The Yugoslav leaders think", said the Resolution, "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 peoples of Yugoslavia orientated on these states, that is, on capitalism". The Information Bureau warned that the entire policy of the Tito clique will lead to the "loss of Yugoslavia's independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries".

The prevision of the Information Bureau in relation to the activities of the Tito fascist authorities has been, completely substantiated. The Tito clique abolished all the revolutionary laws enacted immediately after the war. For example, it abolished the law about the people's committees and decreed the transfer of all power into the hands of the fascist chieftains; it annulled the law on the nationalisation of industrial enterprises, the monopoly of foreign trade, all control and restrictions in relation to the scale of profits made by capitalist enterprises, annulled the progressive taxation; the landed estates were restored by means of forced seizure of the land of the working peasants; concentration camps and forced labour on strategic undertakings made their appearance, etc. In other words, as Comrade Molotov said at the celebration meeting in Warsaw last July: "The Tito-Kardelj-Rankovic gang has restored the capitalist order in Yugoslavia, has deprived the people of all their revolutionary gains and has transformed the country into an instrument of the aggressive imperialist Powers"

From attempts to discredit the Soviet Army, as stated in the Information Bureau Resolution in 1948, the Titoites have now passed over to denial of the historical fact of the liberation of Yugoslavia by the soldiers of the Soviet Union. By means of this foul lie they seek to cover up preparations for war against the Soviet Union in the interests of the American imperialists.

But, despite the attempts of the fascist Tito-Rankovic gang, on October 20 the working people of enslaved Yugoslavia will find a way to demonstrate their deep affection for the Soviet people, for Comrade Stalin, their firm resolve to prevent Yugoslavia from being involved in an anti-Soviet war. And this will infuse fresh vigour

into the working masses of Yugoslavia in the struggle against the criminal Tito regime.

Our peoples have traversed a long path of selfless struggle for national independence. But they were unable to realise their dream, their desire for an alliance of Yugoslavia with the U.S.S.R., because the lackeys of the imperialists by means of deception seized power in the Party and in the country.

But although this year, too, Yugoslavia greets her national holiday—the day of liberation from the Hitler invaders—in conditions of wildest terror, the love and friendship of our peoples for the Soviet people is the firm guarantee that soon the sun will shine also in our street”.

**For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy
No. 42 (154), Friday, October 19, 1951**

Speech at the XIX Congress of the CPSU (B.)

Nikos Zahariadis

General Secretary,

Communist Party of Greece

Dear comrades!

The delegation of the Communist Party of Greece, on behalf of the Central Committee of our party, on behalf of the whole party, as well as on behalf of the democratic and peace-loving people of Greece, warmly welcomes the 19th congress of the glorious party of Lenin - Stalin, welcomes the great Russian and other peoples of the Soviet Union, our beloved friend and defender of the comrade Stalin (thunderous applause), who always, during all the storms and trials, stood on the side of the people of Greece, sympathized with his struggle. (Prolonged applause.) Even during the Turkish yoke, mothers of Greece, lulling their children, told them about the hero of Moscow, about the Russian people who would bring liberation. This tradition has always warmed and warms the soul of ordinary people of our country. Our people called and call Russia "holy Russia."

Russian victory in the Russian-Turkish war of 1828 – 1829 brought independence to Greece.

The great Lenin in 1917 protested against the hunger blockade imposed on small Greece in order to force it to fight on the side of the Entente imperialists.

In May 1945, Comrade Stalin sent a telegram to the National Liberation Front (EAM), in which he expressed sympathy for the Greek people, who had been subjected to an armed attack a few months before by British imperialism.

Since 1945, the Soviet Union has constantly raised the Greek question at the UN and defended the rights of our people, the freedom and independence of our country.

Our people believed and unshakably believe their great friend - the Russian people. If earlier this faith was spontaneous, then after 1917 it became conscious.

Partisans and communists of Greece died on the lips of Comrade Stalin in the battles against the Nazi invaders, in the dungeons of the Gestapo and the secret police.

Comrade Stalin is approached by the mothers of Greece with a request to save their children sentenced to death or prolonged imprisonment. This has taken the form of a broad popular movement in our country.

Our national hero Beloyannis in the monarcho-fascist military court fearlessly defended the Soviet Union and its peaceful policy.

Recently, our well-known democratic leader Pasalidis, who was never a communist, responding to the unbridled anti-Soviet slander of the fascist monarchs, said from the rostrum of the Athenian parliament: "The Tatars, Napoleon, Hitler wanted to destroy the Kremlin, but they all broke their neck, and if you dare to attack the Kremlin, then the same fate will befall you. (Stormy, prolonged applause.) And the Kremlin stood and stands invincibly, like the sun, illuminating the whole world. " (Applause). With these words, Pasalidis expressed the faith of the people.

Our people know the Soviet Union, its peoples, Comrade Stalin only as friends and loves them. Our people keep this feeling in their hearts, like that of our girl who was subjected to atrocious tortures because she found the portrait of Comrade Stalin. When the executioners tore the portrait in front of her, barely alive, she found the strength to shout: "You can't take it out of your heart!" (Stormy, prolonged applause, turning into a standing ovation. Everyone stands up. Exclamations: "Great Stalin, hurray!").

Our people, like all other peoples of the world, know that the great Soviet heart, the soul of Comrade Stalin, responds to his suffering, pain, torment and aspirations. Therefore, he never loses hope for his release, does not lose his courage and determination to fight.

While the Greek people wholeheartedly love the Soviet Union, they no less vigorously hate the American and English imperialists, whom they only know as invaders, predators, robbers and executioners. He not only hates them, but also fights against them. In the period 1945 – 1949 Americans and the British spent five billion dollars in little Greece just to impose on her the "freedom" of exploitation and robbery.

Using the example of the People's Republic of Albania, our people know what the help of the Soviet Union means and compares it with the American "help" of Greece, which led our country to disaster. Previously, Albania was considered one of the most backward countries in Europe. With the victory of popular democracy and with the comprehensive and disinterested help of the Soviet Union, she stepped far forward. Now Albania has left far behind itself bourgeois-landowner Americanized Greece.

Comrades!

Over the past nine years, our people, at the call and under the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece, fought with arms four times for their rights, for their freedom. He rebuffed Mussolini, fought for three years against Hitler, resisted the British intervention in 1944, then for three and a half years, from 1946 to 1949, our people fought for their independence and life, and only hit the back of the treacherous clique of Tito forced us to retreat.

