

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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## **FOIL THE CRIMINAL SCHEMES OF THE WARMONGERS**

The mighty wave of the democratic movement is gaining momentum and the ranks of the defenders of peace are growing more consolidated and monolithic. From the Channel coast to the islands of Japan, from Australia to Narvik, millions of people are insisting on curbing the rampant imperialist aggressors who are preparing a new war. During recent weeks the peace movement has taken on more active forms and has assumed a mass character.

The recent conference in Manchester and the declaration by representatives of nearly a million workers in the North West of England in favour of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union; the response to this declaration by ten thousand trade union delegates, representing 1,400,000 industrial and office workers in Leningrad and in the Leningrad region, calling upon the British workers, by means of joint efforts to strengthen peace and resist the instigators of a new war; the powerful peace movement in France; the actions of the Italian, Norwegian and Danish working people against their countries joining the Atlantic Pact; the demand of democratic public opinion that Truman should meet Comrade Stalin to conclude a Peace Pact and regulate outstanding differences between the United States and the Soviet Union; the struggle of the Dutch workers against the aggressive war in Indonesia and of the democratic forces of France against the war in Indo-China; the demand to outlaw the atom bomb and the support for the Soviet Union's proposal to reduce armaments by one-third—all this is striking evidence of the powerful popular movement for peace, of the will and desire of millions of ordinary people throughout the world.

Men of science, art and literature and the progressive intelligentsia of all countries are actively joining the struggle for peace and have welcomed the of a World Congress by the supporters of peace.

Another serious blow has been struck at the imperialist plans for war. On behalf of millions of working people, the Communist Parties have warned the imperialist aggressors that should they unleash war against the land of Socialism, the working people will honour their obligations to international proletarian solidarity, fulfilling, thereby, their duty to their own peoples and defending their vital interests.

The statements by Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Harry Pollitt and other leaders of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, that under no circumstances whatsoever would the working class, the masses, support imperialist aggression and the war unleashed by it against the land of Socialism—the Soviet Union—and the People's Democracies, deprive the imperialists of the possibility of poisoning the peoples with chauvinism and of depicting the war being prepared by them as a patriotic war. The Communist Parties have pointed out that in the event of the joint efforts of all supporters of peace failing to avert war, if as a result of this, the peoples of the capitalist countries are embroiled against their will in an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, and if in these circumstances the Soviet Army, defending the cause of the peoples, the cause of Socialism, were forced to enter the territory of these countries, the overwhelming majority of the working people of town and countryside would welcome the soldiers of liberation as they had been welcomed by the working people of Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and other countries.

The warm support accorded these statements by the masses of the people reveals that, once again, the Communist Parties

have expressed the hopes and aspirations of the people.

The working class and working masses have always opposed imperialist war. Here it is relevant to recall that, prior to the first imperialist war, the Socialist parties took a similar stand. The Manifesto of the International Socialist Congress held at Basle in 1912 pointed out that the Socialist International “proposes that the workers in all lands should counterpose the might of international solidarity to capitalist imperialism”. What is new is that whereas in those days the Social Democratic leaders were revolutionary in words and traitors in deeds, the present day Communist Parties and the broad masses of the people who support them do not say one thing and then do another.

By their statements about proletarian solidarity and the defence of Socialism and democracy, the Communist Parties have once more demonstrated that they are the true torch-bearers of patriotism and defenders of the national independence of their countries. Those German and Italian anti-fascists who did their utmost to bring about the defeat of fascism by helping the allied armies liberate their countries from Hitler slavery—were they not patriots? Can one say the same about the French collaborators who supported Vichy?

And M. Queuille, who in an interview with a United States journalist brazenly called for the occupation of France by the American troops, is he not a traitor to his country?

Trying to smear and defame the finest, the conscious vanguard elements of the peoples, the imperialists ascribe to the Communist Parties and to the U.S.S.R. aggressive designs. Even highly placed leaders in the imperialist camp, such as Truman, cannot refrain from lies and chicanery. Juggling with the declarations of the Communist Parties and distorting them, Truman declared that the Communists are calling on the Soviet Army to attack the United States. Truly, those whom the gods

would destroy they first make mad!

In their frenzy, the infuriated imperialists have nothing but lies, distortions, political persecution and provocation with which to counterposed the clear-cut decisive expression of the will of the people who have no desire to shed their blood for Wall Street. This alone reveals that the statements of the Communist Parties have hit the mark and struck a crushing blow to the plans of the imperialist aggressors.

The warmongers have given themselves away by their vicious outbursts in answer to the Communist Party statements. If they are not preparing aggressive war, against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, then why the consternation in their camp? Why are they so shaken by the statements of the Communist Parties which declared on behalf of the masses that an aggressive war would not be supported? The U.S.S.R. has never been and will never be an aggressor. The world knows that it was not the U.S.S.R. which attacked Germany, that it was Hitler Germany that treacherously prepared to attack and did attack the U.S.S.R. . It is the United States and not the U.S.S.R. which is building military bases in all parts of the world. It is the United States and not the U.S.S.R., which is forming aggressive blocs; it is the imperialists of the U.S. and not the U.S.S.R. who are preparing war. The U.S.S.R. is fighting for peace, has proposed disarmament, outlawing of the atom bomb; it is fighting to strengthen the United Nations, to end aggressive war in Indonesia and in Palestine.

The aggressive policy of the Anglo-American imperialists utterly exposes them as warmongers who are bent on world conquest.

By its very nature, the land of Socialism cannot wage aggressive war. The reason for this is clear, states Maurice Thorez. A country in which the capitalist regime, the regime of



the exploitation of man by man no longer exists, naturally cannot pursue imperialist aims. That is why the foreign policy of the Soviet Union enjoys such confidence among the working people of the world; that is why they look toward the Kremlin walls with such love.

The Soviet Union has achieved far-reaching successes in its new Five-Year Plan and has added considerably to its material and moral strength. The countries of the People's Democracy have grown stronger politically and economically. The oppressed peoples of the colonies, inspired by the splendid example of the great Chinese people, have intensified the anti-imperialist struggle. The working class in France and Italy demonstrated its might in the course of large-scale political and economic battles, and the firmness of its alliance with ever broader democratic sections of the people.

The ruling circles in the countries of the dollar and the pound are losing confidence; the economic and political outlook promises nothing but crisis and mounting contradictions which are corroding the citadel of the imperialists from within. The faithful servants of the capitalist monopolies—the Right Socialists—are exposing themselves more and more in the eyes of the people. The forces of aggression and imperialism are weakening while the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism are gaining in strength.

The imperialist aggressors have been unmasked. Ever wider sections of the people are joining the struggle for peace. The working class and working people realise that the heavier the defeats of the imperialists the more dangerous and venturesome their policy and the sooner will they resort to all forms of provocation. This means that the democratic forces of the world must redouble vigilance, strengthen and consolidate their ranks still more, and raise still higher the banner of struggle for peace, democracy and national independence.

By strengthening proletarian solidarity, by deepening the consciousness and militancy of the broad masses, the Communist Parties will fulfil with honour the tasks confronting them and will justify the confidence of the people who want a stable and lasting peace. (page 1)

## **COMMUNISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES STAND AS ONE**

On the attitude of the Communist Party of Finland in relation to aggressors, Comrade Pessi, General Secretary of the Party, said:

Our attitude is similar to that of Communists of other countries. The aggressors must be curbed before their Atlantic alliance and other military blocs bring about war. But if peace-loving peoples are, in spite of their efforts, unable to save peace, if the war thirsty imperialists attack the Soviet Union or any other peace-loving people, the duty of all Communists and defenders of peace is to help the Soviet Union and other countries attacked to smash the aggressor or aggressors.

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**COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKING  
PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES RAISE  
BANNER OF STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE  
OF PEACE AND ACTIVELY OPPOSE  
THE WARMONGERS—THE ANGLO-  
AMERICAN AGGRESSORS**

The statement made by Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, about the attitude of the working class and working people of France in the event of aggression against the Soviet Union and the New Democracies has been echoed by the Communist Parties and working people of the capitalist countries. Millions have voiced their determination to frustrate the plans of the Anglo-American warmongers and to defend the bulwark of peace—the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy.

Below we publish excerpts from the statements made by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Italy, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Mexico, Canada, Finland, Argentina, Australia and Columbia. Similar statements were made by the Communist Parties of the United States, Austria, Japan, Cuba, Uruguay and other countries.

**CURB THE AGGRESSOR AND DEFEND THE  
PEACE**

Replying to questions put by a correspondent of the "Giornala della Sera", Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of

the Communist Party of Italy stated:

“There are no grounds whatsoever for assuming that the Soviet Union entertains even the slightest intention of attacking any country or that the Soviet Union has taken action, or intends to take action, that runs counter to the national interests of Italy. On the contrary, it was the Soviet Union which delivered the decisive blows that brought about the defeat of fascism.

“Consequently, I consider it absurd to discuss the hypothesis of war arising between the Soviet Union and Italy. If there is anybody who advances such a hypothesis it merely means that he is of the opinion that Italy should wage war against the Soviet Union for the very same reasons that the American multi-millionaires would like to wage war against the Soviet Union, precisely because the U.S.S.R. is not a capitalist state, but a socialist state of working people.

“It is quite clear that this is not the hypothesis of a national war but the typical line of a class and ideological war by reactionaries and capitalists against social progress and against the working people.

It is also quite clear what would be the position in this event of those who stand for social progress and Socialism and against reaction.

“As for the hypothesis about pursuit of and aggression by the Soviet Army on our territory, in this event I think it would be the direct duty of the Italian people, who cannot but condemn any and every aggression, to render the Soviet Army the most effective aid and to teach the aggressor the lesson he deserves to be taught. To announce immediately to the whole world that the Italian people—at any rate the overwhelming majority of the active and militant sections—view the matter in just this way means, unquestionably, to contribute to curbing the aggressor and preserving the peace”.

## **THE WORKING CLASS WILL RESIST**

In a recent statement Comrade Sharkey, General Secretary of the Australian Communist Party, declared:

I support the declaration of Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party. The task of Communists is to fight to prevent war and to educate the mass of the people in the spirit of struggle against war ideology. But if the fascists in Australia resort to force to prevent the workers achieving this aim, the Communists will tell the workers to meet force with force.

## **TO COMBAT THE AGGRESSOR IN EVERY WAY AND TO THE BITTER END**

A resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium states:

If the servants of American imperialism ruling our country succeeded in drawing Belgium into an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, the Communists and the vast majority of the Belgian workers would refuse to share such shame. They would fight in every way and to the bitter end against those who will expose themselves as the worst enemies of the Belgian people and of mankind.

## **CALL FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE**

At its recent meeting, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina declared that the Party would

do everything to secure the victory of the Soviet Union if a third world war should break out. The Party called for an anti-imperialist front in the Western hemisphere. It also called on all citizens of Argentina to support the Congress for Peace and Democracy which will be an important step toward forming an anti-imperialist front.

## **THE WORKING CLASS—ORGANISER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**

Addressing a recent meeting in Oslo dedicated to the cause of peace and to the memory of members of the Communist Party of Norway who gave their lives for the liberation of the country, Emil Levlien, Chairman of the Communist Party, said:

"The decisive national and socialist task of the people of Norway today is to refuse to join the Atlantic Pact. It is to be feared that new aggressors will continue their economic and political occupation of our country, and that they will intensify their military plans for turning Norway into a bridgehead in preparation for their criminal aggressive war against the land of Socialism. Only a people's movement, embracing the entire country can put a stop to this harmful policy and prevent our country from being handed over to the war politicians.

"To actively resist the war policy we must form a broad united front of Norwegian people like that created during the liberation war against fascism. We must consolidate and activate the forces of peace .

"We must raise the working class to the level where it will fight for peace instead of being dragged into a criminal war policy. If we prosecute this work with vigour and singleness of purpose, we shall be fighting for those aims for which our comrades fought and died, we shall be acting in their spirit."

## **FORM A BROAD FRONT OF PEACE SUPPORTERS**

In his report to the recent Extended Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Britain, Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Party, stated:

Pressure must be directed to the reduction of Britain's armed forces to their former level and to end our present overseas military commitments, with the removal of British troops from Malaya, the Middle East, Greece and other areas where their presence aroused the indignation of the people against whom they have been sent.

Pressure must be equally forceful for the withdrawal of all American military forces and aircraft from Britain and the refusal to provide military bases.

The struggle for peace cannot be separated from the need to reduce the armed forces and armaments and to outlaw the atom bomb.

Moreover, it is quite clear against what countries these bellicose preparations are directed. Unquestionably, the U.S.S.R., which is not interested in war, in imperialist markets, or spheres of investments and exploitation, is a more natural ally of the British working-class movement than the aggressive imperialists of the United States.

An alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union would quite definitely make war impossible.

Pollitt stated that it was necessary to organise a broad front of peace supporters:

We are so much more numerous and much stronger than the warmongers.

In another statement Pollitt declared:

If we are asked what we will do in the event of an imperialist aggressive war against the U.S.S.R., we will reply

in the same way as Ernest Bevin in 1920: organise strikes and councils of action to prevent that war from being carried through.

## **CANADIAN WORKERS ARE AGAINST WAR**

In the opinion of the Labour Progressive Party of Canada the country is not threatened with a hostile invasion, neither is there any sign of such a danger.

The Labour Progressive Party opposes and will oppose the Government proposal which, before the event, binds Canada to take part in the war the American imperialists want to start. We are fighting to prevent Canada from being drawn into war. That is why we are against Canada signing the North Atlantic military pact. That is why we insist that all United States troops must be withdrawn from Canada.

The Labour Progressive Party opposes the attempts of the imperialists to smash Socialism by war.

## **PEACE FORCES ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO AVERT WAR**

Addressing a gathering of several thousand people held to protest against Denmark joining the North Atlantic Pact, Axel Larsen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, said:

“There is a real danger of war at present. Our peace and national independence are likewise menaced. But the danger threatens from the West, not the East. Denmark’s adherence to the North Atlantic bloc would enhance the danger of war for



our country and our people.

"Should war break out we shall rally the people to fight against the people to fight against the aggressor, irrespective of whether it will be one country, or a coalition such as the North Atlantic bloc, we shall fight together with all who will resist the aggressor."

## **REMOVE THE DANGER OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION**

Dionisio Ensina, General Secretary of the Mexican Communist Party, commenting on the Thorez and Togliatti declarations said that a common front would be formed in Mexico in the near future, uniting all elements who are determined to oppose any imperialist war which the United States or Britain may unleash against the U.S.S.R..

## **STATEMENT OF COLUMBIA COMMUNISTS**

The Communist Party of Columbia declares that in the event of war "we, Communists, will stand at the side of the armies fighting against our mortal enemy-American imperialism."

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## **NEW STATE BUDGET OF THE U.S.S.R.**

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. met in the Moscow Kremlin on March 10. The session heard and discussed the report of Comrade Zverev, Minister of Finance, on the 1949 budget.

Comrade Zverev reminded the Supreme Soviet that the 1947 and 1948 budgets had been fulfilled in conditions of the Soviet people's outstanding victories in the struggle for the further development of socialist economy. The large-scale organisational work carried out by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet people's exceptional labour enthusiasm soon resulted in a prosperous industry, agriculture and culture and in the improved wellbeing of the people. In 1948, socialist industry developed much faster than in previous years. Industrial production targets were fulfilled by 106 per cent, and the plan for the first three years of the Five-Year Plan by 103 per cent. The volume of production went up 27 per cent compared with 1947.

The past year was also marked by important successes in the sphere of socialist agriculture. Collective farms and state farms raised bumper crops. Altogether throughout the Soviet Union over seven billion poods of cereals were harvested, a figure nearly up to the pre-war level. The average yield of cereals per hectare exceeded the 1940 level.

The currency reform and the abolition of rationing late in 1947 were of great significance. The currency reform balanced the amount of money in circulation with the requirements of the economic turn-over. It gave a further stimulus to the workers to raise production; it increased the real wages of the factory and office workers and the income of collective farmers. Recently the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

(Bolsheviks) adopted an important decision on price reductions on consumer goods. This decision is a striking example of Stalin's care for the people, and a further proof of the steady growth of socialist economy. Through the new price cuts the Soviet people will save nearly 71 billion rubies a year.

The 1949 budget plans an income of 445,208 million rubles, with expenditure at 415,355 million rubles. Revenue will be 36,739 million rubles, or 9 per cent more than last year. The increased scale of the budget is additional evidence of the steady growth of socialist economy and the further stabilisation of the Soviet ruble.

Comrade Zverev further pointed out that in the capitalist countries the situation is entirely different. In the United States inflation is on the increase, the living standards of the broad masses of the people are falling and unemployment growing. The money in circulation is almost four times more than before the war. Prices of consumer goods have particularly soared. The gap between wages and prices is widening and thus the living standards of the working people are getting worse. At the same time the profits of the monopolists are mounting. In 1947 they were nearly 30 billion dollars—4.5 times more than in 1939. The main reason for the inflation in the U.S. is the enormous growth of military expenditure caused by the aggressive policy of preparing for a new war.

