

Workers of the World, Unite!

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

**Organ of the Information Bureau of the
Communist Parties in Belgrade**

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THE WARMONGERS REFUSE TO QUIETEN DOWN

The aggressive activity of the imperialist, anti-democratic camp, is increasing with every passing day. The United States of America has launched an open struggle for the world domination of a handful of American industrial and financial magnates.

Behind their philanthropic chatter about helping Europe the ruling circles of the U.S.A., are hoping at the expense of the European countries not only to avert or soften the impact of the impending crisis in the US, but also to extend and strengthen the positions of capitalist reaction throughout the world. Reporting to Congress on the so-called interim aid for Europe, the US Secretary of State Marshall emphasised that the ruling circles in Italy and France have fulfilled the preliminary American condition—have removed the Communists from governments and are now zealously exerting themselves to smash or disintegrate the progressive democratic and labour organisations.

The arrant hucksters and war adventurers, who today rule the United States, intend to utilise the notorious “aid to Europe”,

which has been inflated like a soap bubble, in order to enthrall the European countries, to seize strategic bases (in Greece, Italy and France) and to build up reserves of strategic raw materials. A representative of the State Department, Phillips, informed Congress that the US government intend to use the “Marshall Plan” to build up reserves of strategic raw materials in the USA, at the expense of Europe which will include uranium, needed for the manufacture of the atom bomb, bauxite, chromite, graphite, lead, etc.

In the past few weeks all the political and diplomatic activity of the US government has been aimed at facilitating the preparations for a new war to win world domination for American imperialism. The US delegation at the UNO General Assembly frenziedly resisted the efforts of the representatives of the Soviet Union and the countries of the people’s democracy to curb the warmongers. With the vigorous support of their English, South American, French and other vassals, the Americans are steadily digging under the foundations of UNO, in an effort to turn it into an executive organ of the US State Department.

On orders from the American reactionaries the fascist provocateurs in Brazil and Chile have broken off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the people’s democracy, thus preparing the ground for an unbridled anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign, which in its turn would facilitate the preparation for war.

The American imperialists are hurriedly building up a military arsenal in Europe preparation (or their military adventures. That is why they have split up Germany. They are restoring the industrial might of Western Germany, by transforming the Anglo-American zone—Bizonia—into their protectorate which is entirely in the hands of the American militarists and their assistants—the German imperialists who are dreaming of revenge.

A new government has been formed in France on instructions from Washington, a government which aims through draconic measures to destroy the French democratic and labour organisations. In Italy the de Gasperi government is forming a bloc with the fascists to start a crusade against the labour organisations.

At the same time the American imperialists, supported by the British Labourites, are making feverish military preparations. They are establishing strategic bases in Greece, in the Near and Middle East, are opening new military bases in Greenland, on Alaska, are extending the existing bases in Iceland, in Japan, in Korea, are sending troops and munition to China.

In an effort to mislead the politically backward sections of the population the warmongers have started a new campaign of lies and slander against the vanguard of the defenders of peace, against the Soviet Union, the countries of the people's democracy the Communist Parties and against all active champions of peace.

The achievements of the democratic progressive forces in the struggle for peace and democracy are weakening the imperialist, anti-democratic camp, are infuriating the imperialists, and their lackeys.

The imperialists and reactionaries are frightened at the rapid growth in the political unity of the democratic camp. The reports on the activities of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Polish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Communist Party, published in the first and second issues of our paper, go to show that the countries of the anti-imperialist democratic camp are liquidating the aftermath of the war, and confidently advancing toward economic and cultural prosperity toward the improvement in the well-being of the people. The countries of the anti-democratic imperialist camp, are slipping into an economic crisis. The reactionary clique which has seized power

in France can not cope with economic chaos. England is in the throes of an economic crisis. The United States is also threatened with an economic crisis.

The imperialists and their lackeys are frightened at the development and power of the world democratic movement, which is headed by the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties. The forces fighting for peace and democracy are growing daily, and their resistance to the onslaught of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists is increasing. The more insistent the American imperialists are in their efforts to enslave the European countries economically and to [...], national sovereignty, the more consistent and resolute the resistance of the popular masses to the attempts to transform Europe into an American colony.

The valiant troops of the Greek Democratic Army, who are setting heroic examples in the struggle for freedom and independence, are frustrating the intentions of the Anglo-American warmongers to enslave the Greek people and to convert Greece into a springboard for a new war.

The French workers, united in the General Confederation of Labour, have exposed and branded the »Marshall Plan« as an odious plot of a handful of US industrial and finance magnates to enslave France. The mass strikes in Marseilles, Paris and other French cities demonstrate that the anti-French and anti-labour plot of the French bourgeoisie, who are acting on orders from Washington, is meeting with powerful resistance of the working class and other sections of the French people.

The workers of Northern Italy who have unanimously opposed the fascist provocations, have proved to the whole world that they are able to resist the treacherous plots of the American flunkey de Gasperi.

The popular movement for peace is spreading to all countries. The people want peace. The peoples of Europe are ready to fight for peace, for freedom and their national independence,

which is now threatened by American-British imperialism, with the same determination displayed by them in the struggle for their liberation from Hitler fascist slavery.

The Communist Parties will continue to direct the struggle of all the democratic and patriotic forces to combat the criminal designs of the warmongers—the American imperialists, their British, French, Italian and other vassals and their Socialist lackeys.

Communists who showed examples of heroism, courage and selflessness in the struggle against the Hitler invaders rallied and led the masses and won victory in a number of countries. There is no doubt whatsoever that today, when the ranks of the Communist Parties have increased, when the Communist Parties have developed politically, and grown stronger organisationally, when their influence among the popular masses has spread and taken deeper root, the Communists will be able to expose the instigators of war and to defend the freedom and independence of their countries.

(page 1)

G. MALENKOV. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)[†]

Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has instructed me to submit to the present Conference of Communist Parties an informative report on the activities of the CC CPSU (B). The work of the CC CPSU (B) is so many-sided that in order to fulfil my assignment successfully and not overtax your attention, I shall have to limit the scope of my report, I propose, therefore, to report on the activities of the CC CPSU (B) in the post-war period and deal, **firstly**, with the problems of directing the national economy of the USSR, **secondly**, with questions of building the Party, and, **thirdly**, with questions of foreign policy.

[†] Informative report submitted by Comrade G. Malenkov to the Conference of representatives of a number of Communist Parties held in Poland at the close of September 1947.

I. Directing the National Economy In the Post-War Period

The victorious conclusion of the Second World War, which we in the USSR call the Great Patriotic War, and the passage from war to peace, confronted the CPSU (B) with new and complex problems of liquidating the aftermath of the war and of securing the further development of Socialist construction. The Party had to make a serious turn—from solving wartime tasks to the solution of economic and cultural tasks.

The tasks of the Party and of the Soviet state in this new period were defined with the utmost clarity by Comrade Stalin.

«We must» stated Comrade Stalin, «in the shortest possible space of time heal the wounds inflicted on our country by the enemy and attain the pre-war level of economic development so that we can considerably surpass it in the near future, raise the material well-being of the people and further strengthen the military and economic might of the Soviet state.»

Our Party took into account the fact that the successful accomplishment of these tasks involved overcoming serious difficulties, inasmuch as the recent war was for the Soviet Union the most cruel and difficult of all wars ever experienced by Russia.

The war entailed many sacrifices for the Soviet people. As a result of the German invasion the Soviet Union lost some 7 million people, who were killed in action, perished during the occupation or were forcibly driven off to Germany.

Tremendous damage was done by the German fascist invaders to the Soviet national economy. The fascist vandals destroyed and razed to the ground tens of thousands of industrial plants, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms. They destroyed the entire network of railways in the western part of our country, devastated and ruined whole districts, destroyed the fruits of many years of strenuous work by the

Soviet people and left millions of Soviet people homeless. The damage done by the German fascists by the outright destruction of property alone, amounts to 679 thousand million rubles.

Any other country, even the biggest of the capitalist states of today would, as a result of such losses, have been retarded in its development for dozens of years, and would have become a second-rate power. But that did not happen to the Soviet Union. The Soviet state and social system stood the severe test of the war and proved its superiority over the capitalist system.

The great historic victories won by the Soviet Union during the war were possible only due to the preliminary preparations for defence made by our country under Comrade Stalin's leadership in the pre-war years. It would be a mistake to imagine that a victory of such historic importance could have been achieved without preliminary preparations for active defence by the entire country, or that such preparations could have been effected in a short space of time, say in 3 or 4 years.

Two withstand the blows of such an enemy as Hitler Germany, to repel this enemy, and then inflict utter defeat on him. required, apart from the unexampled bravery of our troops the possession of armaments that were quite up-to-date and, moreover, in sufficient quantities, and of a well-organised system of supplies also available in sufficient quantities. To make that possible one has to possess metals, fuel, a developed engineering industry, grain and cotton. But in order to have all of this our country had to be transformed from a backward agrarian country into historic an up-to-date industrial state. This historic transformation was effected in the course of the three Five-Year Plan periods, beginning with 1928.

Even prior to its participation in the Second World War the USSR possessed the minimum of material resources necessary to meet the basic requirements of the battle fronts. These material resources were created as a result of the fulfilment of

three Five-Year Plans of national economic development by our country and our Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. Thereby was established the economic base of the USSR that could be used for the conduct of a victorious war.

It is generally known, the Party's policy, aimed as it was at the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture—a policy without which it would have been impossible to prepare the country for active defence—met with the furious and active opposition of the enemies of Socialism not only outside, but also inside, the Soviet Union. This policy of the Party had to be carried out in bitter struggle against various counter-revolutionary Trotzkyite and Bukharin-Rykov groupings, against these contemptible traitors and capitulators, who, being in the pay of foreign intelligence services, tried to undermine the strength of the Soviet Union from within and create a situation favourable to our enemies in the event of war. The Party gave way neither to the threats nor to the hysterical howls of any of these elements, but confidently marched forward in the teeth of all odds. The Party did not adapt itself to backward elements. It was not afraid to go against the stream, always maintaining its position of a leading force. Had the CPSU (B) not possessed this steadfastness and stamina, it would have been unable to maintain its policy of industrialising the country and collectivising agriculture and, consequently, would have been unable to prepare the country for active defence, or to ensure the economic conditions necessary to achieve victory in the war against fascism. The Party routed all anti-party and anti-Soviet forces, and thus nipped in the bud all possibilities of a “fifth column”, appearing in the USSR. The war demonstrated the unprecedented unity of the Soviet people, and their solid support of the Bolshevik Party. This constituted one of the major conditions of the Soviet Union's victory in the war.

However the powerful economic pre-requisites existing in the

Soviet Union at the outbreak of the war could not of themselves ensure victory. They had to be efficiently utilised rapidly mobilised to serve the needs of the war and reorganised to meet wartime requirements. In the difficult conditions of the war, in the face of the enemy's blows during the first stage of the war, the Party managed in an exceptionally short space of time to place the entire economic life of the country on a war footing, in accordance with the needs of the front, and to subordinate all economic activities to the slogan "everything for the front".

The hopes placed by our enemies on an internal instability of the Soviet political system proved to be groundless. The Hitlerites based their calculations on the disintegration, during the war, of the Soviet multinational state, on the development of strife and discord among the peoples inhabiting our country. They utterly miscalculated. The war demonstrated the indestructibility of the Union of Soviet Republics and the firmness and enduring character of the friendship binding its peoples. All the peoples of our country, headed by the great Russian people, rallied round the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, rose in defence of their national independence and liberty, in defence of the achievements of Socialism in our country. The amity developed between the peoples of our country as a result of the triumph of the new socialist system and our Party's correct national policy were for the Soviet Union a source of multinational state."

"The Soviet state system," Comrade Stalin said, "proved to be a model multi-national state... The Soviet state system represents such a form of organisation of the state, in which national problems and problems of cooperation among the nationalities are better solved than in any other multinational state."

Despite the sacrifices it made, the Soviet Union emerged from the war with added strength and might. The superiority of the

socialist system of society and state, the establishment of a developed socialist industry and the introduction of the collective farm system in the countryside brought us victory during the war. Today, also, when the Party has undertaken the work of rehabilitating and developing the national economy, this superiority is manifested with the utmost clarity. Whereas the conversion from war to peace is being accompanied in the capitalist countries by the further aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system and is leading to a sharp contraction of markets, to a slump in production, to the closing down of industrial plants, to growing unemployment, to the impossibility at finding jobs for ex-servicemen and so forth—the Soviet Union, thanks to its socialist system of national economy, has been spared such post-war upheavals. In the Soviet Union there are neither crises nor unemployment, but a steady development of production and improvement in the material well-being of the people.

The tasks involved in the post-war rehabilitation and development of the national economy are set forth in the new Five-Year Plan for 1946-1950. The basic economic and political task of the Five-Year Plan is to rehabilitate the war-ravaged districts, reach the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, and make a substantial advance above this level.

The Five-Year Plan stipulates that the pre-war level of industrial output be achieved by 1948. For the subsequent years the plan visualizes a fifty per cent increase in industrial output over and above the pre-war level and priority in rehabilitating the heavy industries and railways, without which the rapid and successful restoration and further development of the country's economic life is impossible. The rehabilitation of the heavy industry will serve to consolidate the country's technological and economic independence.

The Five-Year Plan sets out to achieve the development of agriculture and of the branches of industry engaged in

producing articles of general consumption, in order to ensure the material well-being of the peoples of the Soviet Union and create within the country an abundance of basic items of general consumption.

We have to surpass the pre-war level of national income and national consumption, eliminate in the near future the rationing system, replacing it by a highly developed system of Soviet trade. We have to devote special attention to extending the production of consumer goods, to raising the standard of living of the working people by steadily lowering prices and to consolidate money circulation and Soviet currency.

The Five-Year Plan proceeds from the premise that it is necessary to ensure further technical progress in all branches of the economic life of the USSR, as the condition for a mighty advance in production and increase in the productivity of labour. With this aim in view we have set ourselves the task not only of catching up with scientific achievements abroad, but of surpassing them.

The Five-Year Plan outlines important tasks concerning the further enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the working people of the USSR. It provides for the rehabilitation and extension of the existing network of schools and universities, the improvement of the public health service, and the development of housing construction on a large scale, etc. As one of its chief aims the Five-Year Plan sets out to secure the fullest development of Soviet culture and art.

The Five-Year Plan is aimed at the further enhancement of the Soviet Union's defence capacity and at equipping its armed forces with the most up-to-date material. In order to safeguard our country against eventualities of every kind, defend the peace and avert fresh aggression against the USSR and its allies, we have to strengthen the armed forces of the Soviet Union, strengthen the military and economic might of the Soviet state.

The fulfilment of the new Five-Year Plan, while ensuring the rehabilitation and development of our national economy, at the same time signifies the resumption of the path of development of Soviet society pursued by us before the war and temporarily interrupted by the war. This path is the path of consummating the construction of a classless Socialist society and of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. In this respect the new Five-Year Plan marks an important step forward.

The results of the year 1946 and of 1947 so far, show that the fulfilment of the new Five-Year Plan is proceeding successfully. In the course of the first year of the new Five-Year Plan period our industry reverted to the production of civilian goods. The rehabilitation of the districts that suffered the German occupation is proceeding apace.

The fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan is accomplished amidst a mighty upsurge of labor enthusiasm. Throughout the entire country, in industry and the transport system, Socialist competition has developed for the fulfilment of the 1947 plan ahead of schedule, by the thirtieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. Plan fulfilment in such key industrial centres as Moscow, Leningrad, the Donetz Basin, the Urals, Gorky, the Kuznetsk Basin and elsewhere, justifies our expectations that the targets for 1947 will be successfully fulfilled ahead of schedule. This will signify a speeding up of the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan as a whole.

As a result of this work, production of coal, copper, aluminium, nickel, electric power, tractors, machine tools and certain other types of machinery had, in July 1947, approached the pre-war figure.

Thus, 18 months of struggle for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan have demonstrated the possibility of developing certain branches of industry at a more rapid pace than was originally anticipated. In view of this certain original target figures of the

Five-Year Plan for various branches of Industry are being reconsidered and raised.

Mention should be made of the importance of industrial development in the eastern parts of the country. The industrial base in the East, built up during the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, was greatly extended and strengthened during the war years in connection with the transfer there of over 1,300 industrial establishments from the Western regions. This constituted one of the decisive factors in the victorious prosecution of the war. In the war years the Eastern regions provided tens of thousands of tanks pieces of artillery, aircraft, huge supplies of munitions, etc. for the battle fronts. In the post-war period industrial establishments located in the Urals, Siberia, the Transcaucasus and Central Asia have been rapidly converted for peacetime production.