Currently, Greece has been turned into a continuous military camp, into a continuous prison. Basically, the alliance of the monarchist fascists, the cliques of Tito and Ankara have already been knocked together. Tito spies Moshe Piade and Vukmanovich Tempo, who slandered the Communist Party of Greece in 1949 to cover up their own betrayal, now travel to Athens and declare their love to the fascist monarchs. The American imperialists think that they will succeed in forcing the Greek people to fight against the Soviet Union, Albania and Bulgaria. However, they will fail as Hitler failed, who failed to send a single Greek against the Soviet Union, while 120 thousand ELAS fighters fought against him in Greece. (Applause).

In his report, Comrade Malenkov stated that "it must be assumed that in countries condemned to the role of obedient pawns of American dictators, there will be truly peaceful democratic forces that will pursue their independent, peaceful policies and find a way out of the impasse that their American drove dictators."

You can be sure, comrades that the Greek people will adhere to this path.

(Applause).

We can draw this conclusion on the basis that the people of Greece do not stop their struggle for a minute. This is the main reason for the political crisis that the American regime in Greece is experiencing. Over the past three years, parliamentary elections have been held three times in the country, and the Americans cannot form a strong government in Greece. The people of Greece are rallying, fighting the lackeys of American imperialism, for freedom, democracy and peace, for a truly democratic government. The Communists of Greece learn from their mistakes and the lessons of the path travelled, while maintaining close ties with the people, are at the head of it. The enemy is making frantic efforts in the struggle against our party, he seeks to undermine it both from the outside and from the inside, using deserters, traitors, compromisers and opportunists for this purpose. Facts show that these enemy efforts are not successful. The confidence of the people in the Communist Party of Greece not only does not decrease, but, on the contrary, increases.

Our task is to creatively master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx - Engels - Lenin - Stalin and lead the people to victory in their struggle for bread, democracy, independence and peace. We know that we still face great obstacles and difficulties. But we learn from you, the Bolsheviks, how to deal with difficulties and overcome them.

The struggle of our people is part of the struggle that the peoples of the world, led by the Soviet Union, are leading for democracy, independence and socialism. This is the guarantee of our victory.

Comrades!

These days, at your congress, we, the foreign Communists, have received another wonderful gift and help of extremely great importance to us. Comrade Stalin, in his new work, *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, specifically and comprehensively developed the paths for a gradual transition from socialism to communism. And the XIX Congress of your party showed that in the Soviet Union this transition has historically, materially matured, that this question has been posed in a timely manner. The 19th party congress clearly shows that the Soviet Union is following the path indicated by Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin, in his new work, discovered and outlined the laws of economic development in the USSR, the laws of a gradual transition from socialism to communism, and discovered these laws in the most material, objective Soviet reality. Thus, Comrade Stalin proved and once again proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist position that economic laws, like the laws of the development of nature, do not depend on the will of man, cannot be arbitrarily created, that these laws are created and develop in life and movement itself nature and society, regardless of human will.

Thus, Comrade Stalin once again teaches us, foreign Communists, how to do scientific analysis and scientific foresight in politics. Scientific analysis and scientific foresight are based on knowledge of the objective laws of movement and development in nature and society. Comrade Stalin also teaches us that these objectively existing laws can be discovered in the material conditions of objective

reality, that these laws can be known and used by man, society and his advanced party in order to move forward, towards progress, in this case – to communism. Comrade Stalin was the first to see, the first to catch these objective processes, developed them scientifically and theoretically, and put them before the party in the form of programmatic and concrete political tasks of the struggle and the activities of the party with a view to their implementation. This shows the whole strength of the Stalinist genius.

Comrade Stalin's new work, as well as the progress of your congress, is another remarkable illustration of the unity of theory and practice. This unity of theory and practice is one of the main advantages of the Bolsheviks over their enemies and their ideology, one of the main conditions for Stalin's success in your movement forward.

These days we are going through a higher party school, higher courses. Our duty is to draw all the necessary conclusions for our ideological, political and practical work in the struggle against the exploiters and arsonists of a new war.

Comrades!

Our mothers, ordinary women of our country, whose children Comrade Stalin takes care of so warmly, say: "May God shorten our lives for years and give minutes to Stalin. There are so many of us that he will live forever." (Stormy, prolonged applause.) Our people attach these wishes to the wishes of the peoples of the whole world.

May our great Stalin live and live for many, many years for the benefit of the peoples of the whole world! (Stormy, prolonged applause, turning into a standing ovation. Everyone stands up).

XIX Congress of the CPSU (B.) – CPSU October 5-14, 1952.

ON CLASS STRUGGLES IN COUNTRIES OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

**Alexej Cepicka, Member, presidium, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia**

Socialist construction in the European countries of people's democracy is taking place in conditions of sharpening class struggle.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that the transition from capitalism to Socialism cannot proceed peacefully, without bitter class struggle; they teach us that Socialism is achieved only by means of class struggle. Way back in 1919, Lenin, developing the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the continuation of the class struggle of the proletariat but in new forms. The historic victory of the Soviet Army over Hitler fascism was a decisive condition for the rise of the countries of people's democracy. The fraternal aid rendered by the mighty Soviet Union saved these countries from civil war and the horrors of foreign intervention. However, the continuation of the class struggle in new forms in the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as indicated by V. I. Lenin, are characteristic for all countries of people's democracy. The resistance of the exploiters takes on different forms and is manifested in political and economic life, and in the ideological sphere.

Collapse of Counter-Revolutionary Plans of World Reaction

After the liberation of the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe by the heroic Soviet Army the exploiting classes, relying on their political parties, tried to prevent the establishment of the new socialist system in these countries. They

calculated on frustrating democratic changes and on preserving capitalism with the help of these parties. Representatives of the bourgeois parties sought, by means of demagogic speeches in parliament, to sow mistrust in the strength of the working class, mistrust of the Communist Parties and the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie concentrated in the non-Communist parties the hangers-on of capitalism and fascism, the betrayers of the people whom it saved from just punishment, and the reactionary clergy. Organising resistance to the new system, the bourgeoisie relied in all countries of people's democracy on the Right-wing Social Democrats, the tried servants of capitalism and betrayers of working-class interests.

There is not a single people's-democratic country in which the criminal activity of bourgeois political parties is not carried out under the leadership of the imperialist aggressors and their diplomatic establishments and representative organs. It was only the presence of Soviet troops which in the early phase prevented the bourgeoisie in the People's Democracies from unleashing a bloody civil war with the help of foreign armed intervention, from attempting to restore capitalist rule by force, against the will and interests of the people.

The outcome of the attempts by the bourgeoisie to organise anti-popular putsches and to seize power generally known. In all the countries of people's democracy the bourgeoisie, in the final analysis, suffered defeat; the non-Communist parties were purged of traitors and the working people, under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties, relying on the selfless extensive aid of the Soviet Union, took the road of socialist construction. As a result of this struggle there strengthened and developed the people's democratic states as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, called upon to smash the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, to rally all working people around the proletariat and to arm the revolution for struggle against the insidious machinations of the foreign enemy – imperialism.