The military expenditure envisaged in the U.S. budget for 1948-49 is 15 times more than in 1938-39. As pointed out by President Truman in his message to Congress, direct military expenditure in 1949-50 constitutes 38 per cent of the entire budget. Together with other appropriations for military purposes, the U.S. war expenditure for 1949-50 amounts to cover half the budget. As for Britain, in 1948-49 her military expenditure was nearly three times that of 1938-39.

Contrary to the capitalist countries, the greatest part of

expenditure in the Soviet budget goes on finance for the national economy and for social and cultural measures. During the current year, 152,500 million roubles (e.g. 36.7 per cent of the entire budget) are to be spent on the Soviet Union's national economy:

At the same time, the economic organs will appropriate another 37,400 million roubles out of their income. Capital investments in the national economy will exceed those of last year by 27 billion roubles. Alongside industrial construction, considerable funds are being Invested this year in house building which is essential to raise the living standards of the people.

Budget appropriations for agriculture increased from 20,500 million roubles in 1948 to 32,700 million roubles in 1949. These huge sums for socialist agriculture are a striking demonstration of the great care of the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin for the further development and strengthening of collective farming, and the creation of all the necessary conditions for the prosperity of collective farmers. The greatest part of these budget allocations will go to extend mechanisation of agriculture.

Over 800 million roubles is set aside by the State budget alone to finance the plan of planting protective forest belts, developing crop rotation and building reservoirs.

In addition to considerable economic construction, the Soviet State is carrying out an extensive social and cultural plan to improve the cultural level and the well-being of the people. For this, the 1949 budget sets aside 119,200 million roubles—an increase of 13,600 million roubles, or 12.9 per cent compared with 1948. Of the total expenditure on this, 60,800 million roubles will be spent on education, 21,600 million roubles on public health, 21,400 million roubles on social security and 3,400 million roubles will go in grants to mother of large

families and mother who are bread-winner. Finance for state social insurance increased from 14,400 million rubles in 1948 to 16,600 million rubles in 1949.

The 1949 budget for education makes it possible to give secondary education of seven classes to every child and to extend the secondary schools of ten classes. The total number of pupils in elementary schools and the two types of secondary schools will be 33,900,000. Universities, higher schools, technical schools and other special colleges will cater for 1,900,000 students.

In their discussion on Comrade Zverev's report, the deputies of the Supreme Soviet spoke of the successes of the Soviet people in the struggle to fulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. They declared that the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals would do everything to realise the State budget. The quality of production will be improved in every way, production costs reduced and the profitability of enterprises increased. In the course of the year, labour productivity in industry will be raised by 14 per cent.

The Soviet budget is of great importance in the fulfilment of the 1949 national economic plan.

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## **MEETING CENTRAL COMMITTEE HUNGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY**

At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, held on March 5-6, Comrade Rakosi reported on the Internal situation and the tasks of the Party. Comrade Kovac reported on the result of the verification of the Party membership. The meeting adopted Comrade Rakosi's report as a resolution of the Central Committee.

The meeting instructed the local Party organs to complete the job of issuing the new membership cards by May 1. It decided also to further suspend recruitment into the Party until June 1.

Below is a summary of Comrade Rakosi's report to the Central Committee.

\* \* \*

Comrade Rakosi noted that the three months which had passed since the previous meeting of the Party leadership were marked by the further strengthening of the system of People's Democracy in Hungary, and of its leading element, the Hungarian Workers' Party.

Referring to the establishment of the People's Independence Front of Hungary, Rakosi stated: The People's Front Declaration confirms once more that the programme of the Hungarian Communists, of the Hungarian Workers' Party points the way forward to prosperity for our people.

Further, Comrade Rakosi noted that the magnetic force of the People's Front and its successes were evident in the fact that it had been joined by the Independent Democrats and the Radical Party. These two opposition parties have seen for themselves that since the 1947 elections, successful work among the Hungarian working people can be conducted only

on the same basis as that of the Hungarian Workers' Party and People's Front.

Touching on the recently exposed Mind-szenty anti-popular conspiracy and, connected therewith, the slander campaign of the American and other imperialists, Rakosi recalled that these enemies of the Hungarian people, already in 1942, had prepared plans for the restoration of the Hapsburgs. The U.S. Government permitted Otto Hapsburg to form an Austrian legion in the American army. A recruiting bureau for this legion was opened in New York in 1942 and a battalion was undergoing training at the time. But Hapsburg and his patrons went about the job so crudely that their undertaking produced protests in other countries and in the spring of 1943 the legion was disbanded and its personnel incorporated into other American units.

Similar plans were harboured by the Vatican. On April 16, 1942, the Pope gave audience to the Hungarian Colonel-General Szombathelyi (later hanged as a war criminal), Major-General Ujszaszi, Major-General Veres Janos and others. Following his visit, Ujszazi wrote: "The people express his views, which foresaw the setting up of a powerful united Catholic monarchy in the Danube basin, against the Soviet Union." It was planned to incorporate Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Croatia and possibly Czechoslovakia in this Hapsburg monarchy. There is additional testimony about similar Papal conversations. Due to these plans of home and foreign reaction, Hungarian democracy was unsuccessful in its efforts to reach agreement with the Catholic Church as was the case with the other churches.

World reaction was furious because Mindszenty did not behave like a staunch champion of reaction, but admitted his guilt and promised to make good the damage caused the country. As is known, reaction tried to explain Mindszenty's

behaviour by alleging that it was due to drugs and torture.

We, Hungarian Communists, suffered not a little in fascist dungeons where we were subjected to all the refinements of the fascist technique of torture. But throughout the 25 years of our underground struggle not a single Communist leader ever renounced his ideas in court. Dozens of Communist Party members were murdered during interrogation, went to the scaffold with heads held high, unshaken in their Communist beliefs. This is how Communists and fighters for freedom act in all countries.

Mindszenty changed his attitude not because of “pressure” but because of the fact of his arrest, and, as he himself admitted, his reflections during imprisonment had convinced him of the incorrectness of his former position. This admission does not detract an iota from the fact that Mindszenty’s “change of front” was a big moral victory for Hungarian democracy, and a severe ideological defeat for international reaction,

Of course the American imperialists are raising a hullabaloo. They are not at all happy that their Central European plans and, to put it mildly, the unusual activity of their diplomacy, have been exposed.

A few words about the Labour Party members of the reactionary chorus that has raised its voice in defence of Mindszenty. We have got used to seeing how zealously working-class traitors serve the imperialists. Such was the case on this occasion, too. It is not fortuitous that Britain, governed by a so-called Labour Government, was the only country which found it necessary to address a Note to the Hungarian Government in connection with the Mindszenty case. Earlier, in 1947, Bevin and his right, or is it his left hand, Healey, demanded that the Hungarian Social Democrats should combine with Mindszenty against the Communists. This



particular action helped us greatly, because it opened the eyes of those Social Democratic comrades who were vacillating. At the same time it explains just why Bevin hastened to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hungary in connection with Mindszenty. Bevin objects to us associating his name with fascists. We, of course, distinguish between what an individual or a party says, and what he or it does in practice. The British Labour Party calls itself a socialist party, but in the case of Mindszenty, not to mention the anti-Soviet campaign of slander, it is on a par with the Spanish cardinals whose hands are crimson with the blood of Spanish workers, with Petain's cardinals who during the war worked hand in glove with the fascists.

From the American press we learned that the British Labour Government sent Dyak head-hunters from the jungles of Borneo to hunt down people in Malaya. The Dyak head-hunters were paid to kill Malayan patriots with poisoned arrows. And the British Labour Government, which is responsible for these crimes, dares to instruct Hungarian democracy about the principles of human liberty! We reject with scorn and contempt the "precepts" of such people and their interference in our internal affairs.

The all-important thing for us is the attitude of our people. The composure and approval with which the Hungarian workers, peasants and intelligentsia greeted the news of the arrest, trial and sentence on Mindszenty, showed that democracy has taken deep root among the people during the past four years, that it has won the confidence and support of the working people.

Speaking of the People's Democracy, which is successfully carrying out the functions of proletarian dictatorship, Comrade Rakosi dwelt in detail on the role of the working class.

The leading role of the working class, he said, not only

means leadership, but also exemplary work and serious sacrifice. The Hungarian working class, which has made big sacrifices in the postwar period, has demonstrated that it is capable of fulfilling its historical mission. It proved this when revising and introducing strict production norms. The results of the past few weeks show that the workers have not only appreciated the need for the new norms but are exceeding the targets. They have started new socialist emulation. The number of workers in the State organs, in the army and police is growing rapidly.

The working peasantry—the ally of the, working class—has likewise traversed a long path of development, continued Comrade Rakosi. During the elections held in the DEFOS (Union of Working Peasants and Agricultural Labourers), it became quite clear that not only the poor peasantry but also increasing numbers of medium peasants were coming out in favour of democracy. The cooperative movement—the only way to prosperity for the peasantry—is taking a firm foothold in the countryside. But, said Rakosi, our provincial and rural Party organisations are making mistakes in relation to the working peasantry which must be rectified without delay, because they endanger the successes already achieved in the countryside.

To make this clear, Rakosi continued, I shall refer to the experience of the mighty Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party. Rakosi then described the peasant policy of the Bolshevik Party, quoted Lenin and Stalin on the differentiation of the peasantry, on who should be regarded as a medium peasant, and what they had to say about the medium peasant. Rakosi noted that the Hungarian Communist Party had followed the Lenin-Stalin teaching: after the liberation of the country the Party, together with the peasantry, including the kulaks, fought against the feudal landowners. But once this

task was completed the kulaks turned against the Communists. The poor peasants and agricultural labourers remained as the Party's support in the countryside. But extensive educational work had to be carried out among them; it was necessary to convince them of the correctness of the Party's line and daily to defend their interests in order to win them over completely to our side. Until the summer of 1947, until the outcome of our struggle against reaction, we could not set ourselves the aim of drawing the medium peasantry over to our side. Our main object was to neutralise the medium peasantry. But once the outcome of the struggle had been decided and the medium peasantry had become convinced that the People's Democracy, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was not temporary, that it was here to stay, the situation changed. In the winter of 1947-48 we took the line of turning the medium peasantry into an ally. At the same time we started a struggle against the kulaks and did everything to restrict their development and influence. We began to unite the poor and medium peasantry into a single organisation, the Union of Working Peasants and Agricultural Labourers, which in the form of a special section, retains the organisational independence of the poor peasants.

Rakosi analysed the mistakes made in carrying out this policy. In many places the Party organisations seemed to think that once the slogan of winning the medium peasantry had been adopted, the poor peasantry is no longer so important, and consequently, that there is no need to bother about it. This can often be ?????????? elections to the leadership of the DEFOS organisations, with the result that the poor peasantry is relegated to the background and becomes passive. Measures must be taken, stressed Rakosi, to secure the leading role of the poor peasantry—our true ally—in the DEFOS organisations, and the leading role of the workers in the machine-tractor

depots.

Another serious mistake, said Rakosi, was that in many places our Party organisations made no distinction between the kulak and the medium peasant. The blow designed for the kulak must not fall on the medium peasant.

It is high time the job of restricting the kulak was seriously tackled. Whenever the kulak dares to violate the laws of democracy he must be ruthlessly called to order. At the same time, we must in every way support the poor peasants, deepen their class consciousness, their confidence in their own forces. They are entitled to the benefits gained for the working people of the countryside by democracy. We must see to it that the agricultural labourers receive everything due to them in accordance with the terms of the collective agreement.

The medium peasant will not be won over by wooing him, or by drawing a demarcation line between the poor and medium peasant. The medium peasant must see for himself that the people's democratic state treats the kulak with a firm hand, that it constantly strengthens the alliance with the poor peasant and helps the medium-peasant not by means of political persuasion alone, but with tangible measures. If we pursue a policy of this kind, the demarcation line between the kulak and medium peasant will soon take shape and the majority of the medium peasants will become the allies of the working class.

Referring to cooperative propaganda, Comrade Rakosi stressed the need to convince the peasant of the advantages of collective labour. Communists must learn to understand the peasants' doubts about the cooperatives.

The peasantry still has its doubts and it is up to the existing cooperatives to dispel these doubts by means of patient, painstaking effort, political education and exemplary work.

Comrade Rakosi turned to the new Five-Year Plan now being elaborated. According to this plan, the national income

will increase by 60 per cent. The iron and steel, machine-building and chemical industries will double their output. From an agrarian country, Hungary will become an industrial country with a highly developed agriculture. Electric power will be installed in 1,250 rural villages. The number of machine-tractor depots will be increased to 500, the countryside will be supplied with 21,000 tractors, 200,000 holds of land will be irrigated. Extensive afforestation and the introduction of new crops, including cotton, are projected. There will be a big development of the cooperative movement.

The lion's share of the tasks facing Hungarian democracy will fall on the Party. The verification of the membership, which is now drawing to a close, was the preliminary to solving these tasks. As a result of the verification, approximately 170,000 members, that is, 18 per cent of the total membership, will be expelled. About 120,000 will be transferred to probationer status. Although the Party is now smaller numerically, its qualitative growth has been enormous. Its ranks are now clear of enemies and alien class elements, of careerists and of those elements who had joined not because of their convictions but for purely personal interests. The ratio of industrial workers and working peasantry in the Party has increased. The Party has raised in prestige and is now more consolidated and militant.

Concluding his report Comrade Rakosi stressed the need to intensify the struggle against the warmongers. He called upon the working people to strengthen the world front of peace and human freedom, headed by the great Soviet Union and its great and wise leader, Comrade Stalin. We send ardent greetings, he said, to the French and Italian Communists, who are fighting for peace and the independence of their peoples. In their struggle they may rest assured that they have behind them the solidarity, sympathy and support of the entire progressive

world fighting the warmongers.

Hungarian democracy faces the future richer in experience, in strength and in knowledge. And, with Communists at its head, as a member of the growing family of the people's democracy, it is advancing, relying on its liberator—the Soviet Union, resolutely and confidently toward the great goal—Socialism.

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## **WORLD PEACE CONGRESS**

The recent Manifesto of the International Coordinating Committee of Cultural Workers calling for a world peace congress in April this year, has been warmly received by democratic organisations in a number of countries.

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth which has already appointed representatives to the Congress Convening Committee, and the Presidium of the International Union of Students have announced their decision to take part in the World Peace Congress.

In France the following organisations have agreed to take part in the Congress: the Union of French Women, the Republican Youth Union, the General Confederation of Labour, the Provisional Cultural Committee in Defence of Peace, the Fighters for Freedom Organisation, the National Writers' Committee, the National Committee of Intellectuals, the National Association of the Families of Nazi victims and the Ex-soldiers Republican Association.

In Italy the Women's Union and the Youth Alliance have decided to attend the Congress.

The German Cultural Union has supported the Congress and has called on all progressive people and democratic organisations in Germany to unite in the fight for peace.

The World Peace Congress was also unanimously supported by the Soviet public and trade union organisations, including the Anti-Fascist Women's Committee, the Union of Soviet Writers, the Central Committees of many trade unions and other organisations, the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee and by Soviet scientists.

Public figures in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and many other countries have also welcomed the Congress.  
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## **FIRST CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY**

The first conference of the Communist Party of Western Germany attended by more than a thousand delegates and guests, was held in Solingen on March 5—7. Greetings were sent by Comrade Pieck and Grotewohl, on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The message noted that the Anglo-American imperialist policy of unleashing another world war threatens Germany with a new catastrophe and the peoples of Europe with the loss of peace, security and independence. The German working class, said the message, is faced with the historical task of mobilising all the peace-loving forces of the German people to fight for peace, against war propaganda and war preparations and to make war against the Soviet Union impossible.

In the event of aggression the Socialist Unity Party of Germany calls upon the German people to resist the aggressors and support the Soviet Army in its struggle for peace.

Beneath the headline: "Our Duty as Germans" the March 8 issue of "Neues Deutschland," central organ of the Socialist Unity Party, carried excerpts from the speech delivered by Max

Reimann. The overwhelming majority of the German people, stated Reimann, reject the creation of a West German State. The German people demand, in keeping with the Potsdam Agreement, a united Germany, the formation of a common German Government and a peace treaty which will fix the sum of reparations and the date for the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany.

“In view of this,” slated Comrade peace treaty which will fix the sum of reparations and the date for the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany.

“In view of this,” stated Comrade Reimann, “I, as a representative of the Communist Party of Germany, demanded at the opening of the Parliamentary Council that the Council suspend drafting a Constitution for Western Germany, and declared that this was being done not on the instructions of the German people, but on the orders of the three military governors—Clay, Robertson and Koenig. The Ruhr Statute, the occupation statute and the creation of a West German State absolutely contradict the Potsdam Agreement.”

Pointing out that the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the bourgeois parties oppose Potsdam and a united Germany, in order to preserve the domination of capital, that they have rejected land reform and confiscation of the property of war criminals, opposed joint work with the trade unions and the introduction of a new democratic order for Germany as a whole, Comrade Reimann continued:

“They are the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union and of the New Democracies, and desire nothing better than the speedy inclusion of Western Germany in a European military bloc. That is why they are dismembering Germany and trying to establish as soon as possible a separate West German State. They fear that the Allies may unexpectedly reach agreement on the German question, despite the obstacles.”