Under the new Five-Year Plan the Eastern regions assume an ever more important role in the economic life of the USSR.

It goes without saying that the post-war rehabilitation of the country's economic life cannot proceed smoothly or spontaneously and without difficulties. No small number of difficulties has to be overcome in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan.

The transfer of the national economy from a war to peace footing in itself entails many difficulties of an economic, organisational and technical nature. Nor should it be forgotten that reconversion to peace-time production had to be effected amidst such additional difficulties as those created by the drought of 1946—one of the most severe droughts in the history of our country—which led to crop failures in the basic grain producing areas. That we were able in such conditions successfully to overcome these additional difficulties, to cope with the task of supplying the population with food and moreover to fulfil the program set for the first year of the Five-Year Plan, is to be ascribed to the advantages afforded by the Socialist economic system and to the correct policy of the Party

in the supervision of the national economy.

Here I wish to point out how enormously important as far as concerns the strength of the Soviet state is the fact of its possession of material and food reserves. Without reserves planned economic development would be impossible. Material reserves are a powerful means of overcoming all sorts of difficulties and serve as a sure guarantee against the eventualities and unexpected development of all kinds which may confront us in the course of our economic progress. That is why the Party attaches special importance to the accumulation of state reserves.

In dealing with the difficulties attending our development mention should be made first and foremost of the difficulties encountered in procuring manpower for industry, building and transport. These difficulties arose even before the war and were aggravated by the war.

The absence of unemployment in the USSR has created totally new conditions for the development of industry and transport from the point of view of the supply of manpower.

Under capitalism employers draw the manpower they require from the reserve army of unemployed, which swells during periods of crisis, contracts somewhat in boom periods, but never disappears so long as the bourgeois system exists. This army is a constant concomitant of capitalism. The reserve army of unemployed is swelled by impoverished peasants, driven into industry by the fear of hunger, by impoverished urban petty-bourgeois elements—handicraftsmen, petty traders—compelled in the end to sell their labour power to the capitalists.

Socialism has eliminated these sources of the replenishment of manpower reserves, that involve untold hardships for the working people. We no longer witness the flight of the peasant to the towns. We have no impoverished petty-bourgeoisie in our towns. There is no longer any

spontaneous influx of manpower.

On the other hand, extended Socialist reproduction is unthinkable without the steady numerical growth of the working class. Our industry and transport require constantly increasing contingents of workers. In the Five-Year Plan period the number of workers and office employees in the USSR should increase by more than six million. The enrolment of new workers into industry, transport and building is therefore one of the decisive conditions for the fulfilment of our plan to rehabilitate and develop the national economy. This task, no easy one even under normal conditions, becomes all the more complicated in the post-war period when our losses in manpower during the war inevitably begin to tell, moreover since these losses were at the expense of the most active sections of the Soviet working population.

That is why the Party and the Soviet state are devoting special attention to the planned distribution of manpower and to finding new sources from which the supply of manpower can be replenished. Unless the necessary reserves of manpower are built up, there can be no development of socialist industry. Hence the building up of state manpower reserves, the training of fresh contingents of workers in vocational training establishments and factory schools, as well as their distribution in planned fashion in accordance with the requirements of the various branches of the national economy—all these are questions of the special concern of the Party. The Five-Year Plan makes provision for the training of four and a half million workers under this system.

But we are also confronted with difficulties of another nature. In connection with the international situation as it has taken shape after the war, we cannot count on the import of any substantial quantity of the equipment, we need and must therefore to a still greater degree depend on our own resources. This entails additional efforts in organising the home

manufacture of new types of industrial equipment which under more normal International conditions we could import from abroad.

All these difficulties cannot but tend to retard the pace of our development, the completion of new industrial plans and the carrying out of our plans of capital construction.

Serious difficulties have also to be overcome in agriculture. The war temporarily held up the development of our socialist agriculture, weakened its material and technical base. Our industry, diverted to the satisfaction of war needs, was compelled to discontinue the production of tractors and greatly to reduce the output of farming machinery, spare parts and fuel for agriculture. The war years saw a decline in the areas under crops and a deterioration in the quality of land cultivation; crop yields fell, the cattle population decreased and the yield of livestock likewise fell. To these difficulties engendered by the war there were added the difficulties arising out of the drought which gripped certain areas of the country in 1946.

Faced with this situation the Party adopted a number of special measures designed to facilitate the development of agriculture and to consolidate the collective farm system. In February 1947 the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) adopted a detailed resolution on measures for the development of agriculture in the post-war period. The Party's main concern with regard to agriculture at the present time is to achieve the organisational and economic strengthening of the collective farms and to extend the material and technical resources available for agriculture. Violation of the Collective Farm Rules, which was detrimental to the collective farms was resolutely cut short by the Party and steps were taken to improve the organisation and payment of labour on the collective farms. At the same time the Party is taking steps to increase the output of tractors, combine harvesters and other agricultural machines, as well as of mineral fertilizers

necessary for agriculture.

The Central Committee's decision outlines a detailed program for the development of agriculture in the post-war period. It enumerates ways and means of increasing the output of grain and technical crops (cotton, sugar-beet, hemp, etc.), of improving cattle-raising, of improving the quality of land cultivation, improving the work of machine and tractor stations and state farms. The decision also formulates the tasks confronting socialist industry in providing technical equipment for agriculture. All of these measures are designed to strengthen rapidly and develop agriculture in our country and consolidate the collective farm system. Agriculture must be developed to a degree that will enable us in the shortest possible time to create an abundance of food for the population and raw materials for industry, and to accumulate the necessary state reserves of food and raw materials.

The Soviet peasantry responded to these measures of the Party and the government by a mighty wave of labour enthusiasm which had a favourable effect on the fulfilment of the agricultural program for 1947. Socialist competition for high crop yields in 1947 developed throughout the country, embracing the widest sections of collective farmers. The government established special awards for foremost workers in agriculture and cattle farming, conferring on them the title of Hero of Socialist Labour and awarding them various decorations.

This year's spring sowing was carried out successfully and some 8 million hectares were added to the crop area as compared with last year's figure.

Harvesting this year proceeded with similar success, in a more organised fashion and at a more rapid pace. The same can be said of the grain deliveries now in progress.

Preliminary figures indicate that this year our agriculture has made an important step forward in solving the grain

problem, in building up state reserves of food and raw material. A new step has been taken in strengthening the collective farms. This creates the necessary conditions for the further improvement in the supply of food for the population of industrial areas.

The successes scored by agriculture create the conditions for abolishing the rationing system throughout the Soviet Union this year. Rationing was indispensable during the war, fought on to large a scale, when we had to cut down consumption in the rear in order to ensure a regular supply of food for the army at the front. Now that the war is over and the army demobilized, the need for the rationing system has disappeared and it must be eliminated. The Soviet state can return to normal trade and to an all-round development of production and consumption. The drought in certain areas and the decrease in state food stocks made it necessary to postpone the abolition of rationing from 1946 to 1947. The Soviet government has already introduced a number of measures to eliminate the existence of different prices with a view to preparing for the abolition of rationing.

Our work in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan constitutes the initial stage in the carrying out of the tasks which Comrade Stalin placed before the Soviet people. These tasks are to secure a new and mighty development of the national economy which would enable us to raise the level of industry approximately threefold as compared with the pre-war standard.

In the next three Five-Year Plan periods we must make it possible for our industry to produce annually up to 50 million tons of pig iron, up to 60 million tons of steel, up to 500 million tons of coal and up to 60 million tons of oil.

II. Problems of Building the Party

The chief and most characteristic feature in the life of our Party, the foundation of all its successes, is its indisputable authority among the people of our country and the unlimited support which the Party's policy enjoys among the Soviet people. The Party's correct policy made for the firm moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

This enabled our Party to organise the defeat at the enemy in the Patriotic War and to rally the entire nation to the successful fulfilment of the work of eliminating the terrible aftermath of the war.

The moral and political unity of the Soviet people found profound and clear-cut expression in the victory of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR held last year, and in this year's elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics. The elections were held amidst tremendous political

enthusiasm, and once more demonstrated the unbounded confidence and support enjoyed by our Party among the people.

The war demanded of our people enormous sacrifices and severe hardships. It is but natural that during the war the vital material and cultural requirements of our people could be met only to a limited degree. The transfer from war to peace makes it incumbent upon us, therefore, to introduce measures aimed at abolishing these limitations and at satisfying all the material and cultural requirements of the people. At the same time during, and since the end of the war, there has been a steady rise in the political and cultural level of the masses. The Soviet people want to be able to satisfy all their requirements, both material and cultural.

All of this makes new and more serious demands on the Party, as regards the level of Party leadership and the quality of the work of the Party organisations.

In the light of these new demands and in connection with the conclusion of the war and the transition to peace-time conditions, it was necessary seriously to reshape the work of the Party organisations. This proved all the more necessary since certain shortcomings in the work of Party organisations came to the surface, which remained unnoticed during the war. First and foremost these shortcomings concern organisational and ideological activities.

The successes of our Party and the test which Party and Soviet cadres withstood during the war do not in the least justify any attempt to rest and to be content with what has been achieved to date. On the contrary, the new tasks of economic and cultural development confronting our country after the war, as well as the entire international situation, insistently demand that the CPSU (B) constantly raise the level of all Party and ideological and educational activities.

One of the prime tasks in this connection is improving the

work of our Party organisations. During the war Party organisations performed a tremendous job in organising work behind the lines and in the transfer of industry to war purposes. Under wartime conditions Party organisations were often compelled to take upon themselves the work of economic administration. This was correct in the conditions then existing. However, we could not but notice that this gave rise also to certain negative phenomena in the work of Party organisations, led to a weakening of inner Party activities, and at the same time tended to have Party organisations perform the work of state and economic bodies. Thus one of the fundamental principles of Bolshevik leadership was violated.

At present the Party has formulated as one of its major tasks that of strengthening local Party bodies and of improving the work of Party organisations. To raise the level of inner-Party work as well as the level of Bolshevik leadership in state and economic activities—this is one of the major tasks of inner-Party work in the present stage.

The fulfilment of these tasks is intimately associated with the development of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism which constitute a basic requisite for the development of our Party.

The Party regards as a main task the further strengthening of the Soviet state, perfection of the administrative apparatus and improvement of its work.

During the war the state apparatus contributed in no small share to the proper fulfilment of the directives issued by the Party and Soviet government. The results of the Party's work in building up a flexible and efficient state apparatus, in training cadres of state officials devoted to the cause of the Party and possessing necessary knowledge and organisational ability, were clearly brought out in this situation.

At present administrative bodies are bringing to the fore economic and organisational as well as cultural and educational

activities; they are striving to achieve improved observance of Soviet laws, are combating the remnants of the proprietary outlook, and are working for the further consolidation of socialist property and for higher discipline in all spheres of activity.

In these conditions the Party has adopted measures for the further strengthening of the organs of State power, for increasing their organising role in the solution of economic and cultural tasks and for achieving still closer contact between Soviet administrative bodies and the masses.

In the near future elections will take place to local Soviets of Working People's Deputies. These elections should serve considerably to improve the work of local Soviet bodies.

The new tasks in Party and state activities that have arisen after the war have placed higher requirements on Party cadres and have very sharply advanced the necessity of enhancing the ideological level and general efficiency of Party and Soviet cadres. The training and perfection of Party and Soviet personnel is one of the vital problems on the solution of which the Party is now working. This training is aimed at helping millions of party and administrative workers to master Marxist-Leninist science, to equip them with a knowledge of the laws of social development, of the country's economy and its economic policy, and also to give them an understanding of the problems of international politics and Soviet foreign policy.

With the aim in view of providing means for a serious improvement in the political and theoretical development of Party and Soviet workers, the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) has decided that in the coming three or four years the basic Party and Soviet cadres in the various republics, territories, regions, cities and districts shall be provided the opportunity of attending Party schools and study courses. In this connection much has been done to reorganise the network of Party schools and courses. We have established a higher Party school with, a

three-year term of study for the purpose of training Party and Soviet workers for republican and regional institutions, At present some one thousand students attend this school. In addition study courses of nine months' duration have been organised at the higher Party school for the purpose of providing additional training for young secretaries of regional Party committees, chairmen of regional Soviets, editors of regional newspapers, etc. These courses are attended by over 500 students.

In the various republics and regions 177 two-year Party schools and nine-month courses have been organised. They have a total student body of some 30,000 Party, Soviet, Young Communist League workers and newspaper editors.

The Central Committee of the CPSU (B) has established an Academy of Social Sciences for the purpose of training cadres possessing thorough knowledge of Marxist theory, for central Party institutions, for the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and for regional committees. The Academy also trains qualified university instructors and persons for scientific research institutions and scientific journals. The Academy's curriculum provides for training specialists in the following subjects: political economy, economics and politics of foreign countries, the theory of state and law, international law, history of the USSR, general history, international relations, history of the CPSU (B), dialectical and historical materialism, history of Russian and West European philosophy, logics and psychology, literature, art. The term of study is three years. At present there are some 300 students in the Academy.

Our Party's membership substantially increased during and after the war.

Despite very heavy losses of Party members at the fronts during the Patriotic War, the Party's membership has increased rather than decreased. Before the war the Party totalled

3,800,000 members and candidates: at present its membership amounts to 6,300,000. Approximately half of the Party members joined the CPSU (B) during or after the war.

The history of the Party affords no parallel for such a rapid growth. The overwhelming majority of new members joined our ranks at a time when our country was subjected to mortal danger, in other words the most persevering elements of the people came to our ranks.

The great numerical growth of the Party and its changed composition have advanced very sharply the question of improving the work of political education of Party members. A considerable section of Party members, particularly those who joined the Party in recent years have not as yet been able to receive the necessary political training. There appeared a certain disproportion between the numerical growth of the Party and the level at political education of members and candidates of the CPSU (B). In view of this the Party is now aiming, not at accelerating a further increase in membership, but rather at the political education of members and candidates, emphasising the need to raise the political level of Party members, for, in the final analysis, quality is more important than quantity.

Of tremendous significance in the work of raising the ideological and political level of Party members and in providing Communist education for the working people, is the study of the biographies of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, which is now being developed on a wide scale.

In 1946 we resumed the publication of the Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, interrupted during the war, and began the publication of the works of J. V. Stalin. Each of these editions is being printed in 500,000 copies.

In addition, over 90 million copies of Marxist-Leninist classical works have been published since the end of the war. The Short Biography of J. V. Stalin has been published in an

edition of one million copies. An edition of the History of the CPSU (B), Short Course, published since the end of the war reaches 10 million copies, thus bringing the total issue of this work since it was first published, to over 30 million copies.

The task of building Communism in our country is indissolubly linked up with the task of the Communist education of the working people. In conditions of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. Communist education and the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people assume decisive importance. Following the defeat and abolition of the remnants of the exploiting classes in our country, the international bourgeoisie were deprived of any base whatsoever within the Soviet Union for their struggle against the Soviet state. But, they strive to utilise for their own purposes the survivals of capitalism in the minds of Soviet people—the remnants of a proprietary psychology, the survivals of bourgeois morals, the obsequious attitude of certain individuals toward Western bourgeois culture, manifestations of nationalism, etc.

Among the tasks of ideological and political work special mention should be made of the task of cultivating and developing Soviet patriotism.

“The power of Soviet patriotism”, Comrade Stalin teaches us “consists in that it has as its foundation not racial or nationalistic prejudices. but the profound devotion and fidelity of the people to their Soviet homeland, the fraternal commonwealth of the working people of all nations of our country. Soviet patriotism provides a harmonious combination of the national traditions, of the people and the general vital interests of all working people of the Soviet Union”.

The development of Soviet patriotism is intimately connected with the struggle against manifestations of nationalistic narrowness and chauvinism. The Party educates the Soviet people in the spirit of respect for other peoples and

for their right to Independent development.

In the recent period the Party had to wage a resolute struggle against various manifestations of an obsequious and servile attitude toward Western bourgeois culture. Displayed in certain sections of our intelligentsia, this attitude represents one of the remnants of the accursed past of Tsarist Russia. The Party had to deal a resolute blow against several specific manifestations of this attitude, since these manifestations represent, in the present stage, a serious danger to the interests of the Soviet state, inasmuch as the agents of international reaction, in order to weaken the Soviet state, seek to utilise people infected with a feeling of servility toward bourgeois culture.