After this defeat, the bourgeoisie, acting on the orders of the U.S. imperialists, threw its reserves onto the front of class struggle. The imperialists began forming these reserves long before the second world war, in the course of the war and in the post-war period. Long before the war the chieftains of the imperialist camp discerned the danger which the Communist Parties constituted to the rule of world capitalism, parties that were becoming stronger year by year and growing all the time. It is precisely this that explains why imperialist reaction, using all ways and means, sent its agents, spies and traitors into the Communist Parties with assignment to smash them from within, to sap their strength. In this way the imperialists succeeded in creating inside the Communist Parties agencies which were to further the restoration of capitalism in the countries of people's democracy. But only one of these fifth columns in the service of the U.S.-British imperialists – the gang of Tito spies and assassins – succeeded in carrying through its black act of foul betrayal of the people's interests. The exposure of the criminal Tito gang which once again plunged the peoples of Yugoslavia into the grim capitalist slavery was a crushing blow to the machinations of the enemies of the people's democratic countries. The vigilance of the Communist and Workers' Parties helped to frustrate in good time the criminal designs of the espionage-conspiracy gangs of Rajk in Hungary, Kostov in Bulgaria, Xoxe in Albania, Slansky in Czechoslovakia, Gomulka-Spyhalski in Poland.

The exposure of the fifth column which Slansky organised on the orders of the U.S. imperialists shows most strikingly the dangerous forms of struggle to which the class enemy resorts in order to frustrate socialist construction. The trial of the far-reaching, anti-state conspiracy centre, headed by Slansky, revealed that the subversive and wrecking activity of the conspirators was a vital link in the war plans of the U.S.

imperialists in preparing an assault against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. At this trial there was also exposed the role of international Zionism as an agency of U.S. imperialism, an agency used by the enemy in order to infiltrate into the Communist Parties. Hence, these fifth columns, which constituted the reserves thrown into battle also sustained defeat. The attempts by the enemies of democracy and Socialism to seize power in the Communist and Workers' Parties and in the people's-democratic countries were frustrated.

But the class struggle in the countries of people's democracy is not confined simply to attempts by reaction to seize power and restore capitalism.

Having nationalised large-scale industry and the banks and having liquidated ownership of land by landlords, the people's democratic states deprived the capitalists and landlords of their economic base. But in these countries there still remain remnants of exploiters who have had their enterprises taken away from them, former bankers and landlords, big merchants, reactionary military, the clerical hierarchy and reactionary civil servants. There are the kulaks, the most brutal exploiting class. All these hostile elements constitute the pillar on which the Western imperialists rely in their undermining activity against the countries of people's democracy.

The imperialists seek in every way to support and encourage the resistance of all these hostile elements. They send spies, assassins and terrorists into these countries with a view to hampering by subversive means the advance of the working people towards their final goal. The aim of the wrecker-criminals is, in the first place, sabotage in the economic sphere, in industry and agriculture. They organise espionage and sabotage in mills and factories, on the railways and in the countryside; they resort to arson, intimidation and assassination, seeking to do as much harm as possible to the economy and in this way to prevent the establishment of the economic base of the new, socialist society, to disrupt the peaceful life of the working people.

But vain are the attempts of the enemies to frustrate the peaceful socialist construction. Smashing the frantic resistance of the class enemies the working people in all people's democratic countries are at the same time successfully fulfilling and over fulfilling their national-economic plans, confidently advancing forward towards a happy, well-to-do life.

Intensified Struggle on Ideological Front

Bitter class struggle is also underway on the ideological front. From the first days of the liberation by the Soviet Army of a number of countries in Central and South-East Europe from the Hitler yoke, the bourgeoisie, which long before the outbreak of World War II had bartered the national interests of their countries to the Hitler fascists and then to the U.S.-British imperialists, sought to cover up this tact, to deceive the masses, spreading false theories about class harmony. After the defeat of Hitler fascism the bourgeoisie in the countries of people's democracy tried to assert that all, without exception, that is, exploiters and their victims – the exploited, suffered under the yoke of Hitler fascism and that all, without exception, fought against this fascist yoke. In this way the bourgeoisie wanted to distract the attention of the working people from the internal forces of reaction, to make them forget that the bourgeoisie had collaborated with the Nazi thugs and that afterwards they tried to harness the peoples to the yoke of U.S.-British imperialism, to make them forget the suffering, poverty and exploitation which the "native" bourgeoisie brought upon the working class and working population. But the bourgeoisie did not succeed in deceiving the working people. Thanks to the firmness and steadfastness of the

Communist Parties, which headed the struggle against the Hitler oppressors, the Marx-Lenin theory of class struggle became in all countries the mighty weapon of the working people for liberation from capitalist exploitation.

There collapsed also all the attempts of the enemy who penetrated into the Communist and Workers' Parties to distract them from their leading role in the class struggle by means of the old, hostile Bukharin theory about the peaceful growth over of capitalism into Socialism. The Bukharin capitulatory theory about the dying out of the class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, exposed and smashed by Comrade Stalin, likewise suffered defeat in the countries of people's democracy.

Bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism are particularly dangerous weapons used by the enemies of the people. History teaches that the bourgeoisie resorts to nationalism in order to distract the attention of the masses from the class struggle and to utilise the working-class movement in its own interests. The bourgeoisie in the countries of people's democracy strove to act in this manner.

The exploiting classes are widely using cosmopolitanism – the poisoned weapon of U.S. imperialism – in the ideological struggle. Cosmopolitanism is manifested, on the one hand, in cultivating among the masses mistrust in the strength of the people, in denying patriotism, national pride and national consciousness, in scorning the role of Soviet socialist culture, art and science, the role of proletarian internationalism, and on the other, in cultivating fulsome adoration of the Western way of life, capitalist technique, decadent bourgeois culture and so on.

The bourgeoisie uses in its criminal aims also the clergy who are hostile to the people's-democratic system and particularly the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic church.

But all this did not help the exploiters. Educated by the Communist and Workers' Parties, the working people in the people's democratic countries are becoming more and more convinced from personal experience that they can correctly solve all questions of life in their country only if they are guided by the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

The struggle on the ideological front continues and is very complex in character. We need to wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology, to step, up Communist education of the working people.

Inculcation of New Labour Discipline

The overthrow of capitalist rule in the people's-democratic countries did not destroy all the roots of capitalism. Lenin teaches that the petty bourgeoisie in town and countryside daily and hourly throw up from their ranks: capitalists, both big and small, and that these capitalist elements do all in their power to preserve their existence. I resistance can be overcome only in bitter class struggle. Since the working peasantry has not yet been completely won for collective agriculture, and since part of it is still wavering, adhering to private-property farming, the class enemy strives to attract the working peasantry onto his side.