Amid loud applause, Max Reimann closed with the words: “We love peace because we love our people. And those who love peace should side with the Soviet Union and support it. A third world war can be averted if the forces standing for peace will fight as a single force and fight courageously.”

In his closing remarks, Max Reimann said: “It is an historical fact that the struggle for the unity and independence of Germany is possible only under the leadership of the working class. However, this struggle is the concern not of the working class alone, but of the German people as a whole.”

The First Conference of the Communist Party of Germany adopted a resolution which calls on all Germans who love their country to “save their most treasured possession—the unity and independence of Germany.”

The Conference sent a message of greetings to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and to the population of the Eastern zone. The message expressed firm confidence that “the common struggle for our democratic German republic will end in complete victory.”

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## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER TO MEMBERSHIP OF CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY**

“Rude Pravo” has published a letter of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to the membership in connection with the preparations for the Ninth Congress of the Party scheduled to open on May 25.

Summarising the results of the struggle and work of the Party during the three years since the previous Congress, the letter stresses that the correct policy of the Party found confirmation in the victory over reaction in February last year.

The Party consolidated the February victory and secured further successes.

The people’s democratic system was strengthened politically and economically. The way to Socialism, the letter emphasises, is the way of ceaseless struggle against the remnants of the capitalist classes, against the reactionary elements, who never voluntarily relinquish the struggle and who strive might and main to restore capitalist slavery. Hence it is necessary to be continually on the alert, for the state organs to keep a firm rein, to improve and strengthen the organisation of planned economy in the struggle against the remnants of the capitalist classes and the reactionary elements.

We shall continue, within the framework of the National Front, to strengthen the fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the working class.

Relying on the small peasant, we shall create and strengthen the alliance with the middle peasant, isolate the landlords and the rural rich, and gradually restrict and dislodge them. We shall strengthen the socialised sector in industry,

complete the Five-Year Plan, increase labour productivity, cut down production costs, and improve and strengthen the state apparatus.

The letter points out, on the example of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia, that a hostile policy toward the Soviet Union and the New Democracies leads to a loss of independence, to the restoration of capitalism. Consequently, it is essential to strengthen the principle of proletarian internationalism, and likewise the new, genuine people's democratic patriotism, and resolutely combat all forms of bourgeois nationalism, the enemy of the New Democracies and of Socialism.

The letter also refers to the economic upbuilding of industry and agriculture; the tasks placed before agriculture demand the maximum development of the cooperative movement. The law providing for the amalgamation of the cooperatives is of considerable significance. Agreements concerning delivery of agricultural products will be concluded with the participation of the amalgamated cooperatives. In addition to the peasants, rural handicraftsmen will be eligible for membership of the cooperatives. Care must be taken to ensure that the decisive influence in the cooperatives is exercised not by the rural rich but by the small and middle peasants.

The policy of supplies will be determined as hitherto by the requirements of the working people. The supply system will be extended accordingly as the Plan is fulfilled, the sale of non-rationed goods will increase and the network of state and cooperative shops broadened.

The letter touches on measures for training new cadres for economic construction and the administrative organs, as well as measures for re-educating the older cadres and combating bureaucracy. It also outlines the tasks of the national councils.

The concluding part of the letter deals with inner-Party

matters. The Party, it says, cannot rest on its laurels. It is now faced with new tasks, wider in scope than before. Relying on the confidence of the working people and as the vanguard of the working class it must be the organiser of socialist construction, the guiding force in the struggle against the remaining capitalist elements. To accomplish this the Party must be ideologically consolidated and organisationally strong.

The letter speaks of the results of the membership verification, which was a school for the whole Party. It is necessary to continue to verify the work of Party members, to expose alien elements and remove them from the ranks of the Party. Recruitment of new members was suspended so that all the forces of the Party could be devoted to raising the ideological level and the activity of the membership. A probationary period has now been introduced for applicants for membership. During the verification many members, especially those who joined the Party after February 1948, were transferred to candidate membership. The acceptance of new members will be on a strictly individual basis, account being taken of their work in the Party and their participation in socialist construction.

It is the task of Communists to study Marxism-Leninism systematically: Marxist-Leninist education must be organised on a still wider scale. Special attention must be paid to the Marxist-Leninist education of leading cadres.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is today the leading party in the state. This, however, does not mean that Communists can settle all questions in a dictatorial manner. Communists must carry out the Party's policy by convincing the people of its correctness.

In conclusion the letter points out that the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will mobilise the masses for the struggle to carry out the constructive task of the

Five-Year Plan. To honour the Congress, the people are working more selflessly than ever for the Republic.  
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**AFTER THE THOREZ STATEMENT.**  
**Jacques Duclos, Secretary, Central**  
**Committee, Communist Party of France**

The question of peace has become, more and more, the decisive question for millions of French men and women. The people of France are becoming increasingly conscious of the danger of an anti-Soviet war which the American multi-millionaires and their lackeys are preparing might and main.

Maurice Thorez's recent statement which met with a ready and widespread response, shed a clear light on the war preparations of the Anglo-American imperialists and their agencies.

The French Government, actively assisting in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, would like to cover up its criminal activity in order to allay the fears of the people and to prevent them from rallying to the defence of peace.

This manoeuvre has been defeated. The statement by Maurice Thorez exposed the monstrous slander of the French Government which had tried to depict as a possible aggressor the great land of Socialism which has never been found, and could not be found, in the position of aggressor towards any country whatsoever. It brought into clear relief the role of the ruling circles of France in the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. and the New Democracies.

In this way Thorez established that war between France and the U.S.S.R., in which our country would be embroiled by

its rulers, could only be an anti-Soviet, aggressive war.

Thorez expressed the innermost feelings of the people of France when he said that if in the event of such a war “the Soviet Army, defending the cause of the peoples, the cause of Socialism, were obliged to pursue the aggressors onto our soil, could the altitude of tile workers, of the people of France be other than that of the workers of the peoples of Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, etc.?”

This statement met with the wholehearted approval of the broad masses in our country, as is evident from the resolutions and letters pouring in from all parts of France, and not only from workers, peasants and ordinary people, expressing their determination to do all in their power to save peace. Many representatives of the intelligentsia, including some of the outstanding figures in the country, have likewise expressed agreement with the Communist Party, just as last October they supported the declaration of the Political Bureau of the Party which said:

“The people of France will never go to war against the Soviet Union.”

This is how the people of France are uniting in defence of peace. The statement of the General Secretary of the Party in large measure helped to put an end to the atmosphere of easy-going complacency in which many Frenchmen still lived, paying little heed to the changes in the foreign policy of our country, to the preparations for an anti-Soviet war being carried on by the imperialist camp, especially in France.

Comrade Stalin’s two recent interviews and the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. of January 29, exposed the criminal plans of the imperialists and made clear to the people who are the warmongers.

The mask of hypocrisy and lies, which had covered the policy of war preparation pursued by the French lackeys of the

Anglo-American imperialists, has been torn asunder. The warmongers are identified and their actions exposed.

True to the Lenin-Stalin teaching, the French Communists, headed by Maurice Thorez, have taken to explanatory work, throwing light on the secrecy shrouding the war preparations. They have launched an active struggle against the warmongers.

The success of the demonstrations organised throughout France on International Women's Day, shows that the masses are mobilised, ready to defend peace.

Maurice Thorez, on behalf of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, recalled the obligation which proletarian internationalism imposed on the proletariat. He described the nature of the relations, valid in all circumstances, between the working people, progressives and supporters of peace, and the land of Socialism, the interests of which coincide with the interests of the people. He outlined the tasks of the struggle against the preparations for an anti-Soviet war, and the tasks ahead, in the event of war against the Soviet Union.

Thorez's timely statement once again let the imperialists know what would be the attitude of the Communists and together with them, of the bulk of French democrats and patriots in the event of an anti-Soviet war. This statement, unquestionably, will give those who are preparing this war, food for thought.

A big fuss was made about instituting court proceedings against Maurice Thorez, but it is quite plain that Truman's French lackeys are hesitating, in view of the warm response which the Party's policy of peace has evoked among the masses.

It is, therefore, not at all surprising that bourgeois journalists openly fear that the results of the forthcoming cantonal elections will confirm the growing influence of the

Communist Party. The Party is conducting the election campaign under the slogan of the struggle for peace, since this struggle is closely linked with the problem of restoring our national independence, with defence of democratic liberties, and with the struggle for the demands of the working class and the people as a whole.

Interviewed by an American journalist, Prime Minister Queuille candidly admitted that he was preparing aggression against the Soviet Union. Declaring that the defense frontier passes along the Elbe, Queuille added:

**“The frontier of Western Europe must be defended at a considerable distance from the actual frontiers.”** Revealing his plans, Queuille continued: **“If there is to be invasion, it must be halted before it begins.”**

Such is the thesis of a preventative war, which aggressors have always used in justification of their criminal actions.

The Right Socialist, Ramadier, for his part, repeats the old Hitler slogan: **“We must endeavour to give battle as near as possible to the East.”**

Thus, the aggressors have been unmasked and henceforth the possibility exists to wage an open and more consistent struggle for peace, since the warmongers have been compelled to admit that they are preparing war against the Soviet Union.

Finally, Maurice Thorez's statement is supported by numerous leaders of the other fraternal parties; the response was a striking demonstration of international proletarian and democratic solidarity which counterposes to the war camp the united camp of the champions of peace. This circumstance strengthens the confidence of the masses in the effectiveness of the struggle for peace.

The courageous and resolute statement made by Maurice Thorez confirms Comrade Zhdanov's words at the conference of representatives of a number of Communist Parties in



September 1947:

**“The nations of the world do not want war. The forces standing for peace are so considerable and big that if these forces be staunch and firm in defending the peace, if they display stamina and resolution, the plans of the aggressors will meet with utter failure.”**

That is why the convening of a World Peace Congress, announced in the call issued by the International Coordinating Committee of Cultural Workers and the World Federation of Democratic Women, is engaging the attention of all defenders of peace who have big struggles ahead of them.

The Communist Party and people of France will wage these struggles impelled by their desire for unity, and with all the energy needed to prevent war and uphold the cause of peace.

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## **G. GHEORGHIU-DEJ. TASK OF RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY IN STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST REORGANISATION OF COUNTRYSIDE\***

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party must discuss the work of our Party in strengthening the alliance of the working class and working peasantry and in carrying out the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. This question is timely in view of the successes achieved by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry, under the leadership of our Party, in the struggle for political power and in the construction of Socialism.

All the necessary conditions for the successful construction of Socialism are at hand in the People's Republic of Rumania. The main condition is the enormous help of the Soviet Union, help which buttresses our position against the predatory plans of imperialism and secures a sound base for building Socialism.

The brilliant Lenin-Stalin teaching, and the experience of the CPSU(B), helped us to organise and lead the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois-landlord rule. Guided by this teaching and this experience, we are learning to build a socialist society.

The valiant Soviet Army drove the German fascist occupation troops out of Rumania and enabled the working class successfully to develop the struggle for national

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\* Report delivered by Gheorghiu-Dej, General Secretary, Rumanian Workers' Party at Plenum of the C. C. Rumanian Workers' Party. March 3-5, 1949. Abridged.

independence, democracy and Socialism.

The recently-formed Mutual Economic Aid Council, made up of the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the people's democracy, constitutes a reliable economic base alike in the struggle for national independence against the Anglo-American imperialist plans of enslavement, and in the struggle for the speedy construction of Socialism in our country.

The second condition which enables us to carry out this task is the fact that political power is in the hands of the working class, which, in alliance with the peasantry, is using this power to crush all attempts by the bourgeoisie to restore its class domination and prevent the construction of Socialism. The working class is using its State power for the purpose of abolishing exploiting classes and of securing the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

The third condition arises from the transfer of the main industrial enterprises, the mines, transport, banks and insurance societies to the hands of the State. Thanks to this the working class is in possession of the greater part of the means of production and has at its disposal financial reserves and other resources for purposes of socialist accumulation.

The solution of the all-important peasant question is one of the most difficult tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its realisation calls for a constant struggle to secure the restriction and abolition of capitalist elements in agriculture, and to strengthen the alliance of the working class and working peasantry for the purpose of building Socialism. Guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Workers' Party regards the peasant question as part of the general question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, as the question of the main ally of the working class.

The peasantry received land at the beginning of 1945 in the course of the revolutionary struggle, organised and led by the

Communist Party. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, destroyed the economic and political power of the landlords, and liquidated them as a class. The abolition of the landlords as a class, and the introduction of a land reform from which the landless and poor peasants benefited, strengthened the confidence of the peasantry in the political power of the working class and helped strengthen the alliance of the working class and working peasantry.

With the removal of the reactionary forces which had obstructed the development of Rumania, the poor and medium peasants were able to improve their conditions. But this development simultaneously fostered small-scale rural economy, which gives birth to capitalism.

The agrarian reform radically changed the class relations in the countryside. The kulaks, no longer faced with landlord competition, tried to take possession of the land. Government measures, adopted on the initiative of our Party, were needed to compel the kulaks to return the land they drought from the peasants for a mere song during the drought years, 1946 and 1947.

When the last of the bourgeois representatives had been removed from the Government and the monarchy abolished, and when the proletariat in alliance with the working peasantry had secured political power, it became possible to apply a more vigorous policy in defence of the poor and medium peasants against the exploitation of rural capitalist elements, a policy of restricting the kulaks.

The advance registered by industry was an important factor in strengthening the people's power and the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry. In 1948, industrial output, compared to 1938, totalled: cast iron 144 per cent; steel 123 per cent; rolled steel 131 per cent; iron ore 149 per cent;

natural gas 420 per cent; coal 100 per cent.

The decline in oil output due to Anglo-American sabotage, was arrested.

Marxism-Leninism, and the entire historical experience of the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union teach that Socialism can be built only on the basis of socialisation, that is, on the basis of transforming the basic means of production into state and cooperative property, both in town and countryside.

It follows therefore, that the complete victory of Socialism is impossible so long as private property in the means of production in the towns and in the countryside, including private property in land, continues to exist. However, land nationalisation is not an urgent matter under conditions prevailing in our country.

The Party pledges itself to this policy in the countryside; to undertake practical measures which will safeguard the working peasantry from being plundered and ruined by exploitation on the part of the kulaks and usurers, and gradually, to pave the way for the advance of the peasants toward Socialism.

With these aims in view the Party will make sure that the kulaks are restricted and gradually dislodged, that the sale, purchase and leasing of land are prohibited (to guard the poor and middle peasants from the danger of losing their land); it will develop different kinds of agricultural cooperatives; facilitate increased mechanisation and electrification of agriculture with the help of machine-tractor depots and the means at the disposal of the cooperatives, and will give generous financial aid to the cooperatives and aid to the working peasantry. Together with creating the material-technical basis for Socialism in the countryside, the Party will carry on systematic work among the poor and medium peasants for the purpose of convincing them of the need, gradually, to unite in collective farms, since the collectivisation of

agriculture is possible only when the peasants themselves declare voluntarily for the collective farms. When the peasantry declares for collectivisation of agriculture, then, on the basis of all-round collectivisation, it will be possible completely to eliminate the kulaks as a class.

Arising from the development of the countryside along the path of collectivisation, the land belonging to the collective farms will be secured to them in perpetuity. Thus, the matter of making the land public property, the matter of the socialist transformation of the countryside, will be solved.

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## **SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE**

According to the census taken on January 25, 1948, there were 3,067,000 peasant households in Rumania.

The greater part of the agricultural labourers (over 250,000 families), constitute the advanced elements of the rural population. The agricultural labourer working for the kulak receives far less than the industrial worker, and is ruthlessly exploited; only a short while ago he was the victim of landlord exploitation. The conditions of the labourers in kulak employ are in striking contrast to those employed on the State farms where the State provides better conditions.

The absolute majority of the rural population (57 per cent) is made up of poor and small peasants. Their holdings—about 3 hectares—are too small to provide anything like a decent livelihood. Their difficult conditions are further complicated by the fact that the majority of the households are not concentrated in one place, and their dispersed strips are not concentrated in one holding. But the kulaks can no longer rob the poor peasants with impunity, for they are protected by the people's democracy. **The poor peasantry is the main bulwark of the Rumanian Worker's Party in the countryside.**

The medium peasantry constitute a considerable group of the rural population, (33 per cent), and from the property standpoint are a heterogeneous element. At the same time account must be taken of the dual nature of the medium peasant. The medium peasant does not exploit others as the landlord does, and although powerfully influenced by private property interests, he is, nonetheless, economically influenced by the kulak and often dependent on him. And for this reason the medium peasant is interested in joining with the poor

peasant, with the working class, and under its leadership, in the struggle against the most numerous exploiting class, the rural bourgeoisie—the kulaks. The medium peasantry supplies three-fifths of the total marketable grain. The poor and medium peasantry constitute the working peasantry.

With the removal of the landlords the kulaks comprised the main exploiter class in the countryside. Although, relatively, not very strong numerically, the kulaks still represent a considerable economic force. This force increased after the agrarian reform of 1915. Agricultural labourers and poor and medium peasants are exploited directly and indirectly by this rural bourgeoisie.