The October Revolution liberated the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement to foreign capital. Soviet power has for the first time made our country a free and independent state. Having carried out a cultural revolution and having created its own Soviet state, our people torn asunder the bonds of material and spiritual dependence on the bourgeois West. The Soviet Union became the bulwark of world civilisation and progress.

How was it that under such conditions there were manifestations of servility and obsequiousness to everything foreign? The roots of such unpatriotic conduct, manifestations and sentiments should be taught in the survivals of the accursed past inherited from Tsarist Russia—survivals which still exercise pressure on the minds of a certain section of our intellectuals. Foreign capitalists who held such secure positions in Tsarist Russia, in every way supported and cultivated in Russia the conception that the Russian people were inferior in their cultural and spiritual development. The ruling classes of Tsarist Russia, divorced as they were from the people, had no faith in the creative abilities of the Russian people and ruled out the possibility that Russia by her own resources could

emerge from her state of backwardness. This gave rise to the incorrect conception that Russians must, allegedly, always be the “pupils” of West European “teachers”.

The survivals of these old capitalist conceptions are being used today by agents of American and British imperialism who spare no effort in their attempt to find within the USSR support for their espionage and their anti-Soviet propaganda. The agents of foreign espionage services are bending every effort to seek out weak and vulnerable points among certain unstable sections of our intelligentsia who still bear the stamp of the old lack of faith in their own forces and are infected with the disease of servility to everything foreign. Such people become an easy prey for foreign espionage services.

The spearhead of the Party’s ideological work in present day conditions is directed at undeviatingly overcoming the remnants of bourgeois ideology, at heightening Bolshevik irreconcilability towards ideological distortions of every nature. In this connection great importance should be attached to the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) regarding ideological and political activities (the CC decision on the magazines “Zvezda” and “Leningrade”, on the repertoire of theatres, etc.), and to the discussion on problems of philosophy recently held on the initiative of the Central Committee.

The measures adopted by the Central Committee have as their aim the triumph of a militant Soviet patriotic spirit among scientists and art workers. They are thus aimed at strengthening adherence to Party principles in science, literature and art and at raising to new and higher levels all vehicles of Socialist culture—the press, propaganda, science, literature and art.

In emphasising the great role of literature and art as a means of social reorganisation, their role in the Communist education of the people, particularly in the correct education of the youth, in training a vigorous young generation imbued with

faith in the cause of Communism, a generation undaunted by obstacles and prepared to surmount all barriers, the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) stressed that Soviet writers, artists and cultural workers can have no other interests save the interests of the people and of the state. That is why all advocacy of art devoid of ideas, of art without politics, of »art for art's sake«, is alien to Soviet literature, harmful to the interests of the Soviet people and state and must not find a place in our books and periodicals. The Central Committee of the CPSU (B) pointed out that in our country creative work in literature and art must be guided by Soviet policy, which constitutes the vital basis of the Soviet country,

The decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) cautioned those active in the sphere of Soviet culture against a servile attitude towards bourgeois literature and art which are now in a state of marasmus and disintegration.

The Central Committee particularly stressed the importance of developing to the utmost objective criticism based on principles, without which it is impossible to ensure the further development of Soviet literature and art. In order to foster the development of criticism of shortcomings in various fields of ideological activities, the Central Committee of the

CPSU (B) established a new paper "Culture and Life", the organ of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CC CPSU (B).

As a result of the discussion on philosophical problems recently held on the initiative of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) in connection with G. F. Alexandrov's book "The History of West European Philosophy", a number of defects in our work on the theoretical front were brought to the surface, particularly with regard to the elaboration of problems of the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. With a view to eliminating these defects and in order to facilitate the further improvement of scientific and theoretical research in the philosophy of

Marxism-Leninism, publication was begun of a new magazine, "Problems of Philosophy".

At present the Central Committee is working on the preparation of a new program of the CPSU (B). The existing program of the CPSU (B) is clearly out of date and must be substituted by a new one. Together with elaborating a new program work is being conducted to introduce changes in the Party's Statutes. The situation both in the country and in the Party has in recent years changed to such an extent that a number of articles of the Statutes have become obsolete.

III. The Foreign Policy of the CPSU (B)

As a result of the victorious war against fascism the positions of Socialism and democracy have been strengthened, and those of the imperialist camp weakened.

One of the major results of the Second World War is the strengthening of the USSR and the establishment in a number of countries of new democracy systems under the leadership of the working class.

The defeat of Germany and Japan signify the weakening of the imperialist camp and the further aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Of the capitalist countries, the USA emerged from the war considerably strengthened, while her partners, Great Britain and France, were weakened by the war.

In a situation in which America's chief competitors, Germany and Japan, have been removed and Great Britain and France weakened, the USA adopted a new openly expansionist policy aimed at establishing American world supremacy.

In these new post-war conditions relations between the war allies who collaborated in the war against fascist Germany and imperialist Japan. are changing. Two opposite trends in

international politics have taken shape.

One is the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the new democracies. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the democratic countries is designed to undermine imperialism, secure a stable democratic peace among the nations and generally strengthen amicable cooperation among the peace-loving nations.

In following this line, our foreign policy is supported by the increased international significance of the Soviet state and the new democracies.

The other trend in international politics is headed by the ruling clique of American imperialists. In their efforts to consolidate the position which American monopoly capital gained in Europe and Asia during the war, this clique has taken the path of outright expansion, of enthralling the weakened capitalist states of Europe and the colonial and dependent countries. It has chosen the path of hatching new war plans against the USSR and the new democracies under the banner of combating the “Communist menace”. The clearest and most specific expression of this policy pursued by American capital is provided by the Truman-Marshall plans.

Such are the two trends in present-day international politics.

The wise Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Union, both prior to the war and in the course of its conduct, enabled us correctly to utilise the contradictions existing within the imperialist camp, and this was one of the important factors making for our victory in the war.

We proceed from the fact that the co-existence of two systems—capitalism and socialism—is inevitable for a long period of time, and we follow the line of maintaining loyal good-neighbourly relations with all states manifesting a desire for friendly cooperation on the condition that the principle of reciprocity is observed and that obligations undertaken are

fulfilled. The USSR, true to its international treaties and obligations, pursues this policy with the utmost consistency and firmness.

But at the same time we are prepared to repel any policy hostile to the Soviet Union, no matter from what quarter it comes. The Soviet Union together with the democratic countries invariably exposes all enemies of peace, all foes of friendship among the nations, all enemies of international cooperation on a democratic basis. It combats all attempts by hostile imperialist circles to discriminate against the USSR and the new democracies, belittle their importance or ignore them in the solution of major questions of international policy, weave intrigues against the USSR and the new democracies, and set up hostile blocs and groupings.

The CPSU (B) clearly and distinctly sees the danger of the reorientation now being effected by certain former war allies of the USSR. We see that the USA and Great Britain, having abandoned the obligations they undertook in the course of the Second World War, are playing a game fraught with great danger and are seeking new allies among anti-democratic sections in Germany and Japan, in anti-democratic Turkey, monarchist-fascist Greece, are condoning Franco Spain, encouraging the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia, supporting the reactionary regime in China, etc. At the same time, with regard to such truly democratic countries which have made major contributions to the defeat of Germany, such countries as Yugoslavia and Poland, the USA and Great Britain are pursuing a terrorist policy of slander and discrimination, of unceremonious bullying, of interference in the internal affairs of these countries, of openly supporting anti-democratic and anti-government elements within these countries. etc. Propaganda for a third world war is becoming ever more brazen and outspoken. Plans of fresh aggression, plans for a new war against the USSR and the new democracies, are being

hatched. The ruling circles of the USA are coming out as the initiators of new openly expansionist plans.

It goes without saying that we must differentiate between the desires of these would-be aggressors to wage war and the possibilities of actually unleashing a war. Imitating the Hitlerites, the new aggressors are using blackmail and extortion as one of the principal means of influencing the weak-nerved and unstable.

We oppose to the plans of American and British imperialists the friendly cooperation of the Soviet Union and democratic countries, primarily the new democracies. The USSR calmly and confidently rebuffs all attempts at blackmail and keeps a watchful eye on all suspicious manoeuvres of its erstwhile allies belonging to the imperialist camp, in order not to allow itself to be tricked.

With regard to countries that have proven true friends and loyal allies of the Soviet state—the new democracies—the USSR is always prepared to come to their assistance, and actually does so by rendering them extensive aid and firmly defending their interests.

The USSR and the new democracies pursue a policy of unswerving support with regard to colonial and dependent countries fighting for their national liberation from the yoke of imperialism.

Such are the foundations of the foreign policy of the CPSU (B).

Inasmuch as antagonistic classes have been eliminated in the USSR and the moral and political unity of Soviet society has been achieved, all the sharpness of the class struggle, as far as the USSR is concerned, has now been shifted to the international scene. Here we witness competition between two systems—the capitalist and socialist systems. Here our Party has to test its arms in battle against case-hardened bourgeois politicians.

The CPSU (B) devotes much attention to problems of foreign policy and shows special concern for the selection and proper training of cadres capable of putting into effect the Party's line in the sphere of foreign policy.

The Party devotes much attention to equipping its cadres with the knowledge of the laws of international development, with an understanding of the international situation. It teaches them to defend the interests of the socialist state on the international scene, to distinguish between friend and foe, detect the insidious designs and methods of the imperialists and their agents.

During the war and in the period following it, the political, ideological and cultural contact of the USSR with the working class movement and genuine democratic progressive circles and organisations throughout the world, and particularly in Europe, grew and became stronger.

After the war Soviet public organisations received extensive possibilities actively to participate in international trade union and other democratic organisations, and to develop friendly contact with national democratic organisations in the vast majority of countries.

The active participation of the Soviet trade unions and other public bodies in international democratic organisations is of assistance to our fraternal Communist Parties in their struggle for the unity of the labour and democratic movement abroad. Our participation counteracts the splitting activities of the right-wing Socialists and other enemies of unity, facilitates the growth and consolidation of progressive organisations, and, at the same time, strengthens the international influence of the USSR.

Our cultural and political contact with democratic organisations in various countries, exercised in different forms, helps to spread the truth about the socialist slate, strengthens the influence of the Soviet Union and facilitates the activities

of democratic organisations.

In concluding my report I wish to dwell on the question of contact between Communist Parties. As is generally known, following the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, contact between fraternal Communist Parties was interrupted. Experience has shown that lack of contact between Communist Parties deprives both the CPSU (B) and other Communist Parties of the opportunity to exchange necessary and mutual information and elaborate common views on the cardinal questions of the labour and Communist movements.

The absence of contact between Communist Parties is a hindrance in coordinating the actions of Communists in various countries in their resistance to the plans of the imperialists particularly now, when American monopoly capital is organising an offensive against Communism and democracy, against the USSR and the new democracies. developing its expansionist plans with the intention, under the guise of »aid«, of enslaving a number of European and other countries, and when Communists are called upon to define their attitude to these plans of American imperialism.

In our opinion it is necessary to put into effect definite measures designed to eliminate the present abnormal situation in this respect.

That is why we consider it necessary to discuss at the present conference both the international situation and the question of improving contact between Communist Parties, of establishing regular connections between them with a view to achieving mutual understanding, exchange of experience and voluntary coordination of activities of the Communist Parties whenever they consider this necessary.

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JACQUES DUCLOS. THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY, AGAINST AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM[†]

First of all, allow me on behalf of the Communist Party of France to express our joy and deep emotion at meeting with the representatives of the fraternal Communist Parties. We are particularly happy to salute here the outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik Party, the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, to which we owe so much. Before passing over to an analysis of the

[†] Informative report delivered by Comrade j. Duclos at the Conference of representatives of a number of the Communist Parties held at the end of September 1947 in Poland.

situation in which we have to work in France I want, in the name of the French Communist Party, to express our gratitude and boundless affection for Comrade Stalin.

The situation in France has changed during the last few months. Reaction has intensified its offensive against the working class and democracy. This is borne out by the following facts: the Communists have been removed from the government; the conditions of life of the working people have deteriorated; the rehabilitation of France is being sabotaged in order to help the American imperialists gain control of our economy; the government is pursuing a policy of colonial war; in its foreign policy France has actually joined the Western bloc and is showing a growing tendency of becoming a satellite of the Anglo-Saxons; considerable unrest and profound dissatisfaction prevail in the country, which is leading to a mass movement among the working class.

Such are the conditions in which preparations for the municipal elections, to be held on October 19th, are taking place.

I. The Economic Situation in the Country

America's interference in the political life of France is becoming ever more obvious and will, unquestionably extend with the forthcoming elections.

Having outlined the main questions I shall now dwell in

detail on the development of industry since the liberation of France.

Our Party, which was one of the leading forces in the resistance movement during the occupation and hence has won great authority among the masses of France, launched a nationwide campaign at the beginning of 1945 to increase industrial output. This campaign was the underlying theme of the 10th Congress of our Party, held in June 1945.

Maurice Thorez appealed to the miners, and the results were soon apparent. On the whole France's industrial production has made giant strides compared with 1945 as can be seen from the following table. Taking 1938 at 100 we have the following index in the development of industry:

	first half		
	1945	1946	1947
Electric power	94	120	136
Iron ore	40	49	56
Bauxite	36	66	95
Pig iron	30	70	73
Steel	27	71	94
Locomotives	100	230	140
Railway cars	84	157	100
Automobiles	32.3	62.7	80.2

Lorries	73	145	170
Cement	42	95	105
Basic chemical products:			
lowest index	22	53	86
highest index	40	100	136
Textile industry:			
lowest index	20	65	66
highest index	69	144	174

Thus France's industry has practically reached 95% of the pre-war level. We could have topped the figure had we received more coal from the Ruhr.

In the nationalised industries, which are forging ahead, we have the following index compared with the pre-war level: electric power—136%; coal—108%; railroads (national association of railways)—120% (despite the shortage of rolling stock).

However, it should be noted that, starting in May there has been a certain downward trend in industrial output.

The index for the first half of 1947 was extremely promising, thanks to the high productivity of labour for the first quarter of the year. However, the policy pursued by the government, has dealt a blow to the production drive of the working class. The removal of the Communists from the government has heightened the dissatisfaction of the masses. Latest reports show that the reactionary policy of the

government is responsible for the decline in production, a fact which is causing alarm even among certain employers.

Thus, it can be stated that France's industry was on the upward grade at the beginning of 1947, and had favourable perspectives. However, the same does not hold true for agriculture where the situation is critical. France is experiencing a serious food crisis. The bread ration has been reduced to 200 grams a day (only 2% of the flour is sifted and 20-30% of it is mixed with maize). Here it should be noted that even this inadequate ration can be preserved only if grain is imported. Instead of the 1,800,000 tons of grain requested, the International Office allocated France only 820,000 tons. This means that the problem of France's grain supplies is by no means solved.

The reduced bread ration has been the cause of strikes and demonstrations and generally speaking has evoked bitter discontent among the population. It will not be easy to get grain deliveries from the farmers who have grown mistrustful. This is explained by the fact that after, delivering grain last year they, themselves, remained without bread for many months.

Prior to the war France had enough wheat to cover her own needs, even a surplus of it. The question naturally arises: why the present wheat shortage in France? When replying to this question it is necessary to note, first and foremost, that due to frosts and droughts the harvest has been a poor one, as can be gathered from the following figures:

	Wheat crops	Amount placed (in centners) on the market
1939-1940	73,000,000	40,000,000
1946-1947	67,000,000	44,000,000
1947-1948	35,000,000	15,000,000

But there are other reasons, primarily the decrease in the

area sown to wheat. On the average:

5,217,000 hectares were sown to in 1930-1939; 3,783,000 hectares in 1944-1945; 4,131,000 hectares in 1945-1946; 3,326,000 hectares in 1946-1947.

This decrease in the cultivated area is due to the low prices on wheat. In 1945 the price for wheat (fixed in agreement with the peasants on the basis of expenditures connected with its production) was 819 francs per centner. The official price was 700, francs. At the same time prices on cereals reached up to 900-1,000 francs per centner. In 1946 the farmers demanded 1,200 francs per centner for wheat; the official price was 1,003 francs, whereas cereals sold at 1,500 to 2,000 francs per centner and maize, imported from the United States netted up to 1,400-1,500 francs per centner. In 1947 wheat is selling at 1,800 francs per centner (government price), and cereals at an even higher price than before.

The government should have undertaken a drive to obtain five million hectares sown to wheat but it has failed to do it effectively. Actually our Party is leading the battle for five million hectares and we have made it one of the main slogans in our election campaign. We claim that the independence of our country is closely linked with the solution of the problem.