Right from the inception of the people's democratic countries the working class realised that it was necessary to win the working peasantry to its side as a reliable and firm ally. The land reform carried out on a wide scale in the countries of people's democracy, and the correct policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the sphere of agriculture, a policy based, on the one hand, on supporting and convincing the working peasantry, and, on the other, on restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements created favourable conditions for binding the working peasants to the working class by firm bonds and common interests. The development of the co-

operative movement in the countryside is living proof that here too, in the process of class struggle, the resistance of the exploiting elements is being overcome and that in all the countries of people's democracy the idea of large-scale agriculture of joint cultivation, is making rapid headway, despite frantic resistance on the part of the kulaks.

The people's-democratic countries, being young countries, did not have sufficient specialists of working-class and working-peasant origin for the work of state and economic administration. Hence, they had to employ the old intelligentsia both in state administration and in all branches of the national economy, to win to their side all honest specialists and reeducate them. The employment of the old specialists under the leadership and control of the working class was accompanied by a number of difficulties, since not all those who formerly worked for the bourgeoisie were ready to work honestly and conscientiously for the people's-democratic states, to share their experience with the working people. The trials, and especially the trial of the anti-state conspiracy centre headed by Slansky, established that it was through these old specialist saboteurs that the overthrown bourgeoisie directed its main blow at the very heart of the countries of people's democracy and unfolded wide subversive activity.

The consolidation of the people's-democratic system and the successful development of socialist construction – striking testimony to the great force of the Marxist-Leninist ideas – exert a powerful influence. In the matter of re-educating the old intelligentsia for whom the people's-democratic state provides unprecedented opportunities for applying their knowledge and abilities. Simultaneously, the people's-democratic countries are conducting large-scale training of specialists from the ranks of the workers, from among the working population.

One of the main forms of class struggle in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inculcation of a new discipline, Lenin wrote: "Does not class struggle in the transition period from capitalism to Socialism lie precisely in the fact that it is essential to uphold the interests of the working class against encroachments by the handful, groups and sections of workers who cling might and main to capitalist habits and look on the Soviet state in the same way as before: give 'it' as little as possible and as poor quality as possible and grab from 'it' as much as possible".

Education in the spirit of the new discipline constitutes struggle for a socialist attitude toward labour, towards state and public property, a struggle against the survivals of private property, against private-property egoism, etc.

In inculcating the new, conscious discipline, the Party and the state utilise as their main weapon the weapon of convincing people. It is essential to ensure that every working man becomes convinced that Socialism cannot be built without conscious discipline. Stubborn struggle for conscious discipline must be waged until every working man is convinced that a bad attitude towards labour on his part only helps the class enemy.

Invaluable Significance of Aid of the U.S.S.R. and its Experience

The experience of the Soviet Union, the country in which the exploiting classes have been abolished, is of great significance for the working people of the countries of people's democracy stepping out along the road to Socialism. From this experience they learn how to fight against their class enemies and to triumph over them. The aid and support rendered by the Soviet Union enables the working people in these countries to cope successfully with all difficulties and overcome all the obstacles in the struggle for the new life, for Socialism.

As distinct from the Soviet people who, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, had to fight against enemies on the fronts of the Civil War, against the armed intervention of the imperialists, the working people of the countries of people's democracy, thanks to the Soviet Union, were spared this. Had there been no Soviet Union, then the imperialists, undoubtedly, just as they did after the October Revolution, would, without hesitating, have organised joint intervention against the people's-democratic countries in order to smash the forces of democracy and Socialism.

The liberation of the people's-democratic countries by the heroic Soviet Army created particularly favourable conditions for the working people to deal with their own exploiters without civil war. It goes without saying, however, that the winning of political power by the working class under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties, took place in conditions of bitter and complicated class struggle in the political, economic and ideological spheres. In this struggle there was achieved unity of the working class which won the majority of the population to its side, and the people's democratic system triumphed.

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

No. 6 (222) FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1953

COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGO SLAVIA IN THE POWER OF ASSASSINS AND SPIES

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej

I

Comrades, it is more than a year since the Information Bureau passed its historic resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Developments in Yugoslavia in this period, the Budapest trial and the provocative activity of the Tito delegation in the United Nations have fully confirmed the correctness of the resolution and the exceptional theoretical and practical value of this document for the world revolutionary movement.

The resolution exposed with exceptional force and profundity the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist nature of the Yugoslav leaders, and also convincingly showed that they had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. With masterly prevision, it disclosed the sources of the subsequent developments in Yugoslavia, pointing out that "such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degenerating into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of imperialist countries." We find the same scientific insight in the elucidation given by the resolution of the economic consequences of the demagogic and unscrupulous measures adopted by the Tito clique with the aim of discrediting Socialism. The resolution has been of powerful support to the healthy, revolutionary, internationalist elements in the Yugoslav Communist Party in their struggle against the Tito-Rankovic fascist dictatorship. The Yugoslav masses have been deeply imbued, and are being deeply imbued, with the spirit of the resolution, since they feel from their own experience the correctness of its estimation of the bloody butchers who have seized 'the administration of the state.

The Information Bureau's resolution was an historical turning point in the orientation and activity of the entire world revolutionary movement. Thanks to its Marxist-

Leninist ideological clarity and its elucidation of the problems of the class struggle in the situation that arose after the second world war, especially in the People's Democracies, the Communist and Workers' Parties were able successfully to combat nationalist deviations in their own ranks and to strengthen their ideological unity. The world revolutionary movement was more resolutely directed along the line of proletarian internationalism. The Communists and the working class became still more deeply imbued with the ideology of proletarian internationalism and the realization that fidelity to the homeland of Socialism, the Soviet Union, is the touchstone and criterion of internationalism. The Informbureau resolution on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party was the basis for numerous victories of the Communist and Workers' Parties. With its help the Communist and Workers' Parties were able to orient themselves in the struggle against nationalist deviations and for the promotion of proletarian internationalism, and to take up a firm and clear position on questions affecting war and peace.

Comrade Stalin has rendered immense assistance to the international Communist movement. With his genius and insight, he warned us against a number of ideological deviations and misconceptions and helped us to combat them successfully. This assistance of Comrade Stalin was the salvation of many Marxist parties. It made it possible to avoid numerous blunders in practical and theoretical orientation.