The kulaks are still able to influence a part of the medium and even the poor peasants. However, their class policy of exploitation is aggravating the contradiction between them and the rest of the peasantry.

It is but natural that, in conditions of an ever sharpening class struggle in the countryside, the people's democracy and its State should vigorously defend the interests of the working peasantry.

Only the nationalist clique of traitors in Yugoslavia, headed by Tito, Rankovic and Kardelj, can close their eyes to the intensified class struggle in the countryside, preach class conciliation and claim that the class struggle far from becoming sharper, eases up during the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The Tito clique has paved the way for intensified capitalist exploitation in the countryside by its glossing over of the class struggle and class differentiation, by its denial of the leading role of the working class, and by disarming the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the face of difficulties on the way to Socialism.

The remnants of the expropriated landlords in our country did their best to rally the reactionary elements. As the trial of



saboteurs and spies, headed by Auschnitt and Popp revealed, they were in contact with imperialist agents, and, together with the urban and rural bourgeoisie plotted against the people's democracy. Recently the Government adopted measures which provided for the complete abolition of landlord property.

The establishment of the system of people's democracy changed fundamentally the position and course of development of agriculture, and determined a new alignment of class forces in the countryside. The people's democracy, which fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, furnishes the conditions for involving the small and medium peasant in the building of Socialism, and creates a new relationship between town and countryside.

In addition to the private sector there is also the socialist sector in our agriculture. This sector includes farms which are the property of the people's democratic State, that is, the property of the working people. These farms are playing quite an important role in agricultural production.

The reorganised agricultural cooperatives comprise a considerable part of the socialist sector.

The machine-tractor depots have, in the short time since they were first organised, proved their worth. The recent Government decision providing for help to the working peasantry utilising the machine-tractor depots, will strengthen their position.

## **PARTY POLICY IN REACTION TO PEASANTRY**

Our Party and the working class are faced with the great task of building a socialist society. The working class of Rumania has already taken the path of building Socialism.

But Socialism cannot be built in the towns only. Building Socialism implies the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. We must eliminate the contradiction—the outcome of the fact that while Socialism develops in the towns, small individual economy continues to predominate in the countryside—which, according to Lenin’s famous thesis, gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie constantly, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.

The level of agriculture can be raised only by switching over to collective farming.

Is it possible to convince the poor and medium peasantry that by combining in large-scale collective agriculture they will come out onto the highroad leading to material and cultural wellbeing? Of course it is. With the help of, and under the leadership of the working class, and by means of tireless explanatory work, we must convince the poor and medium peasants, by actual experience and concrete examples, of the advantages of large-scale collective agriculture over small-scale farming and we can unite the great bulk of the working peasantry and make it a powerful force capable of fighting for an advanced socialist agriculture.

Clearly, the transition of the poor and medium peasantry onto the path of collective farming will be a long-term process. So, for a long time to come, the poor and medium peasantry will play an important role in supplying agricultural products.

The transition to collective agriculture will lead to the abolition of capitalist exploitation and to the abolition of the kulaks, the bearers of this exploitation. But in order to achieve this “it is necessary for the Party”, as promised out in the Resolution of the Information Bureau regarding the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, “to engage in detailed preparatory work to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and

the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, to make socialist industry capable of producing machinery for the collective agriculture. Haste in this matter can only lead to irreparable harm.”

As long as we have not created the technical base and trained the necessary cadres, as long as we have not carried out the main explanatory work among the working peasantry so that they take voluntarily to collective farming, it would be wrong and harmful to engage in wholesale collectivisation.

The working class, headed by the Party, is the leading force in the struggle for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

Who are the allies of the working class?

What is the alignment of class forces in the countryside in the struggle for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture?

Comrade Stalin teaches us that the alliance between the workers and peasants under the present conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be effected only on the basis of Lenin’s famous slogan: “Reach agreement with the medium peasant, without for a minute ceasing the struggle against the kulak and, at the same time, firmly relying solely on the poor peasant”.

Our policy toward the peasantry is clear: **we rely on the poor peasantry, strengthen the alliance with the medium peasantry and wage a steady struggle against the kulaks.** Sometimes, some comrades placed the medium peasant and the kulak on the same level. This is a very dangerous mistake.

The medium peasantry can be drawn onto that path of Socialism only if it is convinced that this path is in its interests. Only through facts can the medium peasant be drawn onto the Socialist path.

At present the struggle against capitalist exploitation in the countryside must be waged by means of a policy of **restricting**

the kulaks on the basis of a class policy in defence of the interests of the agricultural labourers, and the poor and medium peasants against the kulaks on all questions, even the most insignificant, on the basis of a class tax policy which will facilitate the conditions of the poor and medium peasantry and safeguard their interests against the kulak, on the basis of a class policy in the sphere of grain deliveries, credits, and so on.

This policy of restricting the kulak does not as yet signify the elimination of the kulaks as a class, but it will prevent them from becoming stronger economically, and will restrict the exploitation of the working peasantry, will make it possible for us, when the conditions are ripe, to pass over to the policy of the complete liquidation of the kulaks mobilising the whole working peasantry for this struggle.

## **COOPERATION—VITAL LEVER FOR REORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE**

The all-important thing about cooperatives in present conditions is that they combine the private interests of millions of poor and medium peasants with the common interests of the working peasantry as a class and furnish the prerequisites which make it easier for the working peasantry to go over to Socialism.

We must pay close attention to the work of the cooperatives. The cooperative movement must become one of the most important levers of the people's democracy in the countryside.

**An essential condition for the transition to collective farming is the formation and development of a network of consumer, distributive and producer cooperatives as a broad mass movement.** Such cooperatives play an important

role in organising the exchange of goods between the working peasantry and socialist industry and thus are a weapon in the hands of the working class and working peasantry to restrict and dislodge private trade and kulak speculation.

Of particular importance are the producer cooperatives, the different forms of **labour associations** of the working peasantry. In many villages the poor and medium peasants have formed **associations to cultivate the land with State tractors**; they have effaced the boundaries which separated their small strips of land, leaving only pegs as markings, and are using the tractors of the machine-tractor depot for the whole area.

Together with helping to improve exchange between town and countryside, the cooperatives will help to bring the peasant households into the State plan and hasten the development of socialist industry by supplying it with the necessary raw materials. This will be made possible by concluding agreements between factories and cooperatives for supplies of flax, hemp, sugar beet, and cotton. This, in turn, will lead to an extension of the area sown to technical crops and will increase the supplies of meat and dairy produce. Thus, the cooperatives will help change the very nature of small-peasant farming.

The new cooperatives will help in regulating prices, in maintaining fixed prices for agricultural products.

State assistance to the cooperatives should take the form of a corresponding tax policy, long-term credits, and in making available to them increased supplies of manufactured goods.

It is necessary to draw women more actively into the cooperatives, especially women engaged in those branches of agriculture where female labour is widely used—in the handicrafts industry, stock raising, and so on. Measures must be taken to organise centres where the poor peasants can receive agricultural implements at favourable terms, and thus

promote the system of mutual assistance in agriculture. The cooperative movement must be rid completely of the capitalist elements frequently found in the leadership. Leadership of the cooperatives should be in the hands only of agricultural labourers, and poor and medium peasants.

An attitude of collaboration should be cultivated between State trading organs and the cooperatives, and socialist emulation developed with the aim of combating the speculative tendencies of private trade, for better services and exchange between town and countryside.

The Workers' Party considers it necessary to reorganise the entire cooperative system so as to solve these tasks and to set up a central board for all rural cooperatives.

## **ROLE AND TASKS OF STATE FARMS**

The State farms have a particularly important place in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. They must become powerful centres for developing agriculture and for supplying the working peasantry with selected seed; they must experiment with new varieties of plants and new methods of soil cultivation, breed pedigree cattle become model farms which will prove to the mass of the peasantry the superiority of mechanised agricultural labour on a wide area, the superiority of agro-technical scientific methods and socialist agriculture over private, scattered agriculture. It is necessary to extend and strengthen state farming and to link up the dispersed fields.

We must develop the machine-tractor depots, which in practice are proving to the poor and medium peasants the superiority of cultivating the land by mechanised methods and which are convincing them of the fact that to attain high crop yields the dispersed strips must be united.

To completely mechanise agriculture we need about 30,000 tractors. Our socialist machine-building industry is the technical base which will secure the gradual mechanisation of agriculture in the next few years.

The U.S.S.R. which, within the framework of our trade agreement, is supplying us with the tractors, with raw materials needed to produce our own agricultural machines and electrical equipment is giving direct and effective aid in the mechanisation of Rumania's agriculture.

## **TRANSITION TO COLLECTIVE SYSTEM OF ECONOMY AND OUR TASKS**

In those places where the poor and middle peasants decide on the organisation of agriculture along socialist lines and where the appropriate conditions obtain for this, it should be possible to organise, as a beginning, a limited number of collective farms.

These initial farms should serve as models, on the basis of which the poor and middle peasants could become acquainted with collective farming and convince themselves of the superiority of this higher form of rural cooperation. Collective farms may be formed only with the sanction of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the People's Republic.

The development of collective farms and their numerical growth will proceed accordingly as socialist industry provides socialist agriculture with modern agricultural machinery, accordingly as the skilled personnel capable of managing the collective farms is made available, and accordingly as knowledge of the superiority of collective farming over individual cultivation takes root among the masses of the

working peasantry.

Model rules for the collective farms should be drafted, which would take into account the concrete conditions in which we are beginning the organisation of these farms. The rules should stipulate, first, that kulaks cannot be admitted to membership of collective farms, that membership is open only to poor and medium peasants. They should contain the proviso that those joining the collective farms must pool their land and inventory, while retaining for personal use a vegetable plot and fruit garden, a certain number of cattle and poultry for family needs and the implements necessary for cultivating their personal plots and for providing for their livestock. Finally, the rules should make clear that, in collective farming, the harvest share-out is based in accordance with the work performed.

Combining preliminary work in solving the main task—the building of a socialist agriculture—with patient and persistent endeavours in the sphere of economic and technical aid to the individual poor and medium households, we must help them with selected seed, pedigree cat tie, low-interest credits, tax exemptions, and by leasing tractors and other machinery at favourable terms from the machine-tractor depots. Such measures will strengthen the confidence of the working peasantry in the working class and in its Party, in the system of People's Democracy.

The greatest significance during this period attaches to the training of the personnel necessary for transforming agriculture along socialist lines. Simultaneously with the need to train cadres for agro-technical and cooperative work, there is the an important task of constantly raising the cultural level of the millions of peasants in the spirit of the directive of the great Lenin, that the drawing of the entire population into cooperatives presupposes a certain cultural level on the part of the peasantry.



The Party must help the agricultural workers' unions in organising all the agricultural labourers, permanent and seasonal, and must help them to intensify the struggle against the kulaks and in defence of their interests.

**The People's Councils will be direct organisations of the working people, that is, the most democratic and most powerful mass organisations in the country. They will be the unified basis of the entire state power.** The Party organisations must attract the poor and middle peasants to the work of the People's Councils, and, in this way consolidate the class alliance of the proletariat and the working peasantry.

The People's Councils fulfilling the functions of state power in the countryside, will implement a class policy, the policy of protecting the poor and medium peasants and of exerting constant pressure on the kulaks. They must become levers for raising the cultural level of the working peasantry, in creating and furthering all forms of cooperation.

## **PARTY WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE**

A correct understanding of this work on the part of Party organisations will guarantee success in drawing the millions of poor and medium peasants into the struggle for Socialism under the leadership of the working class. The Party has registered a number of successes in its work among the peasantry. The rural organisations of the Party have grown in numbers and in strength. There are branches of the Party in most villages. The purging of the kulak elements who penetrated into the Party in 1944-45 has improved the social composition of the local organisations.

The considerable political work carried out by the Party in the rural areas has deepened the political consciousness of

agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry, while the political influence of the kulaks has diminished.

The rural organisations of the Party are building up the agricultural workers' unions, and are guiding their activities. They were instrumental in removing the kulaks and embezzlers from leading positions in the cooperatives and took an active part in organising machine-tractor depots. The leading role of Party branches in relation to the mass "Frontul Plugarilor" organisation ("The Ploughmans' Front") has likewise increased. The Party organisations helped the "Frontul Plugarilor" in ousting the kulaks from its leading bodies.

However, the positive results cannot conceal the serious shortcomings in the work of the Party in the countryside.

The main reason for these shortcomings is the fact that we did not subject to thorough analyses the changes that took place in agriculture after the agrarian reform, and consequently, we did not give a clear political line for the work in the countryside. Another shortcoming is that we did not have a clear and firm line with regard to popularising the idea of uniting the working peasantry into collective farms. For a long time Party organisations ignored this question, and in some places Party members engaged in absolutely wrong propaganda, distorting the great idea of reorganisation of agriculture along socialist lines, the idea which has triumphed in the Soviet Union. In other places leftist elements began to form producer cooperatives disregarding the fact that the necessary conditions were lacking for this, and that no preliminary explanatory work had been carried out. Anarchistic activity played into the hands of the class enemy who used it for agitation against the Party and the Government.

We have not, hitherto, devoted sufficient attention to the cooperatives. Certain responsible comrades in the leadership of the cooperatives blunted their class vigilance, and this made it

easier for hostile elements to strike at the economic basis of the cooperatives and lessen the advantages derived by the peasants from cooperatives. Other comrades engaged in state trade underestimated the exceptionally significant role of the cooperatives and their perspectives.

Notwithstanding our successes, Party work in the countryside suffers from serious shortcomings. So far we have not succeeded in finding methods that would ensure a full-blooded life for our rural Party organisations. Large numbers of Party members remain without concrete Party assignments. Although the Party has achieved considerable results in its propaganda in the countryside, we did not supply the rural organisations with sufficient propaganda material written in a form understandable to the broad masses of the peasantry. Very little has been done in the matter of spreading scientific knowledge in the countryside with the aim of combating prejudices. A number of Party organisations did not observe the necessary advancing to leading position the cadres drawn from the ranks of the rural proletariat and the poor peasants.

By eliminating these shortcomings and by rallying the Party organisations we shall be able to overcome the difficulties facing us. Party work in the countryside must be reorganised in accordance with the new tasks which have been raised by the development of the class struggle.

The Party membership, the masses of the workers and the millions of the poor and middle peasants must be educated in the spirit of the struggle to consolidate the alliance of the working class and peasantry, under the leadership of the working class headed by our Party. It is necessary to inculcate among the working people irreconcilable class hatred for the kulaks—the insatiable and crafty exploiters of the working peasantry.

Organisational work in the countryside must be directed

along lines of strengthening the Party organisations and improving their social composition, so that the best elements from among the agricultural workers and the poor peasants—our main bulwark in the countryside—are attracted to the Party and brought into leadership of the rural branches.

The Party organisations must allocate their best forces for the work of reorganising the cooperative movement for work on the State farms, in the machine-tractor depots and on the initial collective farms. This will ensure for these enterprises a higher agro-technical level, better organisation of labour and improved material status.

The steadfast carrying out of the policy of paving the way for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture will lead to a severe sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside. To maintain their positions, and to preserve their influence among the poor and middle peasantry, the kulaks will go to extremes, from underground struggle to sabotage and criminal acts. Consequently, every Party member and all Party organisations in the countryside should display the maximum vigilance and should organise the work of educating the poor and middle peasants so that the working peasants themselves will be able to overcome the obstacles raised by the exploiting classes against the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

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The Rumanian Workers' Party has demonstrated its ability to mobilise the working people. It has major achievements to its credit in combating the class enemy. The abolition of landlord-capitalist domination, the elimination of the feudal survivals, the winning of political power by the working class and the creation of the alliance between the workers and the working peasantry—all this is the outcome of a long process, the result of nearly thirty years of struggle waged by our Party

against the bourgeoisie and the landlords and their main bulwark—the reactionary monarchy. Today the Party and the working class of Rumania are faced with a task of enormous importance. This task, which is of historical significance, will be resolved by our Party equipping its cadres with the experience gained in building Socialism in the Soviet Union.

We are marching forward filled with confidence in the strength and militant spirit of the working class, confident that we will be successful in organising the struggle of the broad masses of the people for building Socialism in our country.

(page 3)

## **ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS APPLAUD THE TITO CLIQUE. V. Grigoryan**

The nationalistic Tito clique is striving, by means of fraud, terror and provocation, to conceal from the peoples of Yugoslavia its going over into the camp of imperialist reaction.

Meting out brutal treatment in the torture chambers to the finest sons of the people who indignantly denounced Tito's treacherous policy which is leading to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into a typical bourgeois republic, this wretched group of criminals, dreading the wrath of the people, is secretly engaged in a shady transaction, selling the country into bondage to the American and British monopolies.

It is for this reason that, as many bourgeois journalists have pointed out, Tito and his accomplices have more than once asked the United States and Britain not "to embarrass them" (the Tito clique), by open expressions of sympathy and

friendship.

The London "Economist" which, evidently, has heeded the request of the Titoites counselled Government circles not to press the point since it would probably be unwise ...