The extension of the wheat area is obviously being sabotaged, which is in keeping with the pro-American policy. In 1944 Andre Philip saw to the decrease of the sown area in Algiers, while the Minister of Agriculture, Tanguy-e-Prigent was informed in September 1946 in Copenhagen by the American representatives that conditions in France favoured the cultivation of flowers rather than the production of grain. Thus, the present food policy meets the interests of the big wheat producing countries such as the USA and Canada, but does not in the least promote the interests of France, with the result that she is now dependent, to a certain extent, on the USA for bread supplies.

Apart from grain France is also short of meat, which is exported and which is a source of the most outrageous speculation. What's more, the increasing consumption of meat in the countryside has led to a decrease in meat supplies in the city. France also has not got enough fats. As to wines it has just been placed on the free market.

In view of the fact that the shortage of wheat has presented the problem of its purchase in USA, which means dollar payments, imports have been restricted to the following essential commodities:

Cereals 138 million dollars
Coal 92 million dollars
Fats 15 million dollars.

The total sum on purchases, including other products, reached 293 million dollars for one quarter.

As for our dollar expenditures for the purchase of coal, here it should be pointed out that these expenditures are due to the inadequate coal deliveries from the Ruhr, as illustrated by the following figures:

Coal deliveries
To France Ruhr U.S.A.
tons tons
March 151,505 571,791
April 164,000 785,000
July 174,396 1,215,827
August 1,683,000

We are paying 2,400 francs per ton for American coal and 2,140 francs for Ruhr coal. What's more American coal does not meet the demands of our industry: we need Ruhr coke for our blast furnaces.

Compared with 1938 our operating blast furnaces are working only at 73% of their capacity. Already then the saboteurs in the Comite de Forges (association of mining and metallurgical industrialists), as a means of helping Hitler, had only three-fourths of the total number of our blast furnaces operating.

And so, France has been placed at the mercy of the United States for everything that concerns bread for our people and bread for our industry.

A campaign is now underway in France to subordinate completely the country to the United States among; among the reasons advanced is that France will not be able to pull through without American aid. This is a cardinal political problem, which I'll return to later. I shall now give some examples characterising France's financial position.

We have to buy wheat and coal, but France has no more dollars; the 60 million dollars we reckoned on are now lost to us because the convertibility of the pound sterling has been suppressed. In London our Minister of Finance asked for the remaining 250 million dollars or the 500 million dollar credit granted by the International Bank, John Mac Cloy, the Director of the Bank, came to Paris to check up on how the 250 million dollars, earlier received, had been spent. As yet we do not know the answer to France's request for the remaining sum, but it is obvious that it will not be satisfied.

I think it would be of interest to show the trend at France's foreign, trade. The following figures refer to the first half of 1947.

Of the total imports to the sum of 125,978 million francs 15,000,000,000 fall on imports from the USA. Imports from other countries are distributed as follows:

francs

Belgium-Luxemburg Union	7,776 million
Argentina	7,267 “
Germany	6,820 “
Great Britain	5,550 “
Australia	4,994 “
Switzerland	4,185 “
Canada	3,724 “
Brazil	3,232 “
Total	43, 538 million
Czechoslovakia	1,105 million
Poland	385 “
USSR	345 “
Yugoslavia	137 “
Bulgaria	142 “

Hungary	504 “
Rumania	337 “
Total	2,955 million

As far as France's exports are concerned, they reached 64,558 million francs in the first half of 1947 of which 3,223 million fell on exports to the USA; this does not in the least compare with the imports from that country, to the value of 45,000,000,000 francs.

Exports to other countries are distributed as follows:

Belgium-Luxemburg Union	13,526 million
Switzerland	7,092 “
Great Britain	6,309 “
Holland	4,243 “
Sweden	3,166 “
Germany	2,896 “
Argentina	2,074 “
Norway	2,022 “
Total	1,608.5 mill.

Czechoslovakia	1,032 million
Poland	258 “
Yugoslavia	184 “
Hungary	71 “
Rumania	40 “
Bulgaria	14 “
USSR	9.5 “
Total	1.608.5 mill.

Thus we have a deficit in our trade balance whereas our gold reserves are almost completely exhausted.

In 1939 the gold reserves of the French Bank totalled 2,1511 tons; in 1947, before the removal of the Communists from the government, the gold reserves reached 618 tons. Today the figure is only 394 tons.

Thus, since the removal of the Communists from the government the leakage of gold abroad has amounted to 224 tons, i.e. 30,000,000,000 francs.

There is great uneasiness among the masses regarding the possible devaluation of the francs. This is most probable if we take into account the fact that the amount of money in circulation is steadily increasing.

In April 770,000 million francs were in circulation, on

September, 4—854,000 million, i.e. an increase of 84,000 million francs.

The discrepancy here is that the increased circulation of money does not correspond to the parallel rise in production.

The state's expenditures are great. Military expenditures amount approximately to 280,000 million francs; the war in Indo-China is costing 100 million francs a day.

The ordinary budget of 617,000 million francs is theoretically balanced but the rise in prices may lead to a deficit. As far as the extraordinary budget is concerned the deficit here is 126,000 million francs.

Finally, in order to get an idea of the rise in prices the following figures are indicative; in April the price index was 837, whereas in August it reached 1068, that is to say, an increase of 27%.

The policy of raising prices has been carried out systematically since the removal of the Communists from the government. The decision to raise prices is sometimes taken without any demand for this on the part of the employers, and occasionally even contrary to the wishes. Such was the case in August of this year when the rise in prices nullified the 11% increase in wages, introduced at the beginning of the month. The price index has risen from 965 to 1068.

What are the conditions of the working class in France today? The living standard at the French worker has dropped by 50% compared with the pre-war level. His share in the national income has steadily decreased, despite the fact that the biggest contribution to production has been made by the worker. The living standard of the worker has not risen parallel with the increase in production,

The incomes of the capitalists, on the other hand, have increased. In 1945 the country's industrialists and merchants netted a profit of 17,000 million francs and in 1946 110,000 million francs.

This state of affairs has evoked justified discontent among the masses, all the more so that they have to bear the brunt of the new taxes. Our proposal to increase the tax on high profits was rejected. A new income tax has been introduced in addition to the existing tax on the earnings of workers and employees. This measure has started a protest movement among the people.

A certain section of the employers realise the full gravity of the situation to the future of industry and the rehabilitation of the country. With this in mind the Employers' National Federation signed an agreement with the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) on August 1, to increase wages by 11% without a general corresponding rise in prices. The agreement simply aimed to readjust prices by bringing some of them down and slightly raising others.

The government opposed this agreement. It raised the wages of the workers in the lowest brackets by 11%, regardless of the wage scale and issued a decree raising prices by approximately 11%.

Thus, the theoreticians of the vicious circle whom we combated adopted measures to show the futility of raising wages, to provoke the working people (Ramadier's speech in Limoges), to sabotage the development of industry, and to pave the way for the domination of American monopolies in France.

There undoubtedly are employers who fear for their capitalist interests. They are greatly alarmed by the fact that France is being prepared to play the role of a third-rate power.

We are closely following these developments and are making every effort **not to neglect any and every assistance to frustrate the plans of the American Imperialists, and to defend the independence of France.**

Such is the situation in France today, which is characterised by the following four factors: the sharpening of the class struggle; the resurgence of reaction; the open

interference of American imperialists in the policy of France.

In order to understand the reason for this state of affairs it is necessary to recall the march of events in France since its liberation.

II. The Ramadier Government in the Halter of the American Imperialists

During the war the bourgeoisie made doubly sure of their position. Part of them followed Petain, the other part de Gaulle. At the time of the occupation de Gaulle did not for a minute lose sight of the struggle against the Communists. He feared the action of the popular masses, for he realised that the Communists were the only party capable of leading a mass movement.

He therefore proclaimed the policy of wait and see. He did his utmost to deprive the Communists of arms. He took measures to turn the advance of the Allied troops not so much into effective operations against the invaders as into a means of safeguarding "order".

The question may be asked why was it not possible at the time of liberation to develop the offensive against the Petain traitors on a wider scale. Here it should not be forgotten that in August 1944 the war was being fought on French soil together with the Allied armies and the war against Hitler got priority, it was impossible to remove de Gaulle at the time. The fact that he headed the government was an obstacle to continuing the active struggle against German fascism, as was proved by the dissolution of the French Home Forces (FFI) at the end of August 1944.

Immediately on his return to France de Gaulle, basing himself on an alliance of Socialists and Catholics attempted to isolate the Communists and remove them from the

government. The Socialist Party facilitated the implementation of this policy. After some timid efforts to establish unity of action with us they entered the municipal elections of 1945 in alliance with the MRP (the Catholic party) and tried, in vain, to defeat the French Communist Party.

The defeat of the Socialists in the elections had a cooling effect on some of the leaders of this party, and they tried to come out against the MRP. However, Blum, who had just returned from Germany, addressing the congress of the Socialist Party in August 1945, called for an alliance between the Socialists and the MRP. To justify this alliance he cited a number of so-called theoretical arguments. He opposed dialectic materialism and defended “humane socialism” as against the class struggle; he proposed that the statutes of the Socialist Party be revised so as to make possible an agreement with the MRP.

By making the MRP a partner of the Socialists, Leon Blum enabled that party to call itself a “left” party. Actually, however, the MRP is merely a new form of organisation of reaction. The MRP tries to draw the line between itself and the former parties of the right, by presenting itself as the party of the resistance movement, by using demagogic social phraseology and by concealing, as much as possible, its essence as a catholic party.

After coming to an agreement on joint action the Socialists and the MRP then joined forces with de Gaulle and were thus able to restrict the rights of the Constituent Assembly. Taking advantage of the support of the Socialists, the MRP far outstripped Socialist Party at the general elections in October 1945.

However, despite the MRP’s successes, the Communist and Socialist Parties held the majority in the Constituent Assembly. Nonetheless when de Gaulle resigned in January 1946, the Socialist Party refused to form a government of Socialists and Communists and insisted on the inclusion of the

MRP in the government, which became the arbiter in government policy.

This policy could have been obstructed, firstly, by vigorous and consistent measures to nationalise the key industries if more favourable conditions than those permitting their partial realisation, and, secondly, by carrying out a real purge, which would have made it possible to reorganise the state apparatus fundamentally and ensure against a new offensive by the forces of reaction.

The position of the Socialist Party swung the vacillating elements in the MRP to the right, whereas a policy, based on unity of action between the Socialists and Communists, would have turned them to the left. As a result the Socialist Party lost its influence to a certain extent not to mention a considerable number of its members. Some Socialist leaders, however, place the defence of the bourgeoisie above all party considerations.

The Socialist Party lost ground at the elections of June 2, 1946. In view of the fact that in many departments no candidate of the extreme right parties ran for election the MRP was able to increase its vote. The Communist Party came second, leaving the Socialists far behind.

The MRP did not consider it possible at the time to form a government without the Communists. From the viewpoint of the internal political situation such action would have caused too much unrest among the masses, including the rank-and-file of the Socialist Party, as well as among all democrats. In the sphere of foreign policy the MRP was not so subservient to the U.S. as it is today.

At the elections of November 10, 1946 the Socialist Party suffered a fresh defeat. The MRP lost some votes whereas the Communist Party emerged the victor. Under the circumstances the Communist Party claimed the premiership.

The further course of events is known. Our candidate Maurice Thorez was not elected because twenty Socialists did

not cast their vote. The MRP candidate received an even smaller vote than that polled by the Communist Party candidate.

Reaction's plan at the time was not only to prevent us from heading the government, but to remove us altogether from it. As a result the one-party government of Blum was formed whose task was to introduce the period of governments without Communists.

In the sphere of foreign policy Leon Blum prepared the Franco-English agreement, the inclusion of our country in the Western bloc, and the war in Indo-China.

After the elections of the president of the Republic, the Blum government could not continue its existence. Ramadier formed a new government, which included also representatives of the Communist Party. On the home front the government proclaimed a policy of increasing the purchasing capacity of the masses. The foreign policy announced was most vague, but did not change the general trend pursued by France in this sphere.

As a means of increasing the purchasing capacity of the people Ramadier announced his intention to continue the policy of putting down prices, earlier introduced by the Blum government for demagogic purposes. This policy could have been successfully put into effect only by mobilising the masses, and particularly housewives' committees and industrial committees at the enterprises, to fight high prices.

The French Communist Party mobilised the masses to combat high prices. But the government, sabotaging the measures of the Communist ministers, gained the upper hand and were able to shake the confidence of the masses in the effectiveness of these measures,

In view of the failure of Blum's experiment to lower prices, the General Confederation of Labour, supporting the demands of many big trade unions, favoured the introduction of bonuses

in all branches of industry, which would have led to an increase in wages. Ramadier opposed this demand and in the beginning of May of this year raised the question of a vote of confidence. He utilised the question of bonuses as a pretext to remove Communists from the government.

It was a pretext similar to the one used on the occasion of the debate on the war against Viet Nam. It was obvious however that as far as Ramadier was concerned it was actually a question of carrying out the orders of the Americans, who demanded the removal of Communists from the government.

We should have from thence onwards brought main emphasis to bear not on the pretexts used to remove the Communists from the government, but on the essential factors determining this policy, namely, on the interference of the American imperialists in the political life of France.

Here it should be recognised that this was not done by us vigorously enough hence the somewhat uncertain position taken by our Party towards the Ramadier government after the May events.

The recent plenum of the Central Committee of our Party realising the danger inherent if we were to continue this unclear position emphasised the need to intensify the struggle against the anti-labour, pro-American policy of the Ramadier government.

A firmer stand by the French Communist Party toward the Ramadier government was all the more imperative since France's foreign policy, after the removal of Communists from the government, underwent profound changes.

The role played by Bidault in convening the conference of 16 countries to put into effect the so-called Marshall Plan, facilitated the transformation of our country, to our great regret and deep shame, into a mere instrument of American imperialist policy, which is directed simultaneously against the sovereignty and independence of nations and against the peace.

Despite the fact that our enemies try to impress upon us that France can not manage without American aid, there is a deep undercurrent of hostility in the country toward the US expansionism. Speculating with this aid our enemies are trying to compel us to agree to France being subordinated to the USA which by taking advantage of our economic difficulties, wants to turn France into a bridgehead of reaction in Europe. We are fighting against this policy, but unquestionably the struggle will have to be intensified.

Without doubt the European countries could by their own efforts, reciprocal agreements and trade exchange, secure their rehabilitation without American aid. A demonstration of this would make a profound impression.

III. For a Free, Independent France!

I shall now speak of the conditions in which our Party is beginning the new election campaign.

During the last few months our influence in the working class, in the peasant masses and among the urban middle classes has increased. That is why our enemies adopted an electoral law aimed at the Communists. By introducing proportional representation in the communes with a population exceeding 9,000 and the majority system in communes with a population below 9,000 they want to deprive us of the mayoralty even if we receive the majority of votes, and to effect on a local scale what was done on a state scale, namely, to remove the strongest party from leadership in the city councils.

We will have to wage a bitter struggle, all the more so that American imperialism, backing the French government, is dictating to it an anti-Communist policy which, by the force of events, is becoming an anti-French policy.

But our Party is strong. It enjoys great influence among different strata of the working people; if we intensify our struggle against the government's reactionary policy this can only further enhance our influence.

Strong discontent prevails in France, which has spread even to the government where Ramadier received only a narrow majority; thing that saved him was that the extreme right parties abstained from voting in the vote of confidence. Ramadier is clinging to power by pretending to favour a middle-of-the road policy in relation to de Gaulle and the Communists. We are exposing this manoeuvre, by showing that Ramadier is in fact pursuing a policy in the interests of de Gaulle.

De Gaulle is rallying former Vichy elements in his organisation the "Union of French People" and is using the people at his disposal in the different parties, that is, of course, except the Communist Party. De Gaulle has decided to run in the municipal elections, a fact which may cause serious damage to some of the parties. For our part this may afford us new possibilities to hamper the formation of an anti-Communist bloc, which is the dream of all, including Ramadier and de Gaulle, and to bring about the unification of workers and democratic forces.

De Gaulle is calculating on disorders in the country, and is sanctioning assassinations, the use of bombs, arson, the destruction of the crop to meet his ends. He is being assisted in this by former members of the LVF (volunteers of the German army), by fascists released from prison, by Vichy's former Gestapo police, by spies from BCRA (de Gaulle's intelligence service), all of whom have joined forces with him. The object of all these elements is to start disorders in the country and then to evoke a general desire for peace and order, which could be restored only by a "strong man".