In their statements on what the attitude of the Communist Parties would be in the event of imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Foster and other outstanding leaders of the international working-class movement expressed the readiness and determination of the working masses of their countries to fight shoulder to shoulder with the liberating Soviet Army against the imperialist aggressors. This resolute stand against the Anglo-American warmongers evoked a broad response all over the world and was an important stimulus to the struggle of the masses for peace.

The Information Bureau's resolution was a powerful call for revolutionary vigilance. It was a reminder that those who sink into the mire of anti-Sovietism run the danger of falling into bourgeois nationalism; a danger against which Comrade Stalin warned already twenty-two years ago:

"He is an internationalist," Comrade Stalin says, "who unreservedly, unhesitatingly and unconditionally is prepared to defend the U.S.S.R., because the U.S.S.R. is the base of the world revolutionary movement, and it is impossible to defend, to advance this revolutionary Movement without defending the U.S.S.R. For he who thinks of defending the world revolutionary movement without, and against, the U.S.S.R., goes against revolution, and is bound to slide into the camp of the enemies of revolution." (J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. X, p- 51.)

How profoundly apt do these words of our great teacher sound today! The dialectic of the class, struggle is inexorable.

The shameless and hypocritical attempt of the Tito clique to conceal their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist position from the revolutionary movement of the world and from the working class and labouring people of Yugoslavia with talk about building Socialism and a so-called "independent line" with respect to the two camps into which the world is now divided, has completely failed and has evoked profound disgust. The Tito clique have openly deserted to the imperialist warmongering camp and are working in the service of the American imperialists. The espousal of fascism by the Tito clique was a logical consequence of their anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy. This clique have sold Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav people to the American

monopolists, have liquidated the state sovereignty, national independence and the last vestiges of liberty by establishing a brutal terrorist regime of the Gestapo type. The facts revealed at the Budapest trial, in the Bulgarian People's Republic, in the Rumanian People's Republic and in other People's Democracies have completely demonstrated that Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Pijade, Gosnjak, Maslaric, Bebler, Mrazovic, Vukmanovic, Koca Popovic, Kadric, Neskovic, Zlatic, Velebit and others, Rajk, Brankov, Traicho Kostov, Patrascanu and their confederates are agents of the British and American imperialist secret services. Already at the time of the second world war, these contemptible spies and traitors were helping the British and American imperialists to prepare support bases for the accomplishment of no plan of world domination. This gang of spies and traitors were introduced like a Trojan horse into the ranks of Communist and Workers' Parties. In obedience to the orders their masters, they made it their criminal aim to seize the direction of the party and state in the countries where the working class had come to power, to crush the revolutionary movement and to bring about the restoration of the rule of bourgeoisie.

In the Central and Southeastern countries of Europe liberated by the Soviet Army, the bourgeois parties and bourgeois politicians emerged from the war seriously come promised. The popular revolutionary forces exposed them and politically demolished them. World reaction fiercely defended its bourgeois agents in these countries. But it did not confine itself to this, since the bourgeois parties and the Right Social-Democrats were themselves no longer able to cope with the popular forces led by the Communist and Workers' Parties. The imperialists began to look for new reserves for the restoration of the capitalist regime, and in order to split the working-class and democratic movement and to sow confusion in its ranks.

Lenin pointed out that the bourgeoisie, with its great political experience, always seeks to find, even in its most difficult moments, when it seems to be at its last gasp, new and unexpected reserves with which to save itself from death.

The Tito clique's desertion to fascism is not fortuitous; it was done at the orders of their masters, the British and American imperialists, whose hirelings, as is now known, they have been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, in obedience to the wishes of the imperialists, made it their purpose to recruit in the People's Democracies political gangs consisting of reactionary, nationalist, clerical and fascist elements, and, with their support, to effect coups d'état in these countries, sever them from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp and subordinate them to the dominating forces of imperialism. The Tito clique converted Belgrade into a centre of American espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

Already during the war, in 1943, the BBC, which had supported Mihailovic and ex-King Peter's exile government, abruptly changed its tone in favour of Tito. Later it became known that a British military mission had arrived at Tito's headquarters, after which he appointed Colonel (now General) Velebit, an agent of the British secret service, as his representative to London. Imperialist intrigues began. At that time the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership published a political declaration—nationalist in essence—regarding Macedonia, calling upon the Macedonian patriots, at the height of their struggle, to desert the EAM and place themselves at Tito's disposal. Tito's emissaries, including Vukmanovic, immediately began undermining activities within the Communist Parties of Greece and Macedonia.

Churchill sent his son Randolph with a special mission to Tito. Later, this old reactionary and mortal foe of the U.S.S.R. met Tito personally. Already then, the imperialists showed great interest and trust in Tito and his clique.

On the other hand, the exposures of Yugoslav General Popivoda have revealed in its true light the compromising attitude of Tito, Rankovic and others towards the Nazi invaders and the Gestapo, and also their dastardly betrayal of the Yugoslav partisans at the most serious moments of the war. All this fully explains the subsequent line of the Tito clique. For the experience of the working-class movement teaches us that people who are once recruited by the bourgeois police remain at its disposal for the rest of their lives.

The British and American imperialists popularize the infamous position of the Tito gang and recommend it as an anti-Communist specific on an international scale. They have tried to bring the Communists of other countries under Tito's influence. But the plan of the imperialists failed; from beneath his "Marshal's" cap, there peeped out the ears of a spy of international capital.

When all sincere friends of peace, democracy and Socialism look upon the U.S.S.R. as a mighty stronghold of Socialism, as a loyal and steadfast protector of the liberty and independence of peoples, as the main buttress of peace, the Tito-Rankovic clique, having climbed to power under the mask of friends of the U.S.S.R. have, at the behest of the American and British imperialists, started a campaign of calumny and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilizing the most dastardly fabrications borrowed from the arsenal of the Hitlerites.

All the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to extend Tito's anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, subversive policy beyond the borders of Yugoslavia have been shattered against the iron unity of the world revolutionary proletarian movement. When the Information Bureau published its resolution, the Belgrade fascist fiends began to complain that they were the victims of injustice. But their sole idea was to conceal their shady past and their connections with Anglo-American imperialism as long as possible. The Budapest trial came as a thunderbolt to the Tito clique. The facts proved that it was not a case of blunders, but of a deliberate counterrevolutionary, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist policy, conducted by a gang of spies, professional informers and agents-provocateur with a long record of collaboration with the police and bourgeois secret services. A large number of the present Yugoslav leaders were sent into Yugoslavia from the concentration camps of France by the Gestapo as long ago as 1941.

The detection of the Rajk-Brankov gang, the trial and the verdict must be regarded as a big victory for the front of Socialism and democracy over the designs of the imperialists. The facts brought to light at the Budapest trial completely stripped the mask from Tito and his clique, revealing them to the peoples of Yugoslavia and the whole world in their true guise as long-standing spies and agents-provocateur who had worked their way into the working-class movement as paid agents of the American and British imperialists.