The "Economist", mouthpiece of reactionary monopoly circles, considers it necessary to wait a little before confronting Tito with fresh demands. The journal, however, does not conceal the nature of these demands. "The most delicate point of all," says the "Economist," "is the question of political freedom for the friends of the West inside Yugoslavia."

It is not difficult to guess that the friends of the West mean a direct imperialist agency in Yugoslavia. "It is with these men that the Western Powers should seek in the first place to establish contact," counsels the journal. "The methods whereby such contacts can best be made cannot usefully be canvassed **in public.**"

Thus they are now talking openly of forming for the Tito group a wider and legal imperialist support based on the most reactionary circles inside the country.

Writing in the "New York Herald Tribune" on February 8, John Gunther wrote: "Tito has to be very cautious in his dealings with the United States, however, because if he should seem to be courting the West too warmly, this will alienate his own fanatic Communist following. Similarly, our overtures to him, if any, have to be managed with great delicacy, or we will push him back into the arms of his own extremists ... We met one high official at a pleasantly informal family lunch. He made the usual jokes about the iron curtain, and then talked with wistful admiration about the United States. "What a pity it is that the world is divided into two hostile spheres!" he exclaimed with feeling. "You on your side, with all the wealth and material resources! We on our side, with all the brains and wisdom!"

This platitude about class peace excellently illustrates the insane claims of the present Yugoslav leaders to infallibility in the matter of Marxist theory, to their “leading” role in “developing” and “enriching” this theory.

Another issue of the “Herald Tribune!” contained the following: “Against his will, Tito is being forced to turn more toward the West for economic ties. The strongest statement on this has just been made by Tito in a speech to the Yugoslav Parliament... The more Tito is driven toward Western European ties, the better.”

In its issue of February 16, the “New York Herald Tribune” came out with what the “Economist” failed to say.

The newspaper let it be known that Tito’s treachery had been maturing for a long time, that all the time the traitors had been skilfully disguising themselves, thoroughly preparing their going over into the imperialist camp:

“As long ago as last summer,” the newspaper writes, “leading Yugoslavs informed American and British officials that their country would need help to maintain its independence. But this was done almost conspiratorially with many pleas that Washington and London should not “embarrass” Marshal Tito by showing open friendship. In the interval, it has been American and British policy to give Marshal Tito the minimum essentials to keep his country going. But now we may have an opportunity to abandon this hole-and-corner system and to establish businesslike, straightforward, genuinely friendly relations...”

“The wisest diplomacy will be needed, if the opportunity is to be successfully seized. The majority of Yugoslav leaders, including Marshal Tito himself, his chief political theorists, Moshe Pijade, his powerful Interior Minister, Alexander Rankovic, and his foreign policy technician, Ales Bebler, appear to be far more realistic. Pijade, in a recent speech, went

out of his way to point out that Tito's partisans had been recognised sooner and helped far more generously by America and Britain than by Russia. The realists must still carry along with them their more superstitious and suspicious brethren, however. Yugoslav unity must be maintained at all costs."

It should be said that the imperialist circles have good reason for their fears: the nationalistic Tito faction will not be able to carry out its diversive work for long, deceiving the Communists and the peoples of Yugoslavia who see in friendship with the Soviet Union the sole guarantee of the genuine independence of their country and of their freedom.

It is now clear how expert in lying, in hypocrisy and in the art of provocation are the Tito nationalists, how refined in inculcating the Turkish methods of perfidy, violence and dishonour inside the Party and in the country. In so many words they swore fealty to the Soviet Union, to the Bolshevik Party and to the teachings of revolutionary Marxism. But behind the backs of the Communist Party and the peoples of Yugoslavia they servilely bowed before the finance magnates of the West, of course, giving the impression of bargaining for a higher price in their sell-out of Yugoslavia; they prepared the black betrayal of the cause of international Socialism, made a breach in the united socialist front and facilitated the realisation of aggressive imperialist plans against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

Little wonder therefore that Mr. Mayhew, Bevin's understudy, took up with such zeal the "defence" of Yugoslavia's interests. During a Uno debate Mayhew, who quoted Tito in detail, "defended" Yugoslavia from ... the Soviet Union, and joined with Tito in alleging that the Soviet Union is pursuing an "imperialist policy" in relation to Yugoslavia.

A recent issue of the "New Statesman and Nation" had this to say about "Yugoslavia and Western Trade":



“The conclusion of a one-year agreement between Britain and Yugoslavia, signed just before Christmas after negotiations which had lasted for over fifteen months, was evidently facilitated by an undertaking on the part of the Yugoslav Government to pay a considerably higher sum than they had previously offered (or, indeed, had been expected by the British Government) in compensation for British property affected by Yugoslav nationalisation measures. It had been thought that agreement would be reached on a figure of £4,000,000, whereas the sum now stipulated is £ 4,500,000, of which one-tenth is to be paid during the coming year.”

Commenting on the report that negotiations for a new, long-term trade agreement would begin in Belgrade in March between representatives of Britain and Yugoslavia, the diplomatic correspondent of the “Daily Telegraph and Morning Post” said it was anticipated that the negotiations would not be protracted, that the agreement would be signed in keeping with Tito’s declaration to the effect that in view of the discrimination exercised by the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence in relation to Yugoslavia, he would seek markets and sources of supplies in the West.

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These and many other admissions of the reactionary capitalist press are interlarded with praise for the “hero” Tito, the “outstanding national leader”, etc. After all, history is replete with examples of the ruling classes showering compliments on the spies and traitors whom they used for their particular aims.

The careers of renegades and traitors end in the cesspools of history. Their names, stained with blood and shame, sink into oblivion.

It is down this slippery slope that the nationalistic treacherous Tito group is now sliding.

Not without good reason did the "New York Herald Tribune" in one of its February issues reproach the State Department. "What is happening here in Yugoslavia," stated the newspaper, "unquestionably means that certain members of the State Department are wrong when they argue that "Tito is just like all other Communists". The time has come for a very serious practical re-examination of Western policy toward Yugoslavia"

This policy has been re-examined unofficially long ago.

According to "Gazette de Lausanne", things like this are taking place in Yugoslavia: "At present Chetniks, Nedic and even Ustashi people are returning from all over the world to join Tito and to place themselves on the altar of Yugoslav patriotism."

It would be difficult to add anything to this. Contrary to its wishes, the reactionary press in the U.S. and in the Western countries, involuntarily reveals the Tito clique as tools in the hands of warmongers, as traitors who long ago have passed into the imperialist camp, as inveterate enemies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, as dangerous agents of capitalism.

Upon reading the statements of the reactionary capitalist press in relation to the nationalistic Tito clique, and going over the involuntary exposures which reveal the foul and evil essence of this gang, seasoned in sabotage and treachery, all honest and advanced fighters for the cause of democracy and Socialism will say;

Let the enemy applaud the clique of traitors! Please gentlemen, accept the praise and the embraces of the enemy which you have earned faithfully and well. The peoples of Yugoslavia will throw out from their midst this handful of

traitors who have nothing whatsoever in common with the interests of the country and who are trying to bring Yugoslavia once more under the yoke of imperialism!

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**THE PARIS COMMUNE AND  
DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT.  
Etienne Fajon, Member, Political Bureau,  
Communist Party of France**

On March 18, 1871, the working class and the National Guard proclaimed the Commune in Paris, which was then besieged by the Prussian Army.

Inspired by the desire to defend the national independence of France, the people of Paris refused to surrender their arms to the enemy. Next day, after the signing of the armistice the Government of Thiers was, in the words of Marx, a government by the grace of Bismarck. On Bismarck's orders Thiers tried to seize the artillery of the National Guard. Paris replied to this act of treachery with an uprising.

The Paris Commune lasted for only a short time. But this does not lessen the exceptional significance of the struggle of the Paris workers. In a lecture at Geneva on March 18, 1908, Lenin declared that the Commune taught the European proletariat to pose concretely the problems of socialist revolution.

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Through the events of March 18, 1871, power passed into the hands of the National-Guard, into the hands of the Paris working class and its ally, the petty bourgeoisie.

The Government and the bourgeois politicians lied from Paris to Versailles, dragging with them their state apparatus, to take up the fight against the Commune. Thus, from its very first days, the Commune was faced with the necessity of using force to smash the resistance of the exploiters as class. This is the first task and the characteristic feature of the dictatorship of

the proletariat.

Although it could not finish this task, the Commune had to start creating new institutions, weapons necessary to suppress the capitalist class and to prevent the restoration of its power. In only a few weeks, the Commune had to create a new type of state.

What were the main features of this state? It was based on arming the people took the place of the caste army which served the bourgeoisie. It replaced police and administrative bureaucracy by a democratic apparatus composed of people's representatives who re-salaries equal to those of the other workers: it introduced a system of electing and judges. Finally, it abolished the bourgeois Parliament and centred power on the Commune. This was a real assembly instead of a chamber of windbags, both a legislative and executive assembly composed of the people's elected representatives, responsible before their electorate who had the right to recall them at any time. The proposed National Commune was to have been based on all the Communes, made up of national delegates elected by them.

Because of its short life and the fact that it had to devote its time almost exclusively to its defence, the Paris Commune could only start work in the social sphere. But its decisions in this field underline its proletarian and democratic character. It decreed that the enterprises, closed down or abandoned by their capitalist owners, should be turned over to workers' federations. It abolished the system of fines, annulled rents for the period of the war, prohibited night-baking, separated the Church from the State and the schools from the Church.

In fact, the Commune abolished formal. bourgeois democracy, creating in its place a real proletarian democracy.

It created a republic unprecedented in history, a democratic republic where the working class played the leading role. It was the first experience in history on which was based the

Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only possible path of transition from capitalism to Socialism.

On April 12, 1871, while the Commune still existed and in the light of its lessons, Marx formulated in a letter to Kugelmann his well-known thesis that socialist revolution had not merely to “transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another as had previously been done, but must smash it.”

It was after the Commune, in June 1872, that Marx and Engels declared that the programme of the Communist Manifesto had become out-of-date on certain points and that it was necessary to enrich it from the lessons of the Commune.

“The German Philistine,” wrote Engels in the preface to the third edition of Marx’s book “The Civil War in France”, “has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words—dictatorship of the proletariat. Well and good; gentleman, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

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The Paris Commune was only the first, the lower form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The glorious Communards could only trace the rough outline of the work that was later to be accomplished in the Soviet Union, the work which, tomorrow, will be accomplished everywhere.

First, the victory of the socialist revolution in a country like France, a quarter of a century before imperialism had emerged, called for a certain level of development of the productive forces of the concentration of industry and of the working class. These conditions did not exist at the time of the Commune.

Second, the rising of March 18 was the outcome of circumstances, of the spontaneous initiative of the masses; it

was not an action which had been well prepared and methodically directed. The French working class was not and could not at that time be led by a really leading party, a Marxist party. Thanks to the brilliant instinct of the mass of the people, the Commune created a work which will live forever. But even the creators of this great work had no clear idea of its significance and the future it opened up. They lacked revolutionary theory, without which there can be no real revolutionary movement.

From this arose the main mistakes that brought about their defeat. The proletarian state can only consolidate itself in the struggle for Socialism, on the basis of expropriating the expropriators, of socialising the means of production. The Commune did not wage such a struggle: as is known, it did not take over the banks. Much too magnanimous, the Commune waged the class struggle against the men of Versailles only to the extent that this struggle was imposed upon it, while it should immediately, without waiting, have taken the offensive and delivered decisive blows at its enemies before they were able to regroup their forces.

Third, the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be, victorious if it expresses the alliance of the working class, and other sections of the working people, particularly the peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role.

The Commune sought to ally itself, with the broad masses of the peasantry, but was isolated by the blockade of Paris and the slander campaign of the reactionaries.

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Drowned in blood in 1871, the cause of the Commune, the working class, triumphed 46 years later with the great October Revolution which opened a new epoch In the history of

mankind—the epoch of Socialism.

The October Revolution was the victorious continuation of the work of the Paris Commune over one-sixth of the globe and under new conditions.

Contrary to the Commune, the October Revolution was carried out under the leadership of a working class, ideologically and organisationally prepared to fulfil its task, closely allied with the working peasantry and which was led by a workers' party of a new type, a Marxist Party steeled in fierce class struggle, the party of Lenin and Stalin.

Guided by the lessons of the Commune and the first Russian Revolution of 1905, basing themselves ever since February 1917 on the workers' and soldiers' Soviets, the Bolsheviks created and built up the Soviet State—the highest form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“The republic of Soviets,” says Comrade Stalin in his work, “The Foundations of Leninism,” “is thus the political form, so long sought and finally discovered, within the framework of which the economic emancipation of the proletariat, the complete victory of Socialism, is to be accomplished.

“The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form; the Soviet power is its development and culmination.”

The Soviet Union carried out tasks which the Commune was unable to achieve or could not even attempt. The Soviet Union destroyed the very roots of capitalism and the exploitation of man by man; it assured the speedy progress of the national economy and the prosperity of the working people on the basis of Socialism; it raised democracy to the highest level and brought about the moral and political unity of the Soviet peoples; it gave the widest possibilities for developing science, technique and culture, for creating a new man, the socialist man.



The Soviet Union has built Socialism and created the conditions for gradual transition to Communism.

Thanks to the Soviet Union, to its victories and its might, other countries can now set out on the transition from capitalism to Socialism in less difficult conditions and, therefore, in different forms. In some cases, they can carry out this transition without the Soviet system, through the regime of the people's democracies, on condition, naturally, that they are based on the decisive assistance of the Soviet Union. However, in the new historical situation, the system of the people's democracy also carries out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, particularly the struggle to eliminate capitalist elements and to build the basis of Socialism.

The experience of the Paris Commune, the victories of the Soviet Union on all fronts, and the growing successes of the New Democracies confirm the correctness of the thesis formulated by Lenin in "State and Revolution": "The transition from capitalism to Communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but in essence there will inevitably be only one: **the dictatorship of the proletariat.**"

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## **ROLE OF SOVIET UNION IN ESTABLISHING NEW DEMOCRACIES.**

**J. Berman, Member, Political Bureau,  
United Workers' Party of Poland**

The New Democracies arose as a result of World War Two and took shape in the course of four years relentless class struggle in the international and national arenas.

The process of forming the new States proceeded differently in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in Bulgaria and Hungary, in Rumania and Albania. In Poland this process developed rapidly during the past year in the struggle against the Right and national deviation in the Party, and in the course of the struggle for the complete defeat of social-democracy and for the unification of the Polish working class on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

A common feature, indeed one of the essential features of this process unfolding in all these countries, is the understanding of the role and significance of the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism, in creating, strengthening and developing the New Democracies. This feature stands out particularly against the background of the rapid degeneration of the ruling clique in Yugoslavia, now revealed in all its cynicism.

In the course of World War Two, due to the decisive role of the Soviet Union in smashing the Hitler State, the relationship of class forces changed sharply. This change, in the final phase of the war, and in the immediate post-war period, favoured the progressive and revolutionary forces in a number of countries, and weakened the capitalist system as a whole. This development became the decisive pre-requisite for the emergence of a new type of State—that of the New

Democracy.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was linked with the first imperialist world war and with the progress of that war. "That revolution," wrote Lenin, "was bound to reveal new features, or variations, called forth by the war; for such a war and such a situation had never occurred in the world before."

If Lenin noted that the October Revolution revealed "certain peculiar features which, of course, were in keeping with the general line of world development," it is all the more understandable that the revolutionary changes in the New Democracies brought forth by World War Two introduced "certain novel features," closely linked not only with the specific features of these countries, but, primarily, with the character of World War Two, its outcome, and the world significance and influence of the Soviet Union, which have grown immeasurably.

As a result of World War Two, the countries of the People's Democracy have dropped out of the imperialist system in Europe. In Asia, North Korea has thrown off the imperialist yoke and the Chinese people are waging a victorious war of liberation. This second breach in the imperialist front is the outcome of the breach made in 1917, which deepened and accelerated the general crisis of capitalism. Such is the law of development of declining capitalism.

As Stalin said: The war has torn aside all veils and has laid bare all relationships. The fundamental popular revolutionary character of the sacred war against fascism, a war which ended in the defeat of the three strong links in the chain of imperialism—the fascist states of Hitler Germany, Italy and Japan—inevitably had a far reaching influence on the relation of class forces, on the alignment of political forces and the

character of the state power that took shape in the liberated countries. In the final phase of the war and in the immediate postwar period, the great progressive role of the Soviet Union as liberator of the European peoples from the Hitler yoke became clear to millions of people, even to those who had nothing in common with Socialism.

The broad masses saw how in the war the Soviet Union played the leading and decisive role in smashing Hitler Germany. They saw also that it was the Communists, supported by the Left Socialists, who took the lead in the resistance movement.

The political activity of the working class increased enormously and could be seen on the various sectors of post-war rehabilitation; sections of the petty-bourgeoisie in the liberated countries turned to Socialism.

The ideological influence of the Soviet Union is steadily growing against the background of the deepening crisis of the whole capitalist system.

In 1920, Lenin writing about the firm theoretical foundation of the Bolshevik Party, said:

“Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, veritably through suffering, by half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, testing in practice, disappointment, verification and comparison with European experience.”