We are fighting this policy and are, to an ever increasing

extent, being recognised by the masses as the party which upholds order, while Ramadier is being recognised as the man who is clearing the path for de Gaulle to power.

Attempts are being made to distort the essence of the forthcoming political struggle. Ramadier is doing this by declaring “de Gaulle or the Communists”. Our reply to this is “Democracy or Reaction”.

There can be no democracy without the Communists. Our tactic is to unite all the democratic forces who defend the national interests, to rally all elements who feel disturbed by the activities of de Gaulle.

However, France’s domestic policy today is determined by its foreign policy. Every act of the government reflects the pressure of the American imperialists, who insisted on the Communists being removed from the government so as to strengthen their domination over our country.

We have not renounced this policy of constant interference by American imperialism in the affairs of France vigorously enough. From the moment our Party was removed from the government on the insistence of the American imperialists, we should have taken the policy of a strong opposition to the Ramadier government. This would have made it possible to draw the attention of the masses to the critical situation in our country and to the intolerable pressure being brought to bear upon it from the outside.

Had we done so at the beginning of May we would have overcome the vacillation and indecision, which later expressed itself in the leadership of the mass movement.

Our Central Committee pointed out to these weaknesses and defined the line of our Party, calling upon it resolutely to head the movement of the masses and to spare no effort to make the movement a politically conscious one.

We are faced with the serious problem of uniting the broad masses in order to check the policy pursued by domestic

reaction, a policy which aims at doing away with national independence, and which is being put into effect under the leadership of the Socialist Ramadier. Ramadier's policy was the target of innumerable critical remarks at the recent congress of the Socialists in Lyons. However, it should be emphasised here that this criticism did not affect such cardinal problems as the defence of the sovereignty and independence of France, There is not the slightest desire among the leaders of the Socialist Party to protect the national interests at the country; on the other hand the policy of subservience to American imperialism is represented as an expression of progressive "Internationalism".

In the struggle to save the country from enslavement by American monopolies we hope to find allies among the rank and file members of the Socialist Party, as well as among its functionaries. We shall find also other allies, for there is no doubt whatsoever that the French people, and the same holds true for the peoples of other nations, will never agree to be shackled in the chains of slavery.

The forces of our Party are growing, following a period of certain stagnation; its great influence among the masses can be denied by none, Our Party recognises the full responsibility that falls upon its shoulders in view of the role France must play in international relations.

At its recent plenum the Central Committee decided to intensify the struggle on the ideological front. Measures have been taken to improve the work of the Party organisations and to raise the political level of the Party's membership, particularly by developing criticism and self-criticism.

Measures have also been taken to improve the contents of our newspapers and magazines, to increase its circulation. Plans have been drawn up for the systematic political education of our leading cadres, first and foremost of all the members of the Central Committee.

Thus, the Communist Party of France, rallying around its leadership, headed by Maurice Thorez, will spare no efforts to keep in step with the tasks facing the Party.

We support the proposal to establish contact between the Communist Parties, and I can assure you that the French Communists, conscious of their role as vigilant defenders of the sovereignty and independence of France, will, under the banner of Max-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, rise to the occasion.

(Pages 3, 4)

R. SLANSKY. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY¹

¹Report made at the conference at a number of Communist Parties at the end of September 1947 in Poland.

Czechoslovakia was the last country to be freed from fascist oppression. The liberation of Prague by the Red Army was completed on May 9, 1945, on the day victory over Germany was accomplished.

After its liberation, Czechoslovakia started to carry out a series of structural changes in her economic and political life. Comrade Gottwald described these changes as a national and democratic revolution.

In contrast to the national revolution of 1918, which was carried through under the leadership of the middle classes and which, finally, led to the formation of a bourgeois Czechoslovak state, the national and democratic revolution this time was headed by the working class and working people who were interested in putting into effect a consistent revolutionary policy, through the people.

In the course of the revolution, the working class secured a number of key positions and several of the changes made even transgressed the limits of the national and democratic revolution. As a result of these changes a new democratic rule was established in Czechoslovakia, and we call it the People's Democracy.

Czechoslovakia is comparatively a highly-developed industrial country and her industrial potential became even greater during the occupation. The specific importance of the working class is considerable. The Communist Party grew after the liberation into a mass party, and now numbers at the end of September) 1,172,000 members. The Communist Party has a strong majority among the working class and is also the strongest party in the countryside.

The leading role of the Communists in the National Front is based on the strength of the Communist Party and on its authority among the people. The Communist Party was the only one of all the political parties which not only bore no responsibility for the Munich capitulation but which was the

sole force that consistently fought against the Munich policy. It was the main leading and organising force in the national resistance movement; almost one half of the pre-war membership of the Party fell in the fight against the German-fascist invaders—for the freedom of the people. The Communist Party was also the driving force in the national and democratic revolution, the initiator of the structural changes in the administration of the state, the organiser of the National Front and finally the guiding force of the country's post-war reconstruction.

The people approved the leading role of the Communist Party in the state during the May 1946 elections. The Communists received 38.5% of the votes for the whole of Czechoslovakia (in Bohemia and Moravia over 40%). As a result of these elections a new National Front Government was formed in July 1946, headed by Comrade Gottwald.

I. The Role of the New Democracy in Czechoslovakia

The new regime was established in May 1945 on the principles laid down in the so-called Košice Programme, which was worked out on the initiative of the Communist Party and signed by all the parties of the National Front.

At the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Comrade Gottwald spoke of the internal political changes as follows: We have eliminated the clique of the big bourgeoisie from the leadership in national and state affairs, and all state authority has passed into the hands of the National Front which is the political expression of the alliance of workers, peasants, artisans and intelligentsia.

Fascist, openly reactionary parties which in matters of national liberty and independence of the state proved their treachery as collaborators with the Hitlerites, were banned. They were: the Agrarian Party, the so-called National Union, in Slovakia the (Hlinka) People's Party and some other fascist and reactionary groups.

The National Front in Bohemia and Moravia consists of 4 parties: the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the National Socialist Party and the Catholic "People's Party." The National Front in Slovakia consisted in the beginning of two parties: the Communist Party and the so-called Democratic Party. Since then, two small parties have been formed in addition and these have also entered the National Front. They are: the Social Democratic Party and the so-called "Freedom Party".

But the National Front has a broader base than political parties. It can count on the support of the unified trade unions, the Farmers' Union, the Youth League, the unified co-operatives and other organisations of the working people.

The following measures in the economic and political life

of the country have been carried out on the basis of the Košice Programme:

1.) National Committees have been established as organs of state authority.

2.) Heavy industry and the credit system have been nationalized.

3.) The Germans have been evicted.

4.) An agrarian reform and a new land policy have been introduced.

5.) New relationships between the Czechs and Slovaks have been established on the basis of equality.

National Committees.

The National Committees are an important support of the new democratic order. They originated during the struggle for national liberation as illegal organs of the nation. At Comrade Gottwald's suggestion, the London Government at the time issued a decree concerning the National Committees as organs of state administration in a local, district and provincial capacity. After the liberation they played an important role in the construction of a new administrative apparatus. They nominated their delegates to industrial enterprises, organised food supplies, and were, in fact, the authority to which security bodies and the state apparatus of their district were subordinated.

The National Committees took the place of the former system of district commissioners and provincial presidents who were reactionaries. As representatives of the people the National Committees have executive power, they introduce laws, issue orders and control state officials in a number of sectors: in the security organs, in agricultural policy, in the sphere of supply and price control, in local industry, commerce

and small-scale (artisan) production.

The Party's position in the National Committees is strong: all three chairmen of the Provincial National Committees are Communists; in 163 district National Committees there are 128 Communist chairmen (80%). In 11,512 local National Committees there are 6,350 Communist chairmen (57%). Almost 140,000 Communists are working in National Committees representing large sections of the nation and are learning how to manage state affairs.

According to the law, the National Committees have to submit reports of their work—to the electorate every half a year.

Plenary sessions of the National Committees are open to the public.

The system of National Committees lends a new character to the state structure of Czechoslovakia. Although Czechoslovakia has not fully solved the question of eliminating the influence of the old bourgeoisie, this influence has been considerably restricted by placing the lower state apparatus under the control of the representatives of the people. In contrast to formal parliamentary democracy, where parliament passes laws but the executive power remains completely in the hands of the bureaucracy, in our country the executive power in the localities is in the hands of the people's representatives, i.e. the National Committees.

The Nationalisation of Heavy Industry and the Financial Credit System

In October 1945 the decrees on the nationalisation of heavy industry and the financial system became law. Nationalisation provoked a bitter struggle. Nationalisation was opposed by some people who argued that it should not be carried out all at

once but by degrees. They suggested that a beginning should be made with the nationalisation of the health resorts and spas and then the Mines, etc. It was clear that they wanted to save heavy industry from nationalisation. The National Socialists were in general against the nationalisation of banks.

Our Party, supported by the masses, and above all with the help of the United Trade Unions, was able to ensure that nationalisation was carried out in one move. The nationalisation covered all the banks, all the so-called insurance societies, all basic and heavy industries. The proportion of the nationalised sector, reckoned according to the number of workers and employees engaged in it, amounted to about 61 per cent of all industry. In the spring of 1947 a decision was taken, by which enterprises confiscated from the Germans and traitors which were not affected by the nationalisation scheme, were to be given over for the most part to nationalised enterprises. This will give the nationalised sector 66 per cent of the workers and employees engaged in the whole industry and more than 75 per cent of the total volume of production. To all intents and purposes the mining industry, the metallurgical industry and the power industry are fully nationalised. Approximately three-fourths of the chemical, metal processing and machine building industries have been nationalised. The non-nationalised sector is bigger in the food, flourmill, timber, woodworking and shoe industries. There are also many non-nationalised enterprises in the building materials industry.

Nationalisation has given the new democracy a real economic foundation, creating a state of a new type where the main means of production have been taken from the hands of the big bourgeoisie and handed over to the state.

The nationalisation of industry facilitated the speedy liquidation of the effects of the occupation on the country's economy. Although the consequences of the German

occupation were not as damaging for Czechoslovak economy as they were for some other countries, there nevertheless remained 400 billions of uncovered bank-notes, a scarcity of raw materials and a number of big industrial enterprises were in ruins. The Party had to contend with big economic difficulties—scarcity of coal, lack of man-power in various branches, and lack of experience among the workers in the new economic establishments. Reaction attempted at the time to rouse discontent in connection with the monetary reform and the difficult food situation. It propagated the idea that small private enterprises were working better than nationalised industry and predicted that the latter would go bankrupt.

The Party did not yield in the face of these difficulties. It turned to the people, organising brigades of volunteers to rebuild the works destroyed by bombing, dispatched brigades to work in the mines, on construction jobs, to help load railway, trucks and to enterprises where labour was short. It organised nation-wide competition and raised the working morale of the people. Communists were to the fore in setting an example. The Prague Party organisation mobilised 100,000 of its members for work one Sunday under the slogan: 'One million working hours to the Republic'.

In that way we gradually succeeded in developing and stepping up production and in supplying the market with an increasing volume of goods.

In the beginning of 1946 the Party suggested the drafting of a Two-Year Plan. After the May elections this plan became law. The Two-Year Plan is not an overall plan; it only plans the work of the most important sectors of the national economy. It aims at an 11 per cent increase of industrial production by the end of 1948 as compared with the pre-war level; in some sections of the heavy industry it puts the increase at 13 per cent or even at 14 per cent. The fulfilment of the Plan should at the same time increase the living standard of the population by 10

per cent compared with the pre-war level. The realisation of the Two-Year Plan, strengthens the economic foundations of the Czechoslovak people's democracy—nationalised industry.

Nationalised industry has improved its output. Although nationalised industry suffered heavy damage, seeing that whole works were destroyed in Anglo-American air raids at the very end of the war (the Skoda Works in Plzen, Bats in Zlin, Ceskomoravská—Kolben—Daňek in Prague) and although big capital investments were necessary in the earliest and most difficult stages the fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan in the first half year saw our nationalised industry with a financial profit in many sections.

In the first 8 months the Two-Year Plan has been 100 per cent fulfilled and industrial production has already reached 95 per cent of the pre-war level (1937). The weak spot of the Two-Year Plan now appears to be mainly in the building industry where the nationalised sector is very small. We hope that next year we shall make up for ground lost. The lack of manpower is acutely felt in mining as well as in the building trade, and the main problem here is the organisation of labour reserves.

The positive results of the Two-Year Plan are reflected in the living standard of the working people. The growth of Industrial output and the simultaneous decrease in the cost of production made it possible to lower retail prices this spring. Retail prices were brought down by means of a so-called price-equalization fund. This action strengthened the unity between the workers and peasants as the prices at which the peasant sells his products were not lowered whereas the prices of industrial products necessary to the peasant (agricultural machinery, naphta, petrol) went down.

An encouraging sign in the present economic situation of the population is that notwithstanding the rationing system, the consumption per capita of certain products, such as sugar, potatoes, shoes, meat, etc. is already higher than before the

war.

Consumption is going up because we have been able to increase the real wage of the worker by approximately 34 per cent as compared with 1939.

Our price policy was successful because of the monetary reform, carried out in 1945. We succeeded not only in maintaining the equilibrium of the price index and wages: the average wages also went up to 397 per cent (1939 = 100) while the price index of the workers' expenditures went down to 286 per cent.

At present the situation has deteriorated as a result of droughts. The harvest is considerably smaller than in previous years, and in spite of the help which we are receiving from the Soviet Union, Rumania and other countries of the new democracy, there are difficulties in supplying the population with agricultural products. But we are convinced that attempts by reactionary elements and speculators, who are trying to turn these difficulties to their own account and create dissatisfaction in the country, are doomed to failure. Our people will do all to overcome these difficulties.

Economic success forms an effective political weapon in the fight against reaction. It shows that the new regime is better able to manage the economy than the capitalist. All this gives the working people greater confidence in their own powers.

The idea of nationalisation has become deeply rooted in the mind of the people. The nation understands that the economic achievements are a direct result of nationalised and planned economy. This is understood not only by workers, whose living standard is now higher than it was before the war, but also by the small and middle peasant, whose living standard has reached approximately the pre-war level.

The loss of ground suffered, by reaction among the people as a whole is directly due to this fact.

The private-capitalist sector is still strong in the wholesale

and retail trade. In retail trade 15 per cent of the trade is in the hands of the cooperatives. The purchase of grain, milk and other agricultural products is almost entirely (90 per cent) performed by agricultural co-operatives. Some nationalised enterprises have their own network of retail establishments, e. g. Bata, which sells all its output of shoes in its own shops.

Prices are fixed by the Government. The Government decides the prices in the wholesale as well as the retail trade. This applies to all goods. Thus the flow of any surplus value of the private-capitalist sector is Government-controlled. In the spring of this year the surplus value was lowered by introducing an additional 2 per cent turnover tax in wholesale enterprises which goes into the price-equalization fund.

All the measures taken to strengthen nationalised economy and achieve economic consolidation within the country, are subject to sharp attacks from reaction which vigorously defends itself and finds support among reactionary forces inside the National Front and in the state apparatus.

The Eviction of Germans, the Agrarian Reform and the New Agrarian Policy

The eviction from Czechoslovakia of more than 3 million Germans was a deed of historical importance. The Czechoslovak people know that this was made possible only thanks to the support of the Soviet Union and especially Comrade Stalin.

All the land belonging to Germans and Czech and Slovak traitors was confiscated without compensation.

Since May 1945, 1,700,000 hectares of agricultural land have been distributed. 170,000 families mainly landless and poor peasants received this land. We have now passed a law revising the first land reform of 1920. On the basis of this law

another 500,000 hectares of landed estates and church lands will be parcelled out. Our Party is paying great attention to the rural communities, for, although Czechoslovakia is predominantly an industrial country, there are nearly one million peasants living side by side with the 2,5 million workers and employees. Reaction pinned its hopes on gaining the backing of the peasants, for until 1938 the peasants were almost entirely under the influence of the reactionary Agrarian Party.

The Party has been able to win staunch support among the peasants, and has introduced a price policy which helps the small and middle peasants. We have introduced a price scale for the purchase of agricultural products from peasants. The highest possible price is paid for agricultural products bought from small and middle peasants who have less than 20 hectares of land; peasants possessing between 20 and 50 hectares receive a lower price while the lowest prices are fixed for those having over 50 hectares of land.