The plan of the American imperialists to intimidate and undermine the People's Democracies and to create an anti-Soviet bloc in Central and Southeast Europe, in which the Tito clique would play the role of the storm detachment, is part of imperialism's general strategical plan to kindle a new world war. The exposure of this plan was therefore a tremendous defeat for the warmongers and a victory for peace. The conversion of the Tito-Rankovic clique into direct agents of imperialism and abettors of the warmongers was consummated by the open admission of the Yugoslav government to the imperialist bloc in the United Nations, where the Kardeljs, Djilas and Beblers act in a united front with the American reactionaries on major questions of international policy.

The foreign policy of the Tito clique is an anti-Soviet policy of the vilest order. The Belgrade counterrevolutionary agents are carrying out the orders of the imperialist aggressors and instigators of another world war.

The fascist fiends are trying to conceal from the peoples of Yugoslavia the nature of the Atlantic pact, to which they would like to adhere. Their actions, as exposed at the Budapest trial, are damning proof of their active participation in the realization of the military plans of the American and British imperialists. The Communist and Workers' Parties, analyzing the trend of the Tito clique's foreign policy, long ago pointed out that it would be no matter of surprise if Tito, in order to curry favour with his masters, were soon to invent a new theory according to which it is not capitalism and its contradictions, not imperialism that is the cause of war in our era, but Socialism. And, true enough, this has now become the chief slogan of the foreign policy of the Yugoslav government. In all their foreign-political utterances, the Belgrade fascist gang pursue one single aim, which is to revile and blacken the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. There is no such thing as imperialists to the Tito clique. All their sorties breathe hatred and malice towards the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Tito's American and British masters ordered him, their agent, to be more active at the present session of the United Nations. The imperialists are worried by the enormous prestige won by the Soviet Union. The task they have assigned the Tito emissaries in the United Nations is to discredit the principal force of peace, the Soviet Union, and to erect a smoke screen to obscure the fact that the American and British imperialists are instigating war.

Tito's sabotage emissaries are trying their hardest to discredit the new type of relations, the socialist relations between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, which are based upon equality and community of interests. These relations are becoming a centre of attraction for all peoples who yearn for peace and liberty, for the peoples of all countries that are in vassal subordination to American imperialism. But the rabid Tito clique are impotent in face of the facts. Only thanks to the socialist aid of the U.S.S.R. have "the People's Democratic Republics entered that phase of development when the people, having experienced the joy of a free and independent life, feel themselves masters in their country and dedicate all their energy to promoting its strength and progress." (G. M. Malenkov, in his speech of November 6, 1949.) At the same time the economy of the U.S.A. is facing a disastrous crisis which will sweep along with it all the countries, including Yugoslavia, that have tied their destinies with it.

At the present session of the United Nations the Tito clique have completely exposed themselves: it has become clear who is behind them and whom they are serving.

Tito zealously carries out all the orders of his masters. There are no national interests which Tito is not ready to betray at the behest of Washington. The Belgrade correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, in an article entitled "U.S.A. Will Demand Political Concessions of Tito," declared already last June that the Yugoslav government would change its attitude as regards its claims on Austria, the question of Trieste and the question of the Greek partisans. That menial of the imperialists, Judas Tito, carried out the orders of his masters to the letter. He renounced Slovene Carinthia and is preventing a just settlement of Yugoslav's interests in Trieste. As for Greece, Acheson himself, in his speech at the opening of the UN General Assembly, stressed the change in the position of the traitorous Yugoslav government.

All this prompted the *Times* to note that Tito, in his foreign policy, had removed some of the obstacles which had hampered the establishment of economic relations with the Western Powers. In the language of the capitalists, this meant that their agent Tito might be sent the dollars he was asking for.

In the sphere of home policy, the principal outcome of the activities of the traitorous Tito-Rankovic clique is the actual liquidation of the people's democratic system in Yugoslavia.

As a result of the counter-revolutionary policy of the Tito-Rankovic clique, who have usurped power in the party and the state, an anti-Communist police regime of the fascist type has been established in Yugoslavia. The social base of this regime consists of the kulaks in the countryside and the capitalist elements in the towns. Power in Yugoslavia is in fact in the hands of anti-popular, reactionary elements. Active members of the old bourgeois parties, kulaks and other elements hostile to people's democracy are ensconced in the central and local government bodies. The ruling fascist clique maintain their power with the help of an inordinately inflated military and police machine, by means of which they oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia, have turned the country into a military camp, wiped out the democratic rights of the working people and suppress every free expression of opinion.

The Yugoslav rulers demagogically and brazenly deceive the people when they allege that they are building Socialism in Yugoslavia. It is clear to every Marxist that there can be absolutely no question of building Socialism in Yugoslavia when the Tito clique have broken with the Soviet Union and the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, thereby depriving Yugoslavia of the chief support in building Socialism, and when they have subordinated the country economically and politically to the American and British imperialists.

Recent developments have shown that the Yugoslav government is in a state of complete dependence on foreign imperialist circles and has become a tool of their aggressive policy, which has resulted in the liquidation of the sovereignty and independence of the Yugoslav Republic.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of Yugoslavia have completely joined forces with the imperialist circles against the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, against the Communist Parties of the whole world, and against the People's Democracies and the USSR.

Tito and Rankovic have instituted a fierce reign of terror in the country. Any free expression of progressive, democratic opinion is fraught with danger to liberty and life; all human rights are savagely trampled upon. The prisons are filled with Communists, strikers, and peasants who refuse to perform forced, so-called "voluntary," labour. The torture chambers, the violence and manhandling, the blinding of prisoners and the starvation regime in the jails fill the country with horror. There is no end to the killings and shootings. Yugoslavia today is a bloody shambles and a prison of the peoples.

The Yugoslav hirelings of imperialism, having seized the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, unloosed a campaign of terror against the genuine Communists who are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are struggling to make Yugoslavia independent of the imperialists. Thousands of Yugoslav patriots devoted to Communism have been expelled from the party and incarcerated in prison and concentration camp, while many have been tortured or murdered in jail or nefariously assassinated, like the well-known Yugoslav Communist Arso Jovanovic. The ruthlessness with which staunch champions of Communism are exterminated in

Yugoslavia can only be compared with the brutalities of the Hitler fascists or of the butchers Tsaldaris in Greece and Franco in Spain.

Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang and many other Communist leaders in Yugoslavia, many generals, colonels and other officers who were heroes of the anti-Hitler resistance, outstanding party workers, university professors, progressive intellectuals, workers and labouring peasants who love their country and yearn to see it wrested from the clutches of the imperialists, and who love the Soviet Union and Socialism have been cast into jail and subjected to a regime of extermination. While expelling from the ranks of the party Communists who are loyal to proletarian internationalism and annihilating them, the Yugoslav fascists have thrown the doors of the party wide open to bourgeois and kulak elements.

As a result of the destruction of the healthy forces of the Yugoslav Communist Party by the Tito gang, the leadership of the party is now wholly in the hands of spies and assassins, hirelings of imperialism. The Yugoslav Communist Party has fallen under the control of counterrevolutionary forces that presume to speak and act in the name of the party. We know that it is an old method of the bourgeoisie to recruit spies and provocateurs in the ranks of working-class parties. The imperialists endeavour by this means to disintegrate these parties from within and bring them under their control. This they have succeeded in doing in Yugoslavia.

The fascist ideology, and the fascist home policy, like the treacherous foreign policy, of the Tito clique, which are entirely governed by foreign imperialist circles, have dug a chasm between the Tito-Rankovic clique of spies and fascists and the fundamental interests of the freedom-loving Yugoslav peoples. This is why the anti-popular and treacherous activity of the Tito clique is encountering increasing resistance both from the Communists who remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism and from the working class and labouring peasantry of Yugoslavia.

We send our militant Communist greetings to all our Yugoslav comrades who are courageously enduring the bloody terror in the jails and concentration camps of the butcher Rankovic.

Yugoslavia's economic situation is becoming an increasing burden on the workers. The state-owned sector is not the property of the people; it is a state capitalist sector, working in the service of foreign capital.

The Yugoslav worker does not work for himself, for his people. The surplus value he produces is appropriated in ever larger proportion by foreign banks and trusts. The strikes which broke out at various enterprises—at the Stura foundry, the car-repair shops near Maribor and the Trbovte mines—were drowned in blood by Rankovic's thugs.

The Tito clique are exercising their fascist terror dictatorship against the working masses for the benefit of foreign capital and the domestic bourgeoisie, rural and urban. The growing strength of the kulaks is accompanied by the growth of the urban bourgeoisie. The Belgrade fascist demagogues endeavour to conceal their measures for the restoration of capitalism with talk about "abolishing exploitation" or "the triumphant march of Socialism." A year and a half ago the traitor Kardelj declared: "the days of such survivals of exploitation of man by man as still exist in our country are numbered." Actually, however, capitalist exploitation in Yugoslavia has become more intense both in town and countryside; the kulaks and other exploiters bless their benefactor, Judas Tito.

Owing to their hostile policy towards the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, which has deprived Yugoslavia of the support of these countries, the Tito clique have made an utter failure of the five-year plan. The working people of Yugoslavia are

coming more and more to realize what a base fraud is Tito's talk of "building Socialism" in Yugoslavia without and against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Never has the condition of the labouring peasants been as hard as it is now. They are brutally exploited by the kulaks and weighed down by heavy taxation and compulsory labour. The "producer cooperatives," forcibly created and directed by the kulaks, represent a new form of exploitation of the labouring peasants. Possessing agricultural implements, the kulaks exploit the labour of the poor peasants in the so-called "cooperatives" far more ruthlessly than on their own private farms.

Of late, Tito is increasingly resorting to one of the most brutal forms of exploitation—unpaid forced labour for the benefit of foreign capital. This is the so-called "voluntary work in lumber camps, on road building and so on. Tens upon tens of thousands of people are forcibly sent to lumber camps.

Characteristic in this respect is the "voluntary work" in the forests of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where timber is felled for export to Britain and America. People are detailed for the "voluntary work" without warning. Representatives of the state authority come during the dinner hour or at night and forcibly carry off the people whose names are down on their lists. Often enough, these people do not answer the requirements of the regulations, that is, they are either too old (over 55) or too young (under 14), or are sick and unfit for work. As many as 20 per cent of the mobilized for the work are sick or old persons. Even medical certificates granting exemption from "voluntary work" are ignored. Working hours are from 10 to 14 a day. The food is poor, consisting of bean soup, 200 grams of bread and 200 grams of maize flour. The people are not provided with clothing, they sleep on the ground in the forest, often in the mud and rain, since not even huts are available. Besides people, draught animals—horses and oxen—are mobilized for "voluntary" work. The resistance of the masses to this forced labour is growing more and more bitter.

The national policy of the gang of spies and assassins now in power in Yugoslavia is a national-chauvinist race policy of the fascist type, a policy of savage oppression of national minorities, a policy of depriving them of all right to free development.

The organizations of the national minorities have been dissolved, and their honest leaders arrested and annihilated in the jails of the Yugoslav fascist butchers.

Since the press of the national minorities in Yugoslavia, like the press generally, is in the hands of fascist elements, the national minorities have no possibility of freely voicing their aspirations in their own language.

The Yugoslav press has been placed entirely at the service of American imperialism and its agents, the Tito spies and assassins.

Yugoslavia has become a Marshallized country. Whereas in the beginning Tito and his clique loudly boasted that they would get along without loans and vowed that they would not sully their "own forces" and "specific path" with American dollars, today these political scoundrels are openly appealing to American banks for aid. But we know that American bankers are not content with interest alone. The American Hoare, head of the commission sent to Yugoslavia by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, has installed himself in Belgrade like a master. He told journalists at a press conference he called that he was there to check the way the credits granted by the bank were used. Yugoslav economic plans are submitted to these monopolists for approval. All this is accompanied by many privations for the people due to Marshallization.

Foreign capital penetrates into Yugoslavia through numerous channels. Yugoslavia's economic independence has been liquidated.

The foulest mission the counter-revolutionary agent Tito took upon himself was to strike a blow at the Democratic Army of Greece. The butchers of the Greek and Yugoslav peoples, Tsaldaris and Tito, reached full agreement, secretly arranging to destroy the heroic Greek partisans. While Tito was instructing his troops how to stab the Greek Democratic Army in the back, his henchman, Vukmanovic, wrote in Borba about the "blunders" allegedly committed by the Communist Party of Greece. In these trying days for the Greek patriots, he, with unparalleled baseness and treachery, attacks the leadership: of the Party and Comrade Zahariadis. Aware of the sympathy and solidarity the Yugoslav people cherish for the Greek partisans, the Tito clique prepared a monstrous "justification" of their action.

That old provocateur, Vukmanovic, wrote that the battle "was lost because of the absolutely erroneous line of the leadership on vital questions (armed: struggle, organization - and training of troops, the question of power, relations with the imperialists, etc.)."