The years passed and the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), became the most advanced country in the world which, for the first time in the history of mankind, not only tackled the incredibly complex task of building Socialism, but also shouldered the main brunt of the struggle to defeat fascism.

Paraphrasing Lenin's words, which refer to an earlier

period, it can be said that at no time and in no place has there been so much revolutionary experience in the past 30 years as in the Soviet Union; never, in so short a time, has there been such a wealth of different forms and methods of struggle against the class enemy and capitalist encirclement. Never and nowhere has a single party absorbed such rich revolutionary experience or created such a variety of forms of interaction with the international working-class movement, as the C.P.S.U.(B). Never before have the ties between the Soviet Union and the working people of the world been as strong as they are today.

The national-liberation character of the war and the Soviet Union's leadership in the defeat of Hitler Germany decisively influenced the relation of class forces when state power was established in the countries liberated by the Soviet Army.

What were the prerequisites for setting up the people's power in Poland after the liberation?

Firstly, the activity of the Polish Workers' Party and the Union of Polish Patriots, which based their policy on a firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. The policy of the Polish Workers' Party was, in the main, correct, securing the leading role of the working class in the national-liberation movement and uniting the democratic forces in the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa on the basis of a united working-class front and an alliance between the workers and peasants. An important role was also played by the Polish army and the people's partisan army in the country.

Secondly, the liberation of Poland by such a revolutionary force as the Soviet Army, whose arrival greatly strengthened the forces of the proletariat and the working peasantry, could only alarm the bourgeoisie and landlords.

The strengthening and successful development of People's Poland is, on the one hand, the result of the correct offensive

policy of the Polish People's Government (agrarian reform, nationalisation of large-scale and medium industry, reorganisation of the State apparatus on new principles, mobilisation of the people to rebuild the economy, etc.). On the other hand, the successes of the young people's power is the result of the all-round, disinterested assistance the Soviet Union gave to the new Poland.

From its ally, Poland received military assistance (first-class equipment for the army), political assistance (defence of the Western frontiers on the Oder and Neisse, the Potsdam decisions, diplomatic assistance on the international arena), economic assistance during the most difficult months of wartime and post-war devastation (food supplies, help in rebuilding bridges and railways, the city of Warsaw, etc.) and finally, through trade agreements and big credits, help in carrying out the Three-Year Plan and in securing the realisation of the Six-Year Plan.

Because of all this and, primarily because we were liberated by the Soviet Army, our country was able to avoid civil war. Revolutionary changes in Poland are taking place through a bitter class struggle which has taken its toll of thousands of sacrifices, but these changes have made it possible to isolate successfully the reactionary capitalist elements and to crush their resistance.

Thus, the Soviet Union's decisive influence on the course of World War Two and its fraternal aid to the People's Democracies were the essential prerequisite for the regime of the people's democracy and its specific features.

"Just as at the basis of our People's Democracy lies the selfless, heroic help of the Soviet Union," said Comrade Bierut, "the basis of the distinctive feature of our path, compared with the Soviet path, rests on the all-round help of the Soviet Union and on the utilisation of the experience and achievements of the

victorious dictatorship of the proletariat. Thanks to this we are able, in our way, to realise the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

The Declaration adopted by the Congress of the United Workers' Party stated that “the essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried out only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the countries of the People's Democracy. Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy in Poland and, simultaneously, against the independence of our country.”

When drawing general conclusions from the experience of building the state in the People's Democracies, it should be noted that the essence of the people's democratic regime does not lie in stressing and emphasising the specific national features of each country. It lies rather in the fact that this regime is able, thanks to the new relation of class forces on the international and national scale, to preserve complete ideological affinity with the Soviet regime. What is equally important, while it draws strength from its kinship with the Soviet system, it carries out at the same time the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in different forms. The people's democratic regime creates favourable conditions for laying the foundations of Socialism in a number of countries, enriches the experience of the international working-class movement and is a new embodiment of the boundless creative forces of Marxism-Leninism, which are alien to every type of dogmatism.

Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale—anyone who tries to separate the inception of people's democracy from the victory of the Soviet Army, from the true

relation of forces on the front of struggle between capitalism and Socialism, will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.

The Tito-ites are now openly trying to whip up hatred against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Tito clique is ever more cynically and openly leasing Yugoslavia to the Anglo-American imperialists, accompanying their deeds with high-sounding phrases about building "Tito Socialism". The Tito machinations are, as a matter of fact, similar to those of Schumacher whose cherished dream is to see Western Germany turned into an American colony through the help of American capital investments.

A close examination will show that Tito is another Blum, hiding under a partisan cap, another "third force" champion manoeuvring on a different geographical and political latitude. Tito-ism is no longer an ideological deviation; it is now a centre of open hostility to the democratic camp, and has exposed itself by its abominable provocations and vicious persecution of honest Yugoslav Communists.

During recent years, the People's Democracies have won great successes and increased their strength tremendously. By strengthening their ties of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union, these states are really consolidating their sovereignty and securing the all-round economic and cultural development of their peoples on the road to Socialism.

The best guarantee of the security of the People's Democracies is firm alliance with the Soviet Union, their solidarity and fraternal mutual assistance which has found new expression in the recently-formed Economic Council of Mutual Aid. This is a valuable contribution to strengthening the peace, is the condition for strengthening the anti-imperialist camp, and is the magnetic force for all working people, all oppressed peoples suffering under the yoke of imperialism. (page 4)



## **STRENGTHENING CZECHOSLOVAK- SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS. E. Loebbi**

Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations before the war were very slender. Even during the years when fascist Germany threatened the existence of the Republic the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie did not think it necessary to revise and extend trade ties with the Soviet Union.

Fundamental changes were effected in this regard only after the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army. In June 1945 a delegation was sent to Moscow which reached agreement with the U.S.S.R. concerning the purchase of goods of which there was a particular shortage in the country at the time. This provided Czechoslovakia with the necessary raw materials for developing her industry after the war.

In 1916 trade with the Soviet Union proceeded successfully and accounted for 10 per cent of the total volume of Czechoslovak foreign trade. However, in 1947, owing to the policy pursued by reactionary politicians the Soviet Union's share in Czechoslovak trade dropped to 5.6 per cent. Foreign trade at the time was predominantly in private hands. Also the Ministry of Foreign Trade was a serious drag on Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations. The Ministry was run by a representative of the National Socialist Party who protected the interests of the capitalists. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie were interested in trading with the West. This gave them the opportunity to export capital from the country. Simultaneously the Western orientation was expressed in their desire to tie Czechoslovak economy to the capitalist system, to make Czechoslovakia politically dependent on the West and to undermine the economic base of the Two-Year Plan.

Czechoslovak reaction had planned to round of the economic ties with the West with participation in the Marshall Plan. This would have made the economy fully dependent on the United States and would have turned Czechoslovakia into a base of the American imperialists for struggle against the U.S.S.R.

These ambitions of Czechoslovak reaction were strikingly demonstrated after the disastrous drought of 1947. America and Canada refused to help Czechoslovakia through wheat sales, and the reactionaries sabotaged grain purchases inside the country, hoping thereby to cause unrest and disorder. On the initiative of K. Gottwald, then Prime Minister, a delegation was sent to the Soviet Union with the aim of concluding a long-term agreement and securing food and fodder supplies. On December 12, 1947, the first big trade agreement was signed between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. According to this agreement each of the contracting parties was to supply goods to the sum of 25 billion crowns in the course of five years. The two Governments also expressed the desire to maintain and extend mutual economic ties. An important feature of the agreement was that the Soviet Union, for the first time in the history of economic relations with Czechoslovakia, purchased from the latter consumer goods which would hardly have found a market in capitalist countries. In exchange Czechoslovakia received raw materials and foodstuffs, which in other circumstance, she would have had to pay for in hard currency. Moreover, Czechoslovakia in all probability would not have been able to buy the goods in capitalist countries because of the policy adopted toward her by certain Western powers.

Last year the trade turnover, fixed by the Agreement, was exceeded. The exchange of goods in 1949 will reach the sum of 17.3 billion crowns. The increase was a result of the tasks held in Moscow last December. Today the Soviet Union is the

biggest supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs, and the biggest purchaser of Czechoslovak goods.

Soviet deliveries in 1948 secured Czechoslovakia with the essential raw materials and food. These supplies will be increased during 1949. By processing raw materials imported from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is raising her national income. At a time when the Western imperialists are trying, through their policy of discrimination, to prevent raw materials from reaching Czechoslovakia and in this way obstruct the development of her economy and growth of her national income, the Soviet Union by its deliveries is helping to raise the standard of life of the Czechoslovak people.

The Soviet Government displayed its readiness to extend Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relation the moment Czechoslovakia expressed the desire to do so. The Soviet Union was always willing to extend its contact with Czechoslovakia. But Czechoslovak reaction stood in the way, both during World War Two and immediately after.

The considerable increase in the volume of Czechoslovak trade with the Soviet Union during the past two years is explained by the fact that Soviet production now exceeds the pre-war level by nearly one-fifth, and the fact that the U.S.S.R. is now able to increase its supplies each year. The machine building industry in the Soviet Union has reached a level that enables it to produce all types of machines. Soviet industry, which holds second place in the world, is supplying Czechoslovakia with machines which cannot be produced even by our own highly developed industry. Hence the outstanding importance of the technical aid agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, an agreement which is based, above all, on the rich experience and high technical and scientific level of Soviet production. This scientific-technical cooperation, from which Czechoslovak industrial workers,

technicians and scientists will benefit, due to the vast experience of Soviet specialists, will be a big contribution to the further development of Czechoslovak science and technique.

Czechoslovak export of consumer goods to the U.S.S.R. is increasing year by year. In 1947 it reached the sum of nearly 440 million crowns, in 1948, 2,900 million crowns. During the current year the figure will exceed 6 billion crowns. With the help of the Marshall Plan, the United States is forcing other capitalist countries to purchase from it consumer goods which these states could produce themselves. The Soviet Union on the other hand enables Czechoslovakia to export such goods.

Soviet supplies of raw materials, high quality foodstuffs, valuable commodities (such as ball bearings) and machinery are facilitating the carrying out of Czechoslovakia's Five-Year Plan. While the Marshall countries are submitting their "plans" to Congress which changes them in keeping with the interests of the American imperialists, the U.S.S.R. is supplying Czechoslovakia with the raw materials and foodstuffs which she needs to carry out her own plan. Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations are based on complete equality, while the relations between the Marshall countries and the United States are those of serf and master.

The Soviet Union meets its obligations punctually and even ahead of schedule. Fifty-eight per cent of the 1948 exports to Czechoslovakia had been delivered in the first four months of the year. Czechoslovakia, for her part, had accounted for only 20 per cent of her total exports to the Soviet Union. By the end of the year the Soviet Union had fulfilled its obligations by 98 per cent and Czechoslovakia by 96 per cent. And here one cannot help drawing a comparison with U.S. policy where the Government has prohibited the export of goods to Czechoslovakia, already paid for and awaiting

shipment.

Trade with the Soviet Union is much more advantageous to Czechoslovakia than trade with capitalist states. As a neighbour of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is able to economise considerably on transport costs which for certain raw materials comprise up to 40-50 per cent of the cost of the goods, while exports to the United States and to Britain mean not only high tariffs but also the payment of high commission.

Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations are based on a long-term (5-year) agreement. This in itself lends stability to our economy, especially in importing raw materials and exporting consumer goods. Trade with the Soviet Union also means that this trade is not affected by economic crises. Hence relations with the Soviet Union constitute the most stable part of our country's foreign trade.

Czechoslovakia's economy depends, in large measure, on the import of raw materials and foodstuffs, as well as on certain unfinished goods and machines. The Anglo-American imperialists are well aware of this. They know that following the February events of 1948 reaction's positions were thoroughly undermined not only in the political life of the country but also in the economic sphere. Now that internal reaction is no longer in a position to arrest, with its own forces, the development of Czechoslovak economy, its imperialist patrons abroad have taken this job upon themselves. The policy of discrimination pursued by the Anglo-American imperialists is aimed at preventing the import of vital raw materials and machinery. But this is beyond them for the Soviet Union is supplying us with raw materials and food. Our economic ties with the other People's Democracies are, likewise, a valuable contribution to securing the stability of our economy.

The recently formed Mutual Economic Aid Council will strengthen and greatly extend this fruitful cooperation between

the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R. It will also contribute to the further development of these countries.

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## **COMMUNIST PRESS CAMPAIGN IN ITALY**

The campaign for the Communist press in Italy is becoming more and more intense throughout the country. In one week alone the number of "L'Unita" readers increased by 18,740 in Naples, 80,000 in Tuscany, 16,000 in Florence, 2,200 in Perugia, 5,100 in Ancona, 3,400 in Pescara, 1,650 in Aquila.

The Rome edition has topped the 400,000 mark; in Milan, 500,000; Genoa, 200,000; Turin, 200,000. The total circulation of the four editions now exceeds 1,200,000 copies.

The circulation of the Party's political weekly "Vie Nuove" which has increased its sales by 50,000 in the last two months, is now over 200,000.

Competition between Party organisations to send up the circulation of the Party press is steadily gaining scope. Every day new organisations join in.

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## **POLISH - HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

The Warsaw newspaper "Rzeczpospolita" devoted a recent article to economic cooperation between Poland and Hungary. Economic cooperation between the two countries began with the agreement signed in October 1945. In keeping with this agreement Poland supplied Hungary with coal and coke and imported oil and oil products, bauxites, pharmaceutical goods, medical and optical instruments. A second agreement, signed in 1946, considerably extended the range of goods exchanged.

Before the war, trade between Poland and Hungary was less than 3 million dollars a year, whereas in 1947 It was in excess of 7 million dollars. A new agreement signed last November, provides for an exchange of goods valued at nearly 10 million dollars.

When negotiating this agreement, the trade delegations of the two countries decided on a five-year trade agreement for the future. Cooperation between the two countries is increasing steadily. It is coordinated by the Polish-Hungarian Permanent Commission and its sub-committees.

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## **TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN LIBERATED AREAS OF CHINA**

The trade unions are being restored in Mukden, Peiping, Tientsin, Kaifeng, Suichow and in the other liberated cities and towns of China. A new Trades Union Council will be formed shortly on the liberated territory of Central China. Industrial workers in Peiping, Kalgan, Tientsin, Tsinan and Suichow areas are forming local trade union branches and trades councils.

The trade union movement is growing rapidly throughout the liberated areas. In the Manchurian province of Kirin, for example, where three years ago under the Japanese occupation, there were no trade unions, trade union membership is now in excess of 50,000.

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**PARTY STUDIES IN ITALIAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY. Luigi Amadesi,  
Member, Central Committee, Communist  
Party of Italy**

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, held last September, raised the question of seriously improving the ideological standard of the Party membership, pointing out that it was only through this that the Party's political line could be better understood and carried out.

At that time the slogan was advanced of making each Party member an active fighter for the cause of the Party and of bringing forward new Party cadres. Since the Plenum, the number of Party schools has considerably increased and several measures have been taken to improve the quality of Party studies.

Speaking at the Plenum on the importance of Party education, Comrade Togliatti said: "We must learn to understand the laws of the development of the class struggle in this period, recognise clearly the essence of imperialism in the present period, see the cracks which have appeared in the imperialist front and their significance, recognise well all the forces rallying under the banner of democracy and Socialism. It is also necessary to study the enemy and learn to recognise him everywhere".

The curriculum of the Party schools has been changed in keeping with this directive. More time is scheduled for the study of the basic problems of Marxism-Leninism. The curriculum is no longer unbalanced by too many subjects of a purely Practical or technical nature. The number of hours given to the study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) has been increased. Three new subjects

have been added to the curriculum: the history of the international working class movement, the study of enemy tactics (particularly the policy of the Vatican with its system of mass organisations and the policy of the Right Social Democrats and of Anglo- American imperialism), and methods of guiding the Party and mass organisations. The study programmes for other subjects (political economy, the history of Italy and of the Italian working class movement, the present policy of the Italian Communist Party) have also been changed.

The curriculum of the schools has been made more complete and now corresponds better to the Party's tasks.

Our main efforts are now directed to organising new schools at various levels throughout the country to ensure that they function regularly and are staffed with qualified tutors. There are now three instead of two national Party schools. Two of these—one of which is for women—have a six-month course and train functionaries for the provincial Party apparatus and the mass organisations. The third school has a three-month course and trains workers of the Party federation apparatus (members of the secretariats, deputies and so on).

Correspondence courses have also been started. Four thousand comrades from Italy's 91 provinces, mostly members of the section and branch committees, have enrolled for these courses. Every other week a 32-page pamphlet devoted to the current lecture is sent out to the students. There are 12 lectures over a period of six months.

These correspondence courses are a great success. Many federations (Party provincial organisations) hold group consultations for the correspondence students.

In some regions, work has been started to organise schools and courses in each section. In the Emilia, Tuscany and Lombardy regions, three-month schools for federation Party workers are already functioning. In Sicily, courses of two

months have been organised. To cut down expenses students of these courses were billeted in the houses of comrades living in the town.