The difference between these prices represents several hundred million crowns which are used, according to the orders of the Ministry of Agriculture for the establishment of kindergartens, communal laundries, cultural institutes in villages, etc.

On our initiative, in the spring of this year, the prices of agricultural machinery were lowered by 30 per cent, the price of naphtha and petrol by 4.0 per cent, prices of working shoes and clothing by 20 per cent.

The peasants are receiving more and more machinery. To ensure that this machinery serves the small and middle peasant, state and co-operative agricultural machinery stations are being established. There are already 30 such state stations, and 258 co-operative stations. By the end of the Two-Year Plan 94 more state and co-operative stations are to be established. These stations work to the advantage of the peasant. In addition,

2,200 local co-operatives for the purchase of machinery have been organised. In the course of the Two-Year Plan the peasants will receive farming machinery to the value of more than 2 billion crowns.

We are overcoming the scarcity of manpower in agriculture, too, with the help of brigades of volunteers during harvest time, and with machinery repair brigades. The Party is the main organiser of the brigades, and these help materially to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants. Almost half a million people took part in the work of the brigades this year.

We are supporting a special programme of measures aimed at helping the small and middle peasant. The Ministry of Agriculture has prepared a series of draft laws for consideration by the people. These are:

1) The law concerning the new land reform, which provides for the allocation of all landed property exceeding 50 hectares.

2) The law on the reorganisation of the purchase and sale of agricultural products. The law establishes that the purchase and sale of all agricultural products be carried out by four state-monopolies in collaboration with agricultural co-operatives.

3) The law on the democratisation of agricultural co-operatives. This is intended to give the small peasants easy access to co-operatives and increase their influence in the co-operatives' administrative bodies.

4) The law on credits to peasants.

5) The law on a single agricultural tax which will lessen the burden of taxation on small and middle peasants.

6) The law on the mechanisation of agriculture, which will guarantee credits for the purchase of machinery for machinery stations and co-operatives.

Because of the droughts we have been compelled to increase the prices of grain; in addition to this, we are giving half a billion crowns to the small peasants who have no or very little

marketable grain.

Such is our agrarian policy. It is convincing the rural areas of the justice of the new way of life and is helping us to carry on a successful fight against reaction in the villages.

We know that the position of reaction in rural communities is still strong and that the ranks of the rich peasants provide the most vicious accomplices of reaction who are inciting the farmers to sabotage government measures and who are carrying on virulent anti-state agitation. The fight against reaction in the rural areas will be a long process.

The sectarian attitude of some of our rural Party organisations towards the middle and small peasants is hampering our agricultural policy. We are doing our best to eliminate this shortcoming for we realise that a correct attitude towards the peasants, and the strengthening of the bonds between the peasants and workers are an important prerequisite for the further consolidation of the new regime in Czechoslovakia.

The Situation in Slovakia

The June Plenum of our Central Committee dealt with the Slovak problem. The underground fascist Hlinka organisations are organising conspiracies under the direct patronage of the so-called Democratic Party (which polled more than 60 per cent of the Slovak vote in the elections) and with the active participation of some groups of Catholic clergy. The state and economic apparatus swarms with reactionary individuals. The activities of the Banderite gangs, make it easier for foreign intelligence services to carry on their disruptive work not only against Czechoslovakia but against all the countries of the new democracy.

Slovakia's state structure today is of specific character; the

Košice Programme has laid down new principles for the union of Czechs and Slovaks. The Slovaks are recognised as an independent nation and it has been resolved that the common state should be based on the equal rights of both nations. Executive powers in Slovakia rest with the supreme national organ of the Slovaks, the Slovak National Council. In June 1946 after the general elections, the Slovak representatives signed an agreement according to which the Slovak Commissioners were subordinate to the Ministers of State and the Government. However, in practice this agreement has not been kept.

The execution of Tiso was a bitter blow to the reactionary elements in Slovakia. Immediately after his execution a series of facts were disclosed which testified to the seditious activities of certain Democratic Party representatives. Nevertheless, the solution of the Slovak "problem is encountering difficulties, as Czech reactionary elements are offering protection to the conspirators.

The disclosure of the new conspiracy in Slovakia demands that not only Slovak reaction be vigorously exposed but also all those who protect it, and who conduct a double policy in relation to the treacherous Slovak groups. All those who try to sabotage the measures taken against anti-state elements must be made known to the people.

II. The National Front and the Fight against Reaction

In order to conduct a successful fight against reaction and fully secure the new regime, the National Front, as the union of all working citizens, must be strengthened. A number of reactionary and treacherous political parties were banned in the course of the national and democratic revolution. The

treacherous clique of big bourgeoisie and landowners was removed from the Government, but reaction did not surrender. The reactionary groups wanted to establish a party of their own, but later rejected the idea and began to infiltrate into the Government parties.

During the election campaign in 1946 reaction calculated on victory at the polls, but the elections were a great success for our Party which polled 40 per cent of all Czech votes. Had the Communists and Social Democrats acted together in all questions they could have had the absolute majority in Parliament—154 seats of the total 300. In the recent past reaction has been behaving more and more insolently. The activity at the Government has been obstructed, many bills proposed by us have been whittled down, and Parliament has left a number of questions unsettled.

As early as January 1947, at a meeting of the Central Committee, Comrade Gottwald raised the question of conducting a more vigorous struggle against reaction and of relying on the support at the working class and all democratic elements to expose the reactionaries.

When the question of sub-Idles over and above the prices paid to peasants was recently discussed, our Ministers proposed that a special tax be levied on the property of millionaires to cover the cost. The other parties of the National Front voted against us. In order to mobilise public opinion against reaction our Party decided to expose their activities and draw the public attention to those parties of the National Front which give cover to the reactionaries.

After the ballot in the Government we published the names of the eleven Ministers who voted against the millionaires' tax. This evoked the hearty response of the public. Factories, trade unions, local national committees and whole organisations from other political parties voiced their protest together with us. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party thereupon began

discussions with the leadership of our Party and an agreement was signed to the effect that the Communists and Social Democrats would work out a common proposal on the millionaires' tax.

The Communist Party wants to unite all truly democratic and patriotic elements of every political party and thus strengthen the National Front. The preliminary condition for this is the expulsion of the representatives of reaction from the parties of the National Front.

We must take into account that there is no unity in the reading circles of the National Front. Such is not the case of the lower bodies. The working citizens, members of the different political parties, are working in harmony to fulfil the Two- Year Plan. The people have learned how to work together in the factories, in the villages and towns. The idea of unit has preserved its mobilising force. The National Front is represented not only by political parties; it has the support of powerful national organisations: the trade unions representing 2,200,000 workers and office employees, the united youth organisation, the union of co-operatives, the union of peasants. These organisations, mainly the trade unions, could play a more active role in the National Front, and by so doing increase its strength.

III. The Party

The Party worked underground during the occupation and lost 25,000 of its members, most of whom it could ill afford to lose (among them 42 members of the Executive Committee). After the occupation it was faced with the task of rebuilding its organisation. Three months after the country's liberation the Party already had half a million members and a year later the membership topped the million mark. In addition the Slovak Communist Party has 180,000 members.

The organisational structure of the Party is as follows: the basic organisations are in the towns, villages and enterprises. Each member of a factory or office organisation must at the same time be registered in the local organisation of his place of domicile, in order to take part in discussions of local importance. This strengthens the influence of the workers in the local organisations.

The second link of our organisational system is formed by districts which correspond to the administrative districts of the state. Above these are the regions, which cover the electoral districts of the state administration.

The Central Committee has 101 members and 33 deputy members, of whom 14 members are elected to the Presidium. Its auxiliary organs are the political secretariat and the organisational secretariat.

An important factor in our Party organisation is the so-called 'Ten-man group' system. The secretary of the ten helps the committee of the basic organisation, he is in fact the link between the committee and the members, whom he helps to take part in the fulfilment of the Party's tasks. The secretary works with eight to ten members and carries out the following duties: he informs his members of the most important political campaigns, invites them to meetings, and collects Party dues and subscriptions for Party papers. The system of ten-man groups has fully justified itself and has helped to build up an active of Party functionaries numbering 100,000 to 120,000 members. In addition to this, we have a system of district secretaries who are in charge of five to seven local organisations, and whose duty it is to inform and assist these organisations in their work.

While throwing open the doors of our Party to the masses of workers, peasants and working intelligentsia we are careful to see that no unworthy persons infiltrate our Party. A new member must be recommended by two other members and he

is admitted at a public meeting.

At the end of 1946 a general check-up of the membership was carried out by re-registering the latter and exchanging their temporary membership cards for permanent ones. Considerable work was accomplished inside the party during the check-up, which was completed in the spring of this year. The individual work and conduct of each member was examined and new questionnaires had to be filled in: these were reviewed and discussed by the leadership of the organisations. All those who had violated Party discipline were expelled. The new membership cards were issued at formal Party meetings where, after a report on the tasks and role of the Party the members pledged to fulfil conscientiously all tasks as members of the Party.

The re-registration campaign strengthened the Party. The preliminary conditions for a new recruiting drive were created which started at the beginning of this year. In the first eight months 130,000 new members joined the Party. The campaign is still on.

The vast majority of new members are women (42.2 per cent) and young people (47.7 per cent), 17.4 per cent of our members are under 25 and 51.6 per cent under 45 years.

The new members do not know the history and the traditions of the Party and are not familiar with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. We therefore attach great importance to the Party education not only of our functionaries but of all Party members. At the basic organisations a series of lectures are being held for all member on the main principles of our ideology and policy. We have ten district schools for local and district functionaries. A central school with a six-month course has been established. The graduates of this school are sent to important posts on, the district committees or Central Committee apparatus. In addition, courses of instruction for journalists, functionaries of the youth and women's

movements, for district secretaries and secretaries working in the villages are being organised at the central school.

Party education is supplemented with the publication of Marxist-Leninist literature. The Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) sold 250,000 copies, the first edition of Stalin's biography 80,000 copies, Stalin's "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union" 98,000 copies and 70,000 copies of a collection of Gottwald's speeches and articles were sold. We have a Socialist Academy which, apart from regular, scientific work organises weekly public lectures. The popularity of these lectures can be gauged from the fact that the seven lectures arranged in the course of two months were attended by 15,300 people.

A special paper "Funcionár" (The Functionary) is being published for our functionaries. "Svetové rozhledy" (World Review) is a journal devoted to international affairs. We recently started publication of a new ideological magazine "Nová Mysl" (New Mind). The central organ of our Party, the daily "Rudé Pravo" is the largest paper in Czechoslovakia. The Party also publishes four daily provincial papers and twenty-two weeklies. Naturally, however, very much remains to be done in the field of the ideological and political education of our Party members and big work lies ahead.

IV. Foreign Policy

The war which ended with the defeat of German and Japanese fascism strengthened the authority of the Soviet Union, which bore the main brunt of the war, strengthened the progressive democratic forces in Europe. In a number of countries, the people have established new regimes—the people's democracies. This victory of the progressive forces is

a thorn in the flesh of international reaction as a whole and particularly of the reactionaries in Czechoslovakia, who are doing their utmost to weaken progress and regain their old foothold.

Czechoslovakia, as the westernmost bastion of the new democracy, is especially exposed to strong pressure from both American imperialism and internal reaction. Reaction attacks our alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other Slav countries. Every problem of foreign policy can be solved only, after a sharp and bitter struggle with native reaction. An example of this was the recent alliance with Poland which was sabotaged by reactionaries for nearly a year; then there was the question of the so-called Marshall Plan, which Czechoslovak reaction depicted as the salvation of Czechoslovak economy. Here it should be noted that the Slav policy is supported by the vast majority of the Czech and Slovak nations which look with gratitude and love upon the Soviet Union as their liberator. Our nations realise that only the policy of the Soviet Union answers the interests of Czechoslovakia, and they strongly oppose any policy which aims to restore an imperialist Germany as a menace to the very existence of Czechoslovakia.

Our close relations with the Slav countries are important for Czechoslovakia's economy. Co-operation with the Slav countries, which plan their economy, will help to avoid the economic crises which threaten the Western capitalist states. Thus for instance, economic co-operation with the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria has made it possible for our factories to work at full capacity and has ensured the further development of our agriculture. The favourable effect of long-term agreements with the Slav countries has now become evident, when as a result of the poor harvest at home we are receiving 200,000 tons of grain and 200,000 tons of fodder from the Soviet Union. This at a time, when we have received nothing beyond promises from the West.

Our friendly policy with the Slav countries is the only lasting and effective guarantee of a peaceful future for the sovereignty and independence of Czechoslovakia. Comrade Gottwald recently once again spoke of this when he stated that anybody who slanders our Slav allies in any way and tries to weaken our alliance with them is a traitor to his country.

In, conclusion, I would like to emphasize that we welcome the initiative of our Polish comrades who gave us the opportunity to meet here and exchange views on our political problems. We heartily welcome the proposal that a basis for closer co-operation among the Communist Parties should be found.

The outcome of the struggle with the reactionary forces in Czechoslovakia is far from solved. A bitter and stubborn struggle lies ahead. Reaction relies not only on its native political reserves: it is in contact with American and English reaction and their aggressive plans. In the sphere of foreign policy reaction is trying to change the orientation of the Czechoslovak state, to drive a wedge in the co-operation of the Slav countries with the countries of the new democracy. We must be prepared for a corresponding increase in these attempts as the aggressive efforts of the Anglo-American war-mongers redouble.

In the sphere of domestic; policy reaction is making every effort to bring about chaos and economic disaster in the country, to isolate the Communists and to form an anti-Communist and anti-democratic bloc. But a realistic assessment of the existing forces, however, leads us to believe that not only is it possible successfully to combat these plans but also to frustrate them. The Communists will take part in this fight not in their own name alone; they will defend the

whole nation and their vital national interests—the independence, and security of Czechoslovakia—against the threat at the revival of German imperialism. Our nation realise what the foreign policy of the Soviet Union means for its future destiny. To us this policy spells peace, security, and the equality of nations and determined resistance to the warmongers.

Our nation also understands that reaction desires to return the nationalised industry, the banks and mines to foreign and home capitalists and bankers. And knowing this, the nation, already cognizant of the results of the new way and conscious of its own strength, will never allow this to happen,

As the international situation becomes more strained, and the struggle between the forces of peace and war grows sharper, the process of the new regrouping of forces inside the parties of the National Front will intensify.

We are sure that all the democratic elements of all parties will go with us. The National Front must, be strengthened by driving out all reactionary elements. We can rely on the majority of the working class, on the alliance of workers and peasants which we shall continue to strengthen. By strengthening the position of the working class and the regime of the new democracy we shall bury forever the hopes of international and native reaction to subordinate Czechoslovakia to their influence

(pages 4,5)

M. DJILAS. THE ORGANISATIONAL WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA[†]

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia developed in a difficult illegal struggle, in an armed uprising and intensive work to build and rehabilitate our devastated country.

It is often thought abroad that only war conditions and certain specific favourable political circumstances during the occupation of the country, made it possible for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to achieve its great successes.

This however, is not true. As in every revolution, so too in the Yugoslav revolution definite historical circumstances were necessary. I shall not dwell on them but I should like to emphasize that, however favourable, such circumstances alone, as is generally known, are not sufficient to ensure the victory of the working people unless there is a revolutionary, well organised party, capable of leading the people into the struggle. Such a party existed in Yugoslavia, a party that was well organised and fully prepared ideologically; it staunchly fought the enemy—the fascist invader and his henchmen. In 1941, when Hitler occupied Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was well organised; its ranks were purged of alien elements; it was ideologically and politically monolithic. As can be seen, from the Party documents which were published during that period the leadership of the Party, headed by Comrade Tito, was fully aware of the strength and organisation of the Party; it knew full well that the Party was in a position at

[†]Report delivered by Comrade Djilas at the Informative Conference of representatives of some Communist Parties, held in Poland at the end of September 1947.

cope with the difficult tasks facing it. And, indeed, thanks to its organisational stability and ideological strength, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia organised an armed uprising immediately after the occupation of the country as the only effective form of struggle in conditions of war.