These articles are unable to conceal the villainy of the Tito clique, for of all the crimes they have committed, their assistance to the royalist-fascists against the Greek partisans is the most dastardly. All these facts present an ample description of the Gestapo regime and fascist policy of the Tito clique. But the day is not far off when the Yugoslav peoples will settle accounts with this gang of spies, provocateurs and assassins.

II

What conclusions should be drawn from this analysis of the situation in Yugoslavia?

1. The Tito espionage group represent not the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the will of the American and British imperialists, and have therefore betrayed the interests of the country and destroyed the political sovereignty and economic independence of Yugoslavia.

The fight against the instigators of a new world war is inconceivable without a fight against the Tito clique. The international significance of this fight is therefore clear.

2. The "Communist Party of Yugoslavia," as at present constituted, having fallen into the hands of enemies of the people, has forfeited the right to be called a Communist party and is merely an apparatus for carrying out the espionage assignments of the Tito-Kardelj-Rankovic-Djilas clique.

The fight against the Tito clique of 'hired spies and assassins is the international duty of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

3. The main task in the fight against Tito's fascist dictatorship falls upon the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia, headed by the revolutionary Communists.

The peoples of Yugoslavia cherish sincere love for the Soviet Union which liberated them, and desire with all their hearts to return to the great family of Socialism and democracy. The peoples of Yugoslavia bitterly hate the Tito espionage clique and their masters, the American and British imperialists. There is a growing desire and a growing struggle on the part of the working people of Yugoslavia to overthrow the fascist usurpers.

It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to assist in every way the Yugoslav working class and labouring peasantry who are struggling for Yugoslavia's return to the camp of democracy and Socialism.

4. The struggle against the fascist regime of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia is assuming ever more acute forms: strikes, passive resistance, chiefly against

compulsory conscription for work, distribution of illegal leaflets, opposition to production programs in factories and government procurement programs, etc. The Yugoslav workers are coming clearly to see that increased production serves the interests of the imperialists and are resorting to passive sabotage.

An essential condition for Yugoslavia's return to the socialist camp is an active struggle of the revolutionary elements both inside and outside the Yugoslav Communist Party for the resurrection of a revolutionary, genuinely Communist Yugoslav party, which will be faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and which will fight for Yugoslavia's independence from imperialism.

5. The working class of Yugoslavia, and the Communists who lead it, must have the fullest solidarity of the international working class in the building of their party. The work of the Yugoslav Communists is beginning to acquire a more active and more coordinated form.

The political and ideological campaign for the exposure of the Tito clique must be continued with still greater energy. The anti-popular policy of this agency of imperialism should be unanimously condemned by world public opinion. The Titoites wail at every street corner that they are being expelled from all international democratic organizations. They betray their fear that they may not be able effectively to continue their espionage activity and will be discharged by their American masters.

Let us be ruthless and implacable towards these despicable agents! Let them nowhere find the least point of support!

6. Every Communist and Workers' Party has most important duties to perform with respect to enhancing vigilance. This applies not only to party members, but to all the working masses, who must be educated in revolutionary vigilance. The vigilance of the masses must assume organized forms. We must expose and eject from our ranks our bourgeois-nationalist elements and all agents of imperialism, under whatever flag they may disguise themselves.

Of particular importance in the People's Democracies is state vigilance—vigilance of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We know that in the People's Democracies the old state machine was not smashed right away, as was the case in the Great October Socialist Revolution. This requires that the vigilance of the Communists in this sphere be particularly keen. It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to draw all the conclusions from the Budapest trial of the spies Rajk and Brankov.

It must be remembered that, notwithstanding the severe defeat the American and British imperialists suffered at the Budapest trial, they have not renounced espionage and on conspiratorial activity in the People's Democracies. The conference of the American Ambassadors to the East-European countries recently held in London was called precisely for the purpose of reconsidering the work of American agents in this part of Europe in the light of the Budapest trial. On the admission of the Western press, which no longer conceals what the American diplomats are occupied in, it was decided in London to set up an espionage centre in Belgrade. At the same time, a State Department commission, under the chairmanship of Allen Dulles, the notorious U.S. intelligence chief, drew up a program of action for the East-European countries, envisaging "new methods."

There can be no doubt that the chief role in this dastardly work will be assigned to the old spies and agents- provocateur of the Tito clique. They will endeavour to utilize people like Rajk, as well as every weakness and fissure in the ranks of the

party and the government service, mal-contents, nationalist elements and people with dubious pasts.

We must constantly bear in mind, as Bolshevism teaches, that it is necessary to put an end to the opportunist complacency which arises from the false assumption that as our strength grows the enemy becomes more tame and inoffensive. This assumption is fundamentally fallacious. We must remember that the more hopeless the position of our enemies becomes, the more readily will they resort to "extreme methods."

We must base the enhancement of vigilance on more intense educational work. The newspaper *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* summarized the tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties in this connection in an article entitled "Strengthen Revolutionary Vigilance!":

"Marxism-Leninism teaches that the party of the working class can successfully get to grips with and beat the enemy always and everywhere, no matter what mask he dons, only if it engages in systematic work to raise the political and ideological level of its cadres; if it trains them in the spirit of irreconcilability to each and every deviation from the line of Marxism-Leninism; if it strengthens its ranks organizationally, resolutely rids the Party of alien elements, exposing and smashing in good time nationalist and revisionist deviations, and by deepening the class consciousness of the working class and all toilers."

A cardinal lesson to be drawn from the experience of the great Bolshevik Party is that in order to enhance vigilance we must put our own party house in Bolshevik order. The principal means for this is a verification of party members. It has been carried out in the parties of a number of the People's Democracies and yielded very good results. In our party, for instance, as a result of the verification which is still going on, we are expelling from its ranks hostile and alien elements who penetrated into the party in the period when its doors were wide open for admittance. There can be no doubt but that this measure will considerably hamper the efforts of the enemy to find a foothold in our party.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must strengthen the ideological vigilance of their members. They must display genuine Bolshevik irreconcilability to all deviations from proletarian internationalism, and intensify the ideological work of educating Communists to be faithful to proletarian internationalism, to be implacable towards all departures from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to be faithful to people's democracy and Socialism, to the international socialist front, headed by the USSR.

In science, literature, painting, music and the cinema there must be keen vigilance and an irreconcilable attitude towards all trends alien to the working class, and towards the propaganda of cosmopolitanism.

Let us raise still higher the victorious banner of proletarian internationalism, by fostering devotion to the Soviet Union—the first socialist country, the foundation of the world revolutionary movement and the main bulwark of the struggle for the peace and liberty of peoples—to the great Bolshevik Party, the leading force in the world revolutionary movement, and to the genius who is the teacher of labouring humanity and the leader of the struggle of the peoples for peace and Socialism, Comrade Stalin.

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