Many regional Party committees will soon start study courses of a few weeks' duration. Shorter courses of a few days only, on various problems of Marxism and Party policy are often organised in regions and provinces. In many towns discussion groups have been formed, attended by functionaries of the federation apparatus.

Provincial schools for active Party members in federations and for leading functionaries in the bigger sections and branches have been organised.

Party schools in the sections, are generally evening school lasting from three to four months with 12 to 16 lectures.

Below are some extracts from reports sent from the federations to the Central Committee.

Florence reported: "We have organised two discussion groups, one for federation Party leaders, the other for trade union leaders. In the city itself there are eleven inter-sectional schools with over 300 students, five groups studying the history of the CPSU(B) and two section schools. We are now endeavouring to see that Party study groups are organised in each section. All leading comrades have been drawn into the work of teaching at the schools. This makes the classes more lively and concrete and at the same time makes the leading comrades themselves go in for more study. Over a thousand comrades—almost all leading workers in branches, sections and federations—are now studying in schools of various types and through correspondence courses."

A report sent from the Reggio Emilia federation says: At present a study circle for those engaged in the federation apparatus, and 17 section and inter-section schools with a total of 436 students are functioning in our federation.

The network of Party schools throughout the country as a whole is still far below the level of these three federations. However, the changes of the past few months show that most of the federations are rapidly improving their education work.

Short-time courses of one or two months to study the rules and the main documents of the Party are being set up in branches and sections.

Of late there has been an improvement in the study of the Short History of the CPSU(B). Last December seventy comrades from the main federations were called to a three-day instruction course on how to organise the study of the Short History. Now they are carrying out a big job in the localities.

This is what one of these comrades wrote from Mantua: "On my return we organised a school to train tutors for the Short History, and started 10 inter-section schools with 370 students from 42 sections. We are also arranging 3 inter-section schools for women.

"Besides the Short History we also use a two-volume edition of Lenin's selected works and Stalin's "Problems of Leninism."

More and more such reports are coming in.

However, together with the positive results of the last few months, there are still many shortcomings in the work of Party schools. The most serious is that in the majority of schools the selection of students is made too haphazardly. Because of this, even in federations where there are many schools, section and branch secretaries, who should be the first to improve their knowledge, are often left outside the studies. Students attending the national schools are as a rule, selected by the federations from among comrades who either have just started to come forward as active Communists or who are engaged on work of secondary importance. This situation is now being improved. One of the national schools has been set up specially

to train the political secretaries and secretariat members of the federations.

In the regions and provinces, the main schools should be used chiefly to give political training to section secretaries. Section and inter-section schools should concentrate on training secretaries and group leaders. In this way we shall soon be able to bring all leading Party workers into the study network.

Another shortcoming is that there are too few qualified tutors. Comrades are too frequently appointed tutors because of their ability to make speeches or on the basis of their general culture. It sometimes happens that these tutors have not really mastered Marxism-Leninism and are still under the influence of hostile ideologies. Even in those places where the tutors are chosen from leaders of local Party organisations there is another difficulty: the fact that tutors are switched around because of other work and that they lack teaching experience, makes it difficult for the students to fully master the course.

These difficulties can be overcome by organising schools and courses for tutors.

Another weakness is that many schools are working on a syllabus which does not correspond to the level of the students and to the political requirements of the Party. In many schools the study material is drawn up by comrades who are not qualified for this job. To improve this situation, the material should be drawn up in a more methodical fashion and only sent out if it has been worked out by qualified people. It is also particularly necessary to train Party members to put in independent study of the works of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and of the leaders of the Communist Party of Italy and the fraternal Communist Parties.

These shortcomings in the work of the Party schools of the Italian Communist Party will be overcome. More and more

Party members are showing that they want to raise their political and cultural level, and the Party as a whole is determined to develop a wide-scale study of Marxism-Leninism—the victorious theory of the proletariat which shows the people's the way to peace, national independence and Socialism.

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## **NEW PROOF OF SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM OVER CAPITALISM. P. Todorov**

The decision of the Soviet Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) to reduce the state prices of consumer goods from March 1 will mean a big improvement in the wellbeing of the Soviet people. It is a striking example of the great superiority the socialist system has over capitalism.

After the war in which the Soviet people had made such terrible sacrifices, Comrade Stalin spoke to a constituency meeting in the Stalin district of Moscow on February 9, 1946. He outlined the immediate plans of the Communist Party, saying: "Particular attention will be paid to increasing the output of consumer goods and to raising the living standard of the working people by consistently reducing prices."

As always, these words of Comrade Stalin were followed by deeds. Later in 1947 the currency reform was carried out, rationing was abolished and state prices of consumer goods reduced all round. These measures, as well as reduced collective farm and cooperative marketing prices which resulted from the lowered state prices, enabled the Soviet people to save 86 billion rubles.

At the same time, the Soviet national economy developed steadily, production of consumer goods increased rapidly, labour productivity went up and production costs fell. In 1948 industrial production was 27 per cent above the 1947 level. In spite of drought and the devastating results of war, agricultural production in 1948 was nearly up to the pre-war level. Last year labour productivity in industry went up by 15 per cent compared with 1947 and production costs went down.

All this enabled the Soviet Government and the Bolshevik Party to make further price cuts from the beginning of March 1949. This will result in reduction of the cost of consumer goods in State retail trade alone by 48 billion rubles a year. Taking into account the fact that this will lead to lower prices in cooperative and collective farm trade, saving no less than 23 billion rubles, the people will benefit by savings of nearly 71 billion rubles.

It is obvious that these measures will raise the purchasing power of the ruble as well as its exchange rate against foreign currency. They will send up the wages of workers and intellectuals sharply, and altogether improve the wellbeing of the Soviet people.

The Soviet people enthusiastically welcomed this new example of Stalin's care for the welfare of the working people.

In the New Democracies, where the people have smashed the chains of imperialism and started out on the path of socialist development output is increasing, wages going up, currency being stabilised and unemployment eliminated. Here are some examples. Last autumn industrial output in Czechoslovakia was 110 per cent of the pre-war level, in Poland 151 per cent, in Hungary 127 per cent and in Bulgaria 158 per cent. In all these countries the real wages of the workers are high above those of pre-war days.

In the light of these successes in the U.S.S.R. and in the New Democracies, the situation in the capitalist countries takes on a gloomy aspect.

The capitalist countries (U.S., Britain, France and others) cannot solve their post-war economic difficulties to reach a so-called balance before the oncoming economic crisis which is an inevitable stage in the cycle of capitalist production. This is explained by the fact that after World War Two, the general crisis of capitalism deepened and extended, sharpening all the



contradictions of imperialism which came out of the war weakened, with its sphere of manoeuvres much smaller (the people's democracies dropped out from the imperialist system, the national-liberation movement grew in the colonies, the political and economic might of the Soviet Union increased).

Sometimes the hard truth in the capitalist countries forces even the bourgeois press to speak grimly.

The "Yorkshire Post" wrote on February 22, 1949: We should be prepared for a crisis following the influx of post-war reserves and the payment of debts; many serious problems will now arise from which we were secure in the past ten years. For a long time it has been thought that the crisis would begin in the U.S. and this possibility still exists. Possibly, the crisis would have begun already if it were not for the enormous sums the U.S. is spending on armaments and aid to Europe. However, the possibility of the crisis starting in Britain, said the newspaper, is not excluded.

In the U.S., the only capitalist country to come out of the war not weakened but strengthened economically, prices are climbing and many thousands of workers are being thrown onto the streets. According to official figures and there is every reason to believe the true figures are higher, the level of industrial production dropped from 195 points in October 1946 to 191 points in January this year. Latest figures give over 5 million unemployed in the U.S. and 9,500,000 workers on short-time. The employers are taking advantage of unemployment to intensify the system of speed-up in industry and to lower wages. Prices continue to soar. The January index of prices issued by the Ministry of Labour shows an increase of 28.2 per cent compared with June 1946 and 73.3 per cent compared with August 1939.

The apologists of American imperialism claim that the living standards of the American workers are entirely

satisfactory.

They estimate working class conditions on the basis of the small section of highly paid workers, leaving out the millions of unemployed. In fact, according to calculations made in the U.S. itself, one person out of every seven is going hungry.

In the countries now under pressure of the Marshall Plan—plan for enslavement and destruction of the national economy of these countries—the situation is still worse. It is significant that only 8 per cent of the total Marshall Plan deliveries constitute industrial equipment. The American imperialists have even gone so far as to send spaghetti to Italy.

Far from helping to overcome the grave economic crisis in post-war Britain, American “Aid” is deepening the crisis.

In the respect, the recent uproar in U.S. and in Britain over the statement of Foreign Under-Secretary Mayhew in the United Nations Economic and Social Council is significant. Mr. Mayhew boastfully declared that Britain’s economy had been completely restored. This statement caused alarm in Washington. American monopolies, afraid they were nourishing a viper (a rival) to their bosom, demanded explanations.

After all, they had no intention of “reviving” the economy of the Marshall countries. Sir Stafford Cripps hastened, with what the “Daily Express” called a whine, to disown Mayhew. At the same time Marshall Plan administrator Hoffman comforted American senators by declaring that Mayhew’s speech was purely political and was aimed at impressing the Russians—in other words, that it was false from beginning to end. A pretty admission!

How false it was can be proved by facts. In Britain only heavy industry has reached the pre-war level. In the textile industry the level of production is 77 per cent that of 1937, leather 92 per cent and food 94 per cent. According to official

estimates, in 1948 the cost of living went up 10 per cent. The working class is burdened with enormous taxes, paying 75 per cent of the country's indirect taxes which for the past two years have been increased by the Labour Government by 269 million pounds.

In France the devaluation of the franc has acquired dangerous dimensions; the mounting cost of living is bringing wages down to starvation level. Prices continue to go up. Last November the index of retail prices was 1,870—in December it was 1,928.

Purchasing power is dropping. In 1947, it was 70 per cent of the 1938 level, in January 1948, 60 per cent, and in December, 51 per cent. The General Confederation of Labour has recently made it clear that as the prices continue to go up, workers can no longer exist on their present wages, and demanded that the subsistence minimum should be increased to 15,000 francs a month.

Belgium gives a typical example of the economic situation in the West European Marshall countries and the growing impoverishment of the mass of the people. Belgium hardly suffered from the war. After the war it was the U.S. which was in debt to Belgium, and not the other way round. Belgian living standards were higher than any country in Western Europe. In 1948, after two years of American "aid" the cost of living jumped 20 per cent, taxes increased threefold, the budget deficit reached 13 billion francs and unemployment went up to 300,000—a figure rarely reached before the war.

In Italy, production of basic industry is 45-50 per cent of the pre-war level. Inflation and high prices are greatly restricting the people's consumption. For example, in January 1946 there were 50 billion lire in the country. By October 1948 there were over 879 billion—that is the circulation went up 17.6 times. By September 1917, wholesale prices had increased

58.3 times compared with 1938, and last year they were even higher. There are about three million unemployed.

In the Bizone of Germany, as a result of the Anglo-American imperialist rule which closes down peace-time industry and revives militarism, there were 1,124,000 unemployed in February. The situation became so grave that at a Hessen conference early this March manufacturers were obliged to send a memorandum to the military government stressing the “critical situation” and the need to “take immediate emergency measures to stop the growth of unemployment and the disastrous reduction of output.”

The characteristics of the capitalist countries today are a protracted post-war inflation and currency chaos, a systematic fall in the purchasing power of money, mounting prices, dropping wages and mass unemployment, all of which lead to the impoverishment of the working people while the capitalists rake in higher profits.

But in the Soviet Union and the people’s democracies, each country’s national economy is developing rapidly, the living standards and the cultural level of the working people are rising all the time. The recent decision of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) to reduce prices shows how great are the advantages of Socialism over capitalism. The facts bare the truth before millions of people groaning under the yoke of imperialism—the truth that the only path leading to salvation from hunger, poverty and unemployment is the path of Socialism, the path followed by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the New Democracies.

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**THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST  
HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST  
REVOLUTION. Elisaveta Andics, Member,  
Central Committee, Workers' Party of  
Hungary**

The thirtieth anniversary of the formation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic will be celebrated on March 21, 1949. Responding to Lenin's call, following in the steps of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Hungarian working class took power into their own hands for the first time. They disarmed the bourgeoisie and, in alliance with Soviet Russia, began the socialist reorganisation of the country.

The Soviet Republic of Hungary existed for only four and a half months. During this period it created its organs of state power, from local councils to the national congress of councils. The Soviet Government started a vigorous campaign to eliminate the social and cultural backwardness of the Hungarian people. Although as early as the middle of April the young Soviet Republic had to defend itself, arms in hand, against the troops of the Entente surrounding it on all sides, the Hungarian working class was very successful in its work in economy, politics and culture in the four and a half months of its life.

The working class of Hungary is justly proud that it responded in this fashion to the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Hungarian working class knows that it was able to carry out socialist revolution in the spring of 1919 because the

main forces of international reaction were engaged in war against Soviet Russia, which facilitated revolutionary actions of the working class in other countries.

The heroic struggle of the Hungarian Red Army against the imperialist forces is a brilliant chapter in the international revolutionary working class movement. The Hungarian revolution, particularly its experiences, were of primary political significance.

Writing about it, Comrade Lenin said that the seed sown by the Russian revolution was sprouting in Europe.

It would have been impossible even to imagine the powerful revolutionary movement of the Hungarian people, a movement aimed at radically changing the social, political and economic system in the country, without the enormous influence the Great October Revolution had on the workers and peasants of Hungary.

The great theoretical innovations of Bolshevism, the rich experience of the revolution and the Civil War in Russia were able to influence the Hungarian working class movement because in Hungarian society itself, there existed concrete preconditions for revolutionary changes. The working class and the poor peasantry of Hungary were among the first to take the path of the Great October Revolution because revolution was a desperate necessity in Hungary. "We are whirling along to revolution," is how the great Hungarian poet and democrat Ady Endre described the situation in Hungary in 1912.

Lenin wrote in 1913 that Hungary was closest to Russia in the omnipotence of reactionary landlords.

The alliance between the banks and the feudal landowners made Hungary one of Europe's poorest countries. She became notorious throughout the world for her "black statistics": peasant emigration, appalling labour conditions, illiteracy, child mortality and all kinds of social backwardness. Therefore

sharp social contradictions developed in the country, which were aggravated by the extremely complicated interlacing of the system of national suppression and class oppression. This created the objective conditions for revolution.

As in Russia, the late but fairly rapid development of capitalism in Hungary, taking place in such a backward country and in contradiction to this backwardness, gave rise to an extremely concentrated and well organised working class striving for political independence. The specific development of the country faced the working class with the historical task: to bring about Soviet democracy and Socialism and thus save the people from the hopelessness, the life without a future, into which they were sinking as imperialism developed.

The militant working class of Hungary, which more than once took up the fight against reaction in large-scale, and often spontaneous battles, was tied down by ten years of opportunist leadership, but the foundation of the Communist Party in 1918 did away with this obstacle to the country's revolutionary development.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the workers and the poor peasants of Hungary eagerly supported and adopted the ideas of the October Revolution, realising at once that only by following the path of Socialism would they be able to overcome their backwardness, secure their independent national development and open up a glorious new page in the history of their country.

Thus, the roots of the Hungarian proletarian revolution of 1919 lay in the country's historical development. It was to solve problems which had been in desperate need of solution for a very long time, At the same time, it was an integral part of the international anti-imperialist revolutionary movement.

The first proletarian dictatorship in Hungary was overthrown by powerful forces of international reaction. The

reasons for its defeat were to be found not only in foreign intervention but particularly in Hungary's home situation.

The Communist Party soon won the majority of the working class and the confidence of broad sections of the working people. But it was still young. It lacked political experience and had not consolidated itself ideologically. Its great mistake was to form a mechanical union with the Social Democratic Party which included the Right Socialists who were the counter-revolutionary agents within the working class movement. With the correlation of forces then existent, this was tantamount to dissolving the Communist Party.

Centrist, syndicalists and Luxemburg conceptions of the Party were still alive among Hungarian Communists. Underestimation of the role of the Party and illusions about the true character of Social Democracy explain why the Communists agreed to dissolve the Party—although the majority hesitated to do so—which left the Hungarian proletariat without a militant vanguard, without a revolutionary leadership at the historical moment decisive for their future.

Because of Its ideological and political weakness, the Party underestimated the significance of the militant alliance of workers' and peasants and failed to understand the conditions in which they carried out this alliance.

The only ally of the industrial proletariat was considered to be the agricultural proletariat, while the peasantry as a whole was, at best to be neutralised. Land confiscated from the landlords was not distributed among the peasantry. The agrarian question was chiefly looked upon from the point of view of providing food for the workers in the towns. The Hungarian Communists regarded the agrarian question as purely economic, not as a strategic question of proletarian revolution. They did not understand that the creation and consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the



peasantry is the “highest principle” of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At that time Social Democratic survivals and Trotskyite conceptions were still strong in the ranks of the Hungarian Communists, which is one of the reasons for their mistakes.

Another mistake they made was to expropriate property too quickly, especially in small-scale industry and trade. This alienated the petty-bourgeois elements in the towns from the proletarian power and increased the country’s economic difficulties. All these mistakes weakened the proletarian power from within and made it easier for the powerful foreign forces to break the young Soviet power before it could put its mistakes right.