How could the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have launched an armed uprising and led it unwaveringly, and without any outside material aid under the most difficult conditions of four years of war, had it not been thoroughly organised, and had it not been ideologically and politically prepared? Naturally, such a struggle could have been launched and led only by a party sufficiently firm, both organisationally and ideologically and sufficiently well disciplined. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was indeed such a party.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia entered the war after twenty years of illegality. There was no vacillation within the Party either at the beginning or in the course of the war. There were no anti-party groups in the Party (we do not here refer to individuals or to certain isolated cases which could not influence the life or development of the Party, or the carrying out of its decisions). The Central Committee quickly reorientated the activities of the entire Party on a military basis taking the stand that the armed struggle against the invader was the “first and paramount task” (Tito). Indeed, the Party organisations reorganised themselves in a very short time and began to form partisan detachments. The armed uprising against the invader and his hirelings flared up throughout the whole of Yugoslavia under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Thanks to the sound political orientation of the Party and thanks to the unwavering course of the armed struggle against

the invader the ranks of: the Party were rapidly reinforced by new fighters and new cadres, despite heavy losses. Embracing ever wider masses of the people and drawing them into the armed struggle, the Party began to create the organs of people's power from below, to extend and strengthen the organisation of the People's Front.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia has become a truly militant party, the vanguard of the popular masses because it has always, under all circumstances, resolutely followed the organisational principles of Bolshevism, always constructively applied the rich experience of building the Party.

As was the case during the period of the Party's illegality, at the time of the war and now after the liberation of the country, new members are admitted in keeping with strict demands. In admitting members into the Party, account was taken,—and is still—as to whether every candidate had been tested in struggle, his loyalty to the cause of the Party and his moral record. A period of candidacy is obligatory. Otherwise, any person who pays the regular membership fee, recognises the Party's programme and actively works in some Party organisation, may be a member of the Party. The Party is organised on the principle of cells in factories, villages, institutions and streets. The leadership of the Party is elected in a democratic manner. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not have to take any special measures against individual organisations either during, or after the war.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is composed of the national Communist Parties, which are organised in the different republics. These parties have their own leaderships which, however, are subordinate to the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia. Thanks to the integrity of its ranks, thanks to its internal strength and organisation, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was able to rally the majority of the people in such

a mass organisation as the People's Front, the People's Youth, etc., and to rely upon them in its work. Had the Communist Party of Yugoslavia not been so firmly organised, it would have disintegrated under the first heavy blows and would not have been able to create auxiliary mass organisations or to organise and lead the masses in the struggle.

At the outbreak of the war the Communist Party of Yugoslavia numbered some 15,000 members, tested in the difficult illegal struggle and splendidly organised. About 80010 of this number fell in the uprising. Losses among the members whom the Party admitted during the war were also heavy. But, despite this, the ranks of the Party steadily grew. In the course of the war (up to January, 1945), its membership increased by more than 100,000. At the time (January, 1945), it already led an army of nearly half a million as well as organisations such as the People's Front and the youth numbering several million members, directed the life of the state on more than half of the liberated territory. These data illustrate how the Communist Party grew gradually, not in leaps and bounds, steadily strengthening and expanding its ranks.

The growth of the Party was more rapid immediately prior to and after the liberation of the country; today the Party numbers approximately 400,000 members.

The nucleus of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is made up of cadres which passed through the stern school of the uprising and the four years of war.

The social and national composition of the Party is satisfactory. All the working people of Yugoslavia, the workers, peasants, people's intelligentsia, as well as all the nationalities are equally represented in the Party. Similarly, the number of women and candidates for Party membership is also satisfactory. Ideological and political work is obligatory for all members of the Party. The Party has one higher (two-year) Party school and six secondary schools, and a large number of

courses and lectures.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia relies in mass political and other organisations.

Particular stress should, in the first place, be laid on the People's Front which in Yugoslavia has, in the true sense of the word, become a front of the people. It rallied the overwhelming majority of the people during the war, in the struggle against the fascist invader and domestic reaction and today, we might say, in the struggle for the construction of a new socialist order.

In the course of the war the People's Front which rallied the broad masses of the people on the liberated, and also on the occupied territory, developed into a mass organisation with millions of members. The People's Front was joined by the mass organisation of women (AFZ) and youth (USAOJ) which later developed into the People's Youth of Yugoslavia and, towards the end of the war, by the newly organised United Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Various political groups as well as prominent political and cultural figures also joined the People's Front.

The organisations of the People's Front in the localities are monolithic, that is in the village, factory, street, the organisations of the Front are unified, are not split by Party groups. All the members of the People's Front in their respective sectors meet at joint conferences where they discuss various questions: political and economic, questions relating to the state and outline their tasks.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia applies such methods of work which help to strengthen the Front as a united mass political organisation, an organisation upon which the Party relies in the first place for the execution of its programme. Comrade Tito in his report at the Second Congress of the Front, particularly stressed the leading role of the Party in the Front as well as the fact that there was no difference between the programme of the Front and that of the Party—that their

programme was in fact one and the same.

In this connection new prospects unfold before the Party and it is faced with the task of strengthening the People's Front and using it as the main organisational form for the political enlightenment of the broad masses. The Party will now have to redouble its activity to consolidate the Front organisations ideologically, to strengthen them politically and organisationally so that they might, in word, steadily change into a united collective of many million strong in which existing differences will gradually disappear. It goes without saying that the Party will have to handle this process with the utmost care, not rush forward, but move in the vanguard of the masses, in every way contribute to their further political development, to their consolidation to the People's Front.

The People's Front played an outstanding role not only in the war; as the struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia to build a new life develops, its post-war role is increasingly greater. In accordance with this, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia today lays down as one of its most important tasks the further political and organisational strengthening of the Front. How deeply rooted the Front has become, and of what enormous significance it is, is best borne out by the fact that it today numbers—as shown by the membership cards issued so far, 4,200,000 members. This number does not include the People's Youth of Yugoslavia, which has close to 1,250,000 members and which as a separate organisation also belongs to the People's Front. Accordingly, if we bear in mind that all the members of the Front could not have been registered, the number of members of the People's Front of Yugoslavia today totals approximately 7 million persons.

This represents an enormous force with the aid of which all difficulties that might appear during the struggle for the reconstruction of our country can be overcome.

The People's Front today plays a mobilising role in the

struggle for the realisation of the Five Year Plan. It also serves as a very favourable form for mass political enlightenment and development as well as for mass political work.

It can be said that the Front is a disciplined organisation which efficiently and unhesitatingly carries out all tasks with which it is entrusted by its leaders.

A member of the Front may be any person who works in one of the existing Front organisations, who has not besmirched himself through collaboration with the enemy and does not damage the prestige of the Front by his behaviour. There are no ideological, religious or any other obstacles to enrolment in the Front.

Youth of Yugoslavia grew out of the United Federation of the Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia, as its higher form. The basic principles of the organisation of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia is similar to those of the People's Front with the difference that the People's Youth is to date stronger and more stable organisationally.

Special mention should be made of the trade unions which have 984,200 members and cover 80% of the workers and employees. The trade unions play an enormous role in raising the labour morale, in introducing order in work, in the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan and in general in improving the economic and cultural conditions of the country. There are no currents in the trade unions of Yugoslavia hostile to the interests of the working class, that is to say opposing the Party line in trade union work. The trade unions of Yugoslavia today are an expression of the complete unity and militant elan of the working class and working masses of Yugoslavia.

In our work we also rely on the mass organisation of women—the Anti-Fascist Women's Front (AFZ) which played a very significant role during the war, especially in the struggle to organise the rear and to aid the army, and also after the war in the struggle to rehabilitate the devastated country.

Finally, mention should be made of the newly-founded Federation of fighters of the Liberation War, as one of the leading organisations to preserve and develops the achievements of the national liberation struggle.

The entire state apparatus of the new Yugoslavia has been built up from below, with the destruction of the old state mechanism from top to bottom and with the creation of a new, democratic state, with the establishment of people's committees and other representative people's organs in the National Assembly.

It is necessary to stress this in order to get a true picture of the organisational state of the Party, and its role today in the new Yugoslavia.

If we were to speak of our organisational weaknesses, we could reduce them to the deficiencies of expert and ideologically developed cadres.

Regardless of the fact that the intelligentsia in their overwhelming majority maintain a positive attitude toward the new order in Yugoslavia, there is still a section which has, not adjusted itself to the new order. We shall have to overcome this barrier and have to remove all deficiencies especially in connection with the economic tasks.

The membership of the Party, although satisfactory on the whole as far as loyalty and militant readiness go, is still young and of a rather low ideological and political level. That explains why there are occasional digressions in the localities—either by tightening certain state measures or by showing leniency toward the enemies of the people. The Party leadership is combating this and correcting mistakes.

In the field of cultural life, we have succeeded in starting certain branches along the right road, and even in finding and organising sound, although ideologically insufficiently experienced cadres. Our work in the field of science and philosophy, however, is still in embryo. We have practically no

cadres who could correctly interpret various philosophical and scientific questions in schools and at the universities. Thus, owing to the lack of such cadres—many positions in these fields are occupied by alien and even hostile elements. True, we have taken a series of steps to improve this situation. But speedy results cannot, unfortunately be expected, especially because we have suffered heavy losses in leading cadres and because the best and theoretically prepared cadres have had to take over various state and economic functions.

The rich ideological and organisational experience acquired by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia server us as a stable foundation for the closer consolidation of all working people in the struggle for a genuine people's democracy, for Socialism.

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PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

In his report to the recent Plenum of the CC of the French Communist Party, the General Secretary of the CC CP of France, Comrade Maurice Thorez, stated that it was the sacred duty of the French Communist Party to hold as firmly as never before the banner of struggle for the independence and national sovereignty of the country. He went on to say that the Communist Party of France is capable of uniting, organising and leading into battle all forces of the French people, who are determined to defend the national honour and independence of the country.

“However,” stated Comrade Thorez, “we are not blind to our shortcomings and weaknesses. As followers of Lenin and Stalin we are critically viewing our own activities. The latest Plenum of the Central Committee pointed out the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party and some of its bodies. The root of these mistakes is to be sought in the fact that the Central Committee itself was slow to define the nature and significance of the changes in the international situation, namely, that the imperialist and anti-democratic forces had united under the leadership and in the interests of the USA. We failed from the very outset to emphasise that the Communists had been removed from the government only because of the categorical orders of American reaction.

“We must acknowledge as a most serious mistake the fact that, when organising and guiding the resistance movement, we committed the same mistakes which proved fatal to the People’s Front, and equally disastrous for the national liberation movement. (Agreement with the leadership of different parties, with separate political groupings instead of establishing committees from below and strengthening ties with the masses.) The reactionaries have once again gained heart, and now, after rallying around de Gaulle they are carrying out an offensive against the working class and the Republic.

“We must resolutely turn to the masses, must remember that a united front means action. The positive experience of the National Front can help us find new forms to rally the masses for action. Committees in Defence of the Republic have already been formed by the workers in many factories in the Paris area.

“Only a government that will decisively base itself on the working people, that is, a government in which the working class and its Communist Party will play a positive role, only such a government can compel the instigators of a coup d’etat and imperialist war to retreat.

“We are fully determined,” stated Comrade Thorez in conclusion, “to consolidate our ranks and to rally around the Party all the democratic forces of the country on the platform of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle Ours is a just cause and we shall be victorious”.

THE APPEAL OF THE WORKERS' PARTIES OF POLAND

In connection with the anniversary of the conclusion of the agreement on unity of action between the Polish Workers' Party (PWP) and the Polish Socialist Party (PSP), the Central Committee of the PWP and the Central Executive Committee of the PSP have addressed an appeal to all the organisations of these parties.

The appeal points out that this agreement has fully justified itself. As a result of the agreement the people's democracy has scored a number of major successes. The decisive victories of the workers' parties at the elections to the Seim proved the utter bankruptcy of Mikolacyz's camp, on which the enemies of the people's democracy in Poland had placed high stakes.

The agreement between the two workers' parties, further states the appeal, has played a big role in developing competition, in mobilising the working class to carry out the Three-Year Economic Plan. The establishment of the united front of the workers' parties in Poland was a significant factor in rallying the forces of peace and progress.

THE RUMANIAN PRESS ON THE PLATFORM OF THE UNITED WORKERS' PARTY OF RUMANIA

A joint congress of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties of Rumania will be held in January 1948, which will

announce the establishment of a united workers' party of Rumania. The Rumania press has widely commented on the platform of the united workers' party. Thus, "Skintije" writes: "Today, when the working class has won the leading role in the administration of our state, the establishment of a united workers' party does not only mean complying with the wishes of the working people: it also signifies an historical necessity".

"Libertatja" writes: "The workers, working people, peasants and the intelligentsia of Rumania want a united workers' party of all the working people. The twenty-six year split in the labour movement served the interests of the reactionary exploiters alone who sometimes concealed themselves behind the mask of democrats".

"Frontul Plugarilor" commented: The party of the labouring peasantry, the Agricultural Workers Front is following the activities to unite the working class, with great hope. They know that their struggle, shoulder to shoulder with a united party of the working class will be crowned with victory—a victory that will spell a new happy life and genuine democracy".

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FOR A DEMOCRATIC GERMANY. PIERRE HÉNTGES

The session of the Council of Foreign Ministers which will open in London on November 25, to discuss questions concerning the German peace treaty can not but draw the attention of the democratic masses of all countries interested in establishing a durable and lasting peace, in creating conditions that will prevent the rebirth of fascism and militarism in Germany.

In his report to the Conference of the Nine Communist Parties in Poland, Comrade Zhdanov stated that “the question of Germany and, in particular, of the Ruhr as a potential war industrial base of a bloc hostile to the USSR, is an important question in international politics and an apple of discord between the USA, Britain and France”.

The peoples of the countries which took part in the war against Hitler Germany, and the millions of simple people throughout the world are hoping that the session of Foreign Ministers will take decisions that will put an end to the policy which is proving to be disastrous for world peace and the future development of a democratic Germany, the policy which the Anglo-American authorities are today pursuing in the Western zones of occupation, the policy which runs counter to the principles underlying the decisions of the Potsdam Conference of the Great Powers.

This question is of particular importance to France, which has been invaded three times by the Germans in the past 75 years, and which can ensure her future as a free nation only in the event she can guarantee the security of her Eastern frontiers, only in the event her rights to reparations from the states which ruined and plundered the country, are strictly observed.

The popular masses of all countries, who unanimously approved the Potsdam Declaration, see the solution of the German problem, in the eradication of imperialism and fascism, before all else.

“The demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany,” stated J. V. Stalin, “is one of the most important guarantees for establishing a lasting and solid peace.”

However, whereas the Soviet Union is consistently and to the letter observing this principle in its zone of occupation, the same can not be said of the policy of the Anglo-American and French authorities in their zones.

Facts go to show that the American imperialists are not only obstructing the democratisation and demilitarisation of Germany, but are trying to turn Germany into a tool of their

economic domination in Europe, into a military base for struggle against democracy and socialism.

These activities of the Anglo-American warmongers are encouraging the German imperialists, the big industrialists, financiers and Junkers to restore their one-time power in the Western zones and, in alliance with the American imperialists to prepare for a new war.

The ambitions of the American imperialists to use Western Germany as a base of economic domination in Europe and for hostile activities against the USSR and the countries of the new democracy have taken shape along the following two lines since the end of the war; in the economic field it is expressed in their attempt to restore the German trusts and their military industrial potential, in the political sphere in their intentions to prevent the establishment of a united democratic Germany.

The ink had hardly dried on the Potsdam Agreement where certain American experts were already claiming that the agreement was not feasible. Concerned above all, with gaining control of the military industrial potential of the Ruhr, the American trusts are sabotaging the development of Germany's industry working for peace needs, and are restoring her heavy industry which may serve war aims.

The efforts to preserve Germany's military-industrial potential also determine the policy of the Anglo-American authorities with regard to reparations.

In the Western zones of Germany the Americans and British have cut down to a minimum the number of plants that have to be dismantled in accordance with the Potsdam

Agreement. In the beginning it had been decided that 1,977 plants would be dismantled. Later a unilateral decision of the Anglo-American authorities taken on October 16 of this year reduced the number to 681 thus curtailing the reparations to be paid by Germany by approximately 60 per cent in the course of one year. There are all reasons to believe that even this number of plants will not be dismantled.

The American and British military authorities in Western Germany have openly come out in favour of the big war plants being left intact with their subterranean installations and hangars, Thus, for instance, the “Messerschmidt” aircrafts plant in Augsburg, which used to employ 21,000 workers is not being dismantled on the pretext that it is urgently needed to manufacture milk cans and kitchen utensils. The Bosch works in Stuttgart, the Messerschmidt plants in Lenheim and Peinfeld, the aircraft and reactive engine plants in Regeusburg and Kempten (Bavaria), not to mention other works have been preserved.