The victory of counter-revolution in August 1919 was a catastrophe for the people of Hungary. It restored the power of the capitalists and big landlords. Thousands of the finest sons and daughters of the Hungarian people were murdered and tortured to death. Tens of thousands were sent to prison and concentration camps.

But although it was defeated, the Hungarian revolution of 1919 was not in vain. The working class movement throughout the world learnt from the experience of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. It showed the international working class that in spite of the greatest self-sacrifice and heroism of the people, proletarian revolution can never defend itself unless it is led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, uses Bolshevik tactics and has a clear policy in relation to the allies of the working class.

The Communists and the working class of Hungary learnt much from their mistakes of 1919.

Last year the Hungarian working class formed a united Marxist Party, after they had defeated the ideology of the Right Socialists and expelled them from the working class movement. The democratic state confiscated the landlords’

estates and the working class consolidated its militant alliance with the working peasantry.

The people of Hungary have once again set up a workers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat—this time in the form of people's democracy—as the only power that can bring them future happiness. And now they, the victors, celebrate the anniversary of their first socialist revolution. The Hungarian people were able to grasp the freedom brought to them by the liberation Army of the great Soviet Union because the Communist Party of Hungary had become strong ideologically and enriched with the glorious experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The people's power, now set up in the new form of people's democracy, is essentially the same as that in Soviet Hungary 30 years ago.

The memory of those who died in the struggle for the first people's power is now honoured by the Hungarian people with greater victories of Socialism over capitalism. Celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of their first socialist revolution, the liberated working class of Hungary are proud of their revolutionary traditions, raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism—the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

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## **PAUL ROBESON ON PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA**

In an article in "Reynolds News" the well-known American artist, Paul Robeson, now on a visit to Britain, writes as follows:

"I am part of that America today which is being persecuted for its defence of civil liberties and for its fight for the right of men and women to live as human beings.

"It is important for the people of England to know that those basic rights which are part of English civilisation are certainly under as sharp a fire to-day in America as they would have been in Hitler Germany.

"We are constantly told in America that we are part of the Western world (I would note in passing that this geographical designation includes Turkey and Japan).

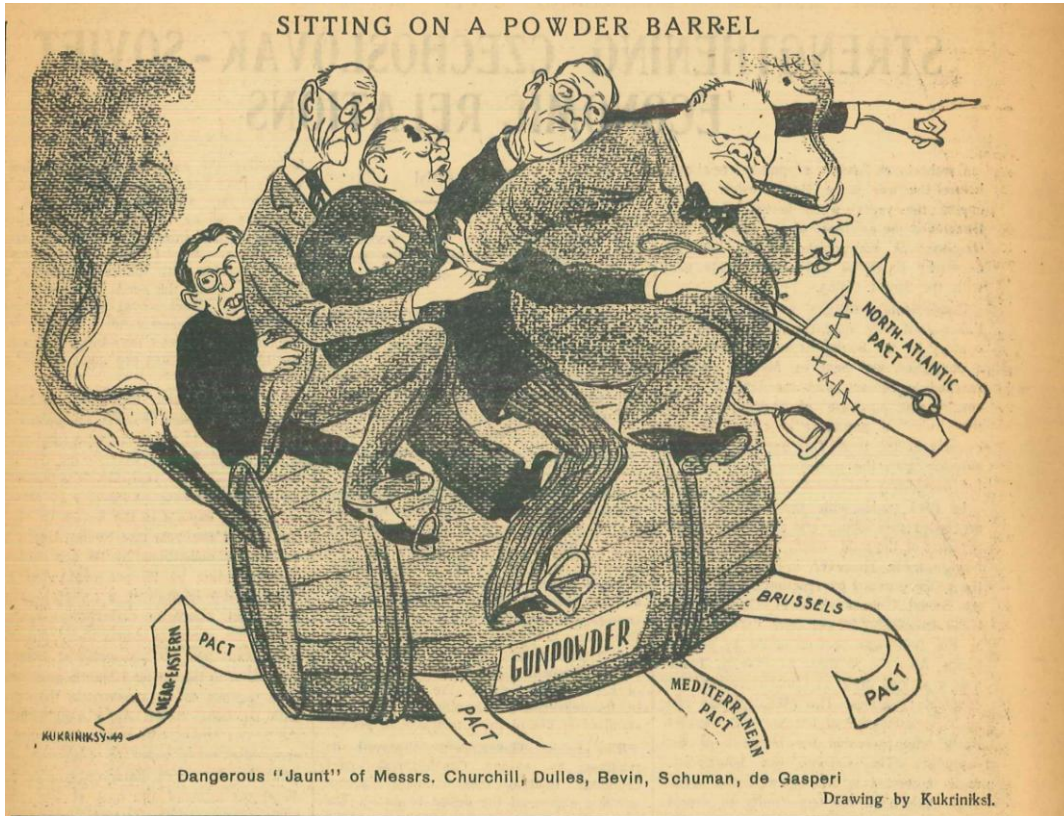
"They tell me that my son, aged 21, as an American, is part of a revived fascist Western Germany, that as an American I am part of a nation that is beginning to filter funds to Franco, that is aiding fascist Greece and reactionary Turkey.

"I belong to another America. I will not belong to Franco's world: I belong to the world of Republican Spain, of resistance Greece and the new democracies.

"I belong to the America which seeks friendship with the Soviet Union. I am a friend of Israel, not of the oil interests; I am a friend of the new China, not of a revived fascist Japan.

"I, too, am America."

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## **TOADS OF THE TURKISH SWAMPS**

The toads got to hate the sun, It made their life unbearable. Under its scorching rays the swamp, which had sheltered all kinds of loathsome scum, dried up. Then, one evening, when the sun had already dipped below the horizon, all the toads got together and decided to throw mud at the sun and prevent it from ever rising again.

But next morning the sun rose as usual and bathed the world in splendour and glory.

But the toads learnt nothing from this. And to this day the slimy quagmire is trying might and main to throw mud at the sun of truth and justice.

The organs of bourgeois justice have been set in motion against the French Communists who have openly declared that the people of France will not let the imperialists wage war.

In the United States the entire weight of the muck-raking technique has been brought into play against the leaders of the Communist Party. The American monopolists are ready to destroy any and all who stand for peace and freedom. In New York the 74 year-old clergyman, John Mellish, has been deprived of office because his son happens to be the chairman of the Council of the Soviet-American Friendship Society.

In Paris the joint stock companies for the sale of France are trying to cover up their fear of the people and their hatred of liberation ideas with hypocritical phrases about “national duty”, about “patriotism”. The American monopolists who regard as dangerous even an aged clergyman, hope to conceal their bestial fury behind a mask of judicial and social cant.

But the nerves of these hirelings of the Wall Street bankers and the Detroit magnates are wearing thin. They are howling in panic, displaying their toad-like nature and making themselves

the laughing stock of the world.

“We were so upset by Thorez’s shameful behaviour that we would have torn him to pieces had we been able to lay hands on him, fumed the Turkish newspaper “Tan”. “Communism is treason,” croaked “Jumhuriet”.

The toads of the “Jumhuriet” dare to invoke national interests, and, national independence, which have been sold wholesale to Wall Street. What national independence can Turkey speak of? The same issue of “Jumhuriet” described in flattering tones how the American General McBride and an American Admiral deigned to attend Turkish army manoeuvres and graciously praised the results as satisfactory.

Then there is the dispatch taken from another sheet:

“The Turkish Government has decided to invite U.S. experts to elaborate a plan of economic and financial measures,” writes Falek’s accomplice, and from the depths of his black heart is happy at the thought that “efforts will be made to fully exploit Turkey’s coal mines, oil and deposits of chrome ore,” for the benefit of the American capitalists, of course.

This croaking of the Turkish toads betrays their fear and the fear of their masters at the powerful upsurge of the forces of the democratic camp.

Comrade Thorez, commenting on the reaction to his statement in the imperialist camp; stated:

“It has brought a howl from the warmongers, from the people of the real foreign party, the people of the American party.

“Why are the warmongers in such a fury?

“Because we have torn the mask from their hypocrisy and disclosed their real face as enemies of freedom and peace.”

**Jan Marek.**

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## **BOOK REVIEW**

### **AMERICAN DIPLOMACY COVER FOR INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. J. Kovac**

The book “The Truth About American Diplomatsists”\*, by Annabella Bucar, a former employee of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, was published recently in the Soviet capital. This book, which should be read by all honest people, by all supporters of peace, contains neither sensations nor inventions. It is a straightforward narration of facts and observations made by the author, a truthful description of American intelligence agents whose diplomatic passports serve as a cloak for espionage and diversive work.

Annabella Bucar is an American who during the war was employed in the central apparatus of the American intelligence service in Washington, and later served in the American Embassy in Moscow. She resigned her Embassy post last year and remained in the U.S.S.R. in order, as she writes, to take a real part in the struggle against the warmongers. Bucar was in a position to observe, in all its ugly reality, the behind-the-scenes side of American diplomacy, so carefully concealed from the public eye by the imperialists.

Both in Washington and in Moscow, writes the author, explaining why she decided to write her book, I watched how, step by step, our diplomats, responsible for U.S. foreign policy, did everything in their power to bring about a world

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\* Annabella Bucar “The Truth About American Diplomatsists.” Published by “literary Gazette”, Moscow, 1949.

catastrophe. The spear-head of their policy was always directed against the Soviet Union which, as I fully realised, was unmasking, as it continues to unmask, their sabotage of peace, their diversive work against the yearnings of the common people for a happier and better life.

These diplomatists, continues the author, fully realise the truth that the Soviet Union is a hindrance to the American money-bags in their efforts at world domination. That is why they consider it necessary, above all, to discredit the Soviet Union by ascribing to it aggressive intentions, trying thereby to justify the war preparations against it... I saw the Damocles Sword hanging over mankind and how this sword, dropping lower, and lower, threatens once again to drown millions of people in blood. That is why I cannot remain silent!

Bucar's first contact with American intelligence and diplomacy was made during World War Two when, anxious to do something useful in the struggle against the enemy of mankind—Hitlerism, she entered the U.S. intelligence service.

Later I saw for myself, writes Bucar, that I was naive to say the least, in setting myself this noble task. It appears that during the war American intelligence was least of all interested in the struggle against fascism, and, immediately after the war, contact was made with the fascist intelligence organs and counter-intelligence organs in Germany, Italy and Spain.

General Donovan who had charge of the central American intelligence organisation, the Office of Strategic Services (O. S. S.), ensured the reactionary influence of leading Wall Street circles in this organisation. (p. 10) With this object in view, key positions were given to the fascist Colonel Beckstone, to Atterton Richards, President of a leading export-import firm, to Elmo Roper, Wall Street's newspaper agent, to Raymond Guest, cousin of warmonger Churchill, to T. Ryan, son of a millionaire, to Paul Mellon, the aluminium king's heir, and to



the White guard general, the former Prince Sergei Obolensky.

American Intelligence went out of its way to prevent the development of a popular armed struggle against Hitler in occupied Europe, to restrain the resistance movement from organising an armed uprising, and waged active struggle against the partisans of the People's Front and especially against the French Communists. Its diversive activities against the democratic progressive forces extended from Europe to Asia and Africa.

But right from the outset it saw its main task in developing spying, diversive work against the U.S.S.R. According to Bucar the chiefs of U.S. intelligence used the wartime alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to send trained secret agents onto the territory of the Soviet Union, to spy against America's ally.

The American reactionaries regard the diplomatic apparatus as an important instrument in their undermining anti-Soviet activities. On the basis of numerous observations, Bucar discloses that secret agents were sent to the U.S.S.R. in different guise—as counsellors to the Embassy, as second or third secretaries, or simply as clerks in the Supply Mission, as newspaper correspondents, radio reporters and lend-lease specialists. Pursuing the same purpose the Russian department, the most heavily staffed in the O.S.S. gathered information about the national economy and military potential of the U.S.S.R. Toward the end of the war the U.S. secret service concentrated on gathering confidential information about the Soviet Union. Soviet foreign policy and about the democratic countries friendly to the Soviet Union. Bucar shows how the diplomatic apparatus, in addition to the special secret service bodies, is widely used for these purposes. For some time now a State Department “monopoly clique” has directed all anti-Soviet activity.

Anxious to please the money-bags of Wall Street this clique of reactionary diplomats is bent on provoking war against the Soviet Union. Bucar points out that this is a plot in the interests of a handful of people, directed against world peace and friendship between the peoples.

Bucar names the members of this clique of careerists and reactionaries. They are Loy Henderson, who selected and trained the group of inveterate reactionaries, the “anti-Russian” experts”—George Kennan, Charles Bohlen, Edward Page.

Bucar writes that Kennan, regarded by the State Department as the leading authority on the Soviet Union, is Henderson’s right-hand man. A pupil of the German school of secret agents, Kennan acquired his knowledge of Russia from contaminated fascist sources. So, writes the author, there is nothing surprising in the fact that this “expert on Russia” got no further in his understanding of the Soviet Union than his teachers and that he is now trying to repeat almost exactly the disastrous mistakes of fascist officers, diplomats and spies. (pp. 26-27)

During his stay in Moscow as counsellor to the Embassy, Kennan flooded the State Department with telegrams. In these telegrams he declared American-Soviet friendship was a mistake, that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could not live in harmony, despite the successful wartime alliance; he regarded the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements as serious mistakes and insisted that the U.S. Government withdraw from its undertakings, that the U.S. should oppose every move by the Soviet Government, no matter how important, and under no circumstances enter into agreement with the Soviet Government. (p. 29)

Kennan was the author of the provocative article in “Foreign Affairs”, over the signature of “Mr. X”, which stated that war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union was inevitable,

since the U.S. cannot acquiesce in the existence of a prosperous Socialism.

Bucar notes that the State Department, time and again reminded the Embassy that in order to combat the growing international influence of the Soviet Union it was necessary to intensify the gathering of information that could be used for propaganda against the Soviet Union both in the U. S. and in other countries. (p. 63) These instructions were zealously carried out by top officials in the Embassy, by the experts in anti-Soviet slander Durbrow, Reinhardt and others.

The author cites numerous examples showing how anti-Soviet information is concocted.

For example in 1947, during the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Moscow, the American Embassy prepared special material replete with slanders, lies and rumours, for the benefit of the foreign journalists attending the Conference.

The Embassy and its departments devoted special attention to espionage in the U.S.S.R.

When selecting personnel for the Embassy the requirements are: ability to spy and anti-Soviet sentiments.

When the professional Intelligence officer, General Beddell Smith came to Moscow as Ambassador, writes Bucar, he insisted that literally all members of the Embassy staff, including every clerk, no matter what department he worked in, should engage in espionage. Smith made it the duty of Embassy employees to contact Soviet citizens, discuss different aspects of Soviet life with them and afterwards write out a detailed memorandum of all the "important" and unimportant facts. (p. 68).

American journalists resident in the U.S.S.R. are used for espionage purposes. Anna Louise Strong, for example, recently deported from the U.S.S.R., engaged in espionage work.

The author devotes a chapter to the moral qualities of

highly placed U.S. diplomatist-intelligence agents . She describes their large-scale speculation, shady currency deals, black marketing, trading in forged money, and so on.

Bucar asks: why are the rulers of America rattling the sabre?

When I recall my life in the United States, she writes, a heavy and cheerless impression weighs like a stone on my heart: I see before me the screaming headlines in the newspapers predicting another war, propagandising war, advocating war: I hear the speeches of the shameless war propagandists who, repeating Goebbels' methods, glorify war as a wonderful and profitable calling. (p. 107)

Expressing the thoughts and sentiments of the ordinary American, of whom she herself is one, Bucar does not confine herself to a passive statement about the ignominious anti-popular role played by the rulers of American policy who are turning the country into a fascist and military camp, and who are grossly suppressing democratic institutions. She also sees the forces which are ever more actively entering the struggle against the onslaught of reaction.

Day by day an increasing number of people in the United States are beginning to realise whither the disastrous policy of the rampant Wall Street adventurers is leading America. Their voice rings out ever louder. I am positive that this other, progressive America will yet say its word. (p. 114)

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Bucar's book contains documentary proof that the entire American Embassy in the U.S.S.R., headed by Ambassador Smith, is an espionage organisation, and the U.S. State Department, the organiser of espionage-secret service activities abroad under the guise of embassies, diplomatic missions, etc.

The book proves that the American Embassy in the U.S.S.R. supplies the State Department with vicious anti-Soviet propaganda, on the basis of which U.S. foreign policy is concocted.

Since the American Embassy in the U.S.S.R., headed by its Ambassador, is an espionage organisation, there are no grounds for making an exception in this respect for the American embassies and missions in other countries.

And after all this, the rulers of U.S. foreign policy dare to invoke the words “justice”, “democracy”, “freedom” and so on. These words, in the terminology of secret service agents, are merely “cover”, designed to camouflage aggressive plans and actions.

Bucar’s book will help all fighters for peace and democracy to understand the mechanics of Wall Street’s adventurist foreign policy.

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