Typical, too, is the position of Bevin and Marshall on the question of reciprocal reparations from current production. At the session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow they rejected this form of reparations, thus openly violating the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. However, it should be stressed here that reparation payments from current production would stimulate peace-time industry, which is something the Anglo-American imperialists are trying in every way to avoid for they are afraid of German competition on the world market.

The policy, aimed at developing Germany’s heavy industry, found clear expression in the “Marshall Plan”, one of whose principal ideas is to convert Western Germany into a base for American expansion over the European countries.

Finally, as is known the Americans and British adopted a unilateral decision refusing to lower the level of German industrial output, and in their plan of August 29 of this year fixed the annual output of steel for the Anglo-American zone at 10,8000.000 tons.

Parallel with the activity of the Anglo-American military authorities American capital is being invested on a mass scale in German industry. The American imperialists are once again pursuing the policy they followed after the first world war, and which resulted in the establishment of giant German-American trusts—the bastion of Hitlerism.

Here it should be added that former Nazi leaders are gradually returning to their old posts. Thus, for instance, such prominent Nazis as Rasch, Zanger, Dinkelbach and others have been placed in charge of the enterprises and administrative bodies in the Anglo-American zone, Wilhelm Relen, a well-known Nazi, and former director of the Thyssen firm, was recently appointed head of the German Council of the Ruhr mines.

Hence, the denazification of the Western zones is nothing but a myth, and decartelisation nothing but empty chatter. The Ruhr mines are not being nationalised.

The economic base of German imperialism is thus being restored in Western Germany.

In accordance with the policy of turning the Ruhr into a military economic base of the bloc hostile to the USSR, and in preparation for a new wax the US State Department is trying to prevent the unification of Germany on democratic foundations.

It is quite obvious that the unification of Germany on a democratic foundation is the preliminary condition to

concluding a peace treaty with a responsible German government, elected in democratic elections in Germany, a treaty without which there can be no democratic peace in Europe or in the world.

Expressing the demands of the democratic sections of the population the United Socialist Party of Germany, in its appeal to the German people in connection with the Foreign Ministers' session, justly pointed out that a united and independent democratic Germany will be a bulwark of peace in Europe, "The dismemberment of Germany would mean the creation at a permanent centre of unrest and would increase the danger of a new war, The first step toward overcoming the scattered state of our homeland is to hold a popular referendum for the unity of Germany".

The imperialist policy of the US State Department and British Foreign Office is in every conceivable way obstructing the solution of the German question in the spirit of peace and democracy.

Instead of establishing government organs through democratic elections in Germany the British and Americans are gradually forming a Western German state,—a puppet of the American imperialists.

The merging of the two zones, which marked the subordination of the British administration to that of the American, was the first decisive move toward forming such a state.

The Anglo-American agreement of the Ruhr, concluded in Washington, shows that although the Inter-Allied council consists of representatives of England and the USA, it will nonetheless be subordinate to American control. Thus, the American imperialists have grabbed the Ruhr and actually

squeezed out England and France.

The restoration of the economic and military base of the Ruhr and the establishment of a Western German state on this basis threatens the security not only of France, but also that of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other states, which cannot allow such a powerful industrial region to be wholly under the control of one or two powers.

The French government, acting on Instructions from Washington, are not concerned with the security of the country and are helping the American imperialists to restore Western Germany. Only the obvious hostility of the French people prevented the French zone being merged with the Anglo-American. However, the governments of France and the USA are taking practical measures to effect this merger.

The chauvinists and militarists will have no difficulty in carrying out their militaristic propaganda in the Western German state, now being formed by the Americans and British, and in preparing for revenge with the help of their Washington masters.

America's policy in Germany, which is part of this plan, is a blow at French independence for, apart from everything else this policy aims to transform France into an economic satellite of Germany.

The following figures are most instructive: The American authorities allow France 72 million tons of coal including 21 million tons of imported coal. Of these 21 million tons 15 are to be supplied by America and 6-by the Ruhr, the Saar and Belgium. France's steel output will be restricted to 6 million tons, whereas in Western Germany it will reach 12 million tons. In this way France will be reduced to a vassal state, and her

deindustrialisation will spell the loss of her independence.

It stands to reason that under the circumstances the American proposal to conclude a 40-year agreement guaranteeing the security of France is nothing but a monstrous bluff.

France can not feel secure so long as an aggressive Germany is her neighbour, as before. The economic annexation of the Saar to France is a trick, invented to conceal from the French people the ignominious capitulation of the Ramadier-Bidault government to American imperialism on the German question. The anti-French nature of this deal, has revealed by the dispatch in "Intransigent" at November 18, 1947, lies in the fact that the USA, England and France have not yet reached agreement on the annexation of the Saar to France, for the following three reasons;

1. The Americans are trying to restrict France's right to reparations at the expense of the value of the Saar mines and industry.

2. They want to curtail Ruhr deliveries to France in proportion to the amount of coal received by France from the Saar.

3. They want France to withdraw her objections not only with regard to steel production in Germany, but also with regard to production in the remaining branches of industry, (including chemical and engineering).

Such is the catastrophic state of affairs in which France now finds herself after a year of continuous capitulation by Blum, Ramadier and Bidault.

The French people know how the German question can be

solved. All that is needed is that France take a firm stand on the realisation of the Potsdam decisions.

The question of the Ruhr—the base of the military industrial potential of the imperialist bloc—and the question of uniting Germany on democratic principles are closely linked with the problem of the peace and Independence of the European countries.

The national interests of the French people coincide in this case with the interests of all countries, which have suffered the brutalities and devastation of Hitler occupation, which fought for their freedom and do not want to bow to the dictates of Wall Street and become American protectorates.

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**THE AMERICAN COLONISERS GIVE
THEMSELVES A FREE HAND.
(REGARDING THE FORMATION OF
GREEK-AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS
IN GREECE)**

All attempts by the Anglo-American colonisers to strangle the Greek people and to crush their resistance are meeting with failure.

This fact is wearing down the patience of the Anglo-American imperialists. They have therefore decided to take the following step in their colonising policy: to set up Greek-American Headquarters to combat the Greek people. In other words, the American General Staff has simply opened up one of its sections in Greece for the purpose of smashing the democratic forces and completely enslaving the Greek people.

In view of this the essence of the policy being pursued by the American and British imperialists in Greece must be fully

exposed.

The policy of Truman-Marshall-Attlee-Bevin is a fascist-imperialist policy in the true sense of the word. It does not differ essentially from the Hitler-Mussolini policy in relation to republican Spain or Czechoslovakia.

Current opinion has it that the so-called Greek government itself has asked or U.S. and British “aid”. It stands to reason that this “government” has asked for Anglo-American aid, seeing that it is made up of Anglo-American paid spies, that it has been installed with the force of British bayonets against the will of the Greek people, and that it rests on the support of Anglo-American troops alone.

Truman and Attlee are pursuing the policy of implanting fascism in Greece with the same cynicism displayed by Hitler and Mussolini in Spain. What is the object of the Truman-Attlee policy in Greece and does this policy differ one iota from the fascist policy of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain and Czechoslovakia?

Hitler and Mussolini needed Spain and Czechoslovakia as a springboard to prepare and unleash the war of German imperialism for world domination.

American imperialism needs Greece, in addition to fascist Turkey, to prepare and unleash a new war for the world domination of American imperialism.

The difference today lies elsewhere. When Hitler planned the Second World War adventure the democratic, anti-fascist movement was much weaker than it is at present, whereas the forces of imperialism were considerably stronger. Not a single government in the world, barring that of the USSR, offered resistance to the fascist aggressors at the time. That is precisely

why fascism was able to prepare, for and unleash the Second World War.

Today the contemporary aspirants to world domination, the American imperialists who have copied the plans, forms and methods of struggle of the German and Italian fascists are opposed by the powerful democratic and anti-imperialist camp, the forces of which are being mobilised over more actively to fight the warmongers.

At their recent conference in Belgrade the representatives of the trade unions of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania discussed the political situation in the Balkans and asked the World Federation of Trade Unions to appeal to the working people of all countries to render moral-political assistance to the fighting Greek people, to collect funds and give other material assistance to the victims of fascist terror in the country.

This appeal will undoubtedly meet with the warm response of the working people of the world.

Since the American fascist imperialists have grown so insolent that they not only are helping the Greek monarchist fascists with arms, but have gone so far as to bring their troops and headquarters into Greece, in order to strangle the Greek people and unleash war in the Balkans, the question naturally arises: why is it that the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all true democrats and opponents of war have not got the right to help the Greek people in their struggle for freedom and national independence against foreign fascist-imperialist slavery?

The working people of the world, the democrats of all countries have every right—and it is their sacred duty—to render assistance to the much-suffering Greece people! This

assistance should take the form of a world-wide demand that the Anglo-American troops be withdrawn from Greece and that American intervention cease: it should take the form of moral and material support for the Greek people who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

Jan Marek

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ERNEST BEVIN—THE SALESMAN OF IMPERIALISM. D. ZASLAVSKY

The Minister of his Majesty the King, Ernest Bevin, who has most immoderately and suspiciously boasted of his proletarian origin, has nothing in common with the working class, even though he received a ministerial portfolio on the workers' mandate. He was never an industrial worker, never worked in a factory. In days gone by he had been a salesman,

coachman, tramway conductor, lackey, waiter. He was always serving somebody, mostly the bourgeoisie.

In a comparatively short space of time, he learnt to use, the strength of the organised workers in the interests not of the individual rich man but of the whole bourgeois class. With the help of trade union top leaders he became a trade union functionary, rapidly climbed the ladder of his career and eventually found himself at the head of the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union. As head of the Union he was able to crush the resistance of the British working class in 1926 and to sell out the General Strike.

Bevin mastered the art of a trade union broker to perfection. He loudly and vehemently defended the partial demands of the workers in order to betray their vital interests behind the scenes.

Herein lay his vocation as a Labour leader. He certainly upheld the old traditions of British trade unionism, which have turned the leaders of the working class into servants of the capitalist class. Lenin wrote: "It has been proved in practice that the functionaries inside the labour movement, who follow the opportunist trend, are better champions of the bourgeoisie, than are the latter themselves. The bourgeoisie would not be able to carry on without their leadership of the workers." (Collected Works, Vol. XXV, pp. 343-344. Russ. Ed.)

These defenders of the bourgeoisie have earned for themselves the nickname: Labour lieutenant of the capitalist class. They are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

In its heyday British capitalism had every opportunity to create such a party, to train the labour leaders needed by the bourgeoisie, to buy them out. A part of the colonial profits and other sources of enrichment of the capitalist monopolies went to remunerate the top leadership of the working class; was used to corrupt it, to build up a labour aristocracy hostile to

socialism and the class independence of the workers, to form cadres of “proletarian” leaders, who have never had anything proletarian in them, except the art of “proletarian” demagoguery. In 1945 the victory of the working class in the Parliamentary elections brought Attlee and Bevin to power. Attlee became Prime Minister, Bevin—Minister of Foreign Affairs. The election programme called for the removal of the capitalists not only from political power but also from economic power. The demand that the key industries and banks be nationalised spoke of the desire and readiness of the working class of England to take the leadership of the country into their own hands. In the sphere of foreign policy the workers insisted on a policy of a lasting genuine peace and lasting, genuine friendship with the Soviet Union.

The victory of the working class in the elections frightened the big bourgeoisie—but not to death; it did not throw them into a panic. The working class knew what they were voting for, but Ministers Attlee, Bevin and other tried labour lieutenants of the bourgeoisie were called upon to act on behalf of the working class. Britain’s workers trusted Bevin blindly, the capitalists— with open eyes.

Britain’s workers believed that the election programme would be carried out, at least gradually. Attlee and Bevin knew that they would not put this programme into effect, that they would go just as far as the bourgeoisie allowed them to go, that

they would betray the working class, as they had been betrayed in the past.

The nationalisation of England’s big industry was not the result of the Labourites adopting the socialist doctrine. It was the only positive way the country’s national economy could be

saved from post-war crisis and economic catastrophe. As was the case in many other countries which had suffered from the war, there were two ways open to England: she could either surmount the crisis by nationalising large-scale industry, by introducing radical agrarian reforms, by reorganising fundamentally the entire credit system unhampered by capitalist monopolies; or with the help of foreign, American aid at the price of the partial or complete loss of her state independence and enthrallment by capitalist monopolies. There is no other alternative to present-day conditions.

The East European countries of the new democracy, as we knew, elected to follow the first course and do not regret it. They are successfully surmounting their difficulties, are forging ahead industrially, are restoring and developing their national economy at giant strides.

The second choice fell to the lot of Greece. The criminal policy of the fascist bourgeoisie in power has reduced the country to the status of a country, has doomed it to civil war, to further destruction.

At the elections the working class of Britain took the first course. Their leaders, however, the servants of capital, propelled them along the second one, and England found herself in the clutches of the American usurers. She has lost her independence in foreign policy, and is now losing it in domestic affairs as well. Wall Street has forbidden nationalisation in England, has forbidden nationalisation in the Ruhr, since the programme of the British working class runs counter to the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

Bevin's foreign policy these past two years has been a chain of shameful retreats and capitulations. The Left Labour M. P. Zilliagus in his article "Bevin and Foreign Policy" wrote that after the Second World War the Labour government threw overboard the statements of the Labour Party with regard to foreign affairs and today continues, in alliance with the

Conservatives to pursue the foreign policy, inherited from their predecessors —the Conservatives in the national government.

True enough, the British Conservatives, in complete accord with the American and other reactionaries, fully sanction Bevin's foreign policy. Churchill has repeatedly expressed his whole-hearted approval of this policy, and stated that Bevin is continuing his, Churchill's foreign policy line.

What has this policy given the British people in the past two years? It has brought about the ignominious downfall of England in Greece, has established contact between the Labourites and fascists. It has brought about the downfall of England in Egypt, has evoked the hatred of the Arab peoples for British policy. It has brought about the downfall of England in Palestine, has branded Bevin's officials and servants who are obediently copying the methods of Hitler fascism with the mark of anti-Semitism.

Bevin's biggest crime, the blackest deed in his betrayal of the working class of England is his intentional designs to worsen Anglo-Soviet relations, his ceaseless attempts to tear asunder the ties of friendship between the British and Soviet peoples formed prior to the war and strengthened in the course of the war.

Strained Anglo-Soviet relations are not in the interests of the British working people. Nor, for that matter are they in the interests of many British capitalists. They meet only the interests of the American and Anglo-American capitalist monopolies. The labour lieutenant of the British bourgeoisie of the American stock exchange.

Britain's foreign policy is no longer an independent policy. This is borne out by all the United Nations meetings, by all the Security Council sessions, by all the sessions of the Foreign Office, by all international conferences. Everywhere the British representatives, be it Bevin himself, or MacNeil and Shawcross, are playing second violin to the American soloists.

As a matter of fact they take it to be quite an honour. Sure we are the second violins, they admit, but what superb violins. Just listen to how beautifully we chime in with the American virtuosi!

Bevin has sold out England's rights in occupied Germany for a mess of pottage. But England has not been given the mess of pottage whereas the USA has received the British zone.

Bevin has included England in the American-English bloc, thus hoping to become a junior partner in American imperialism's exploitation of Europe. But the US businessmen have not got the slightest intention of sharing their power with the lackeys of imperialism. Bevin has been relegated the footboard behind the dollar chariot.

Alarm and discontent are mounting in the ranks of the British working class. Bevin is now compelled ever more frequently to dodge the issue, to reassure the public, to lie in order to conceal from the people the treachery of the Labour Party and his devoted services to the Anglo-American capitalist monopolists. At the TUC congresses in Margate and South port Bevin assured the cautious delegates that his was an independent policy. He very nearly gave his oath on this. But he did not as much as attempt to refute the facts. He merely passed them over in silence.

Bevin is a nonentity as a political figure. He has no programme of his own, is an ignoramus, and unprincipled. Essentially a lackey, all he can do is imitate the masters, whom he has served for so many years and whose manners he is now adopting having become one himself.

The British worker is very patient. But there is a limit even to the patience of the British working class. They did not forgive the traitor MacDonald his treachery. MacDonald's name has become synonymous with perfidy and deceit.

His name, symbolising treachery, is being mentioned ever more frequently in England in connection with Bevin. British

Conservative leaders are patting Bevin on the back, for they look upon him as a new MacDonald. They are not mistaken when they recognise their own man in the new traitor.

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THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The Activities of the Working Class or France

The rapid rise in prices, brought about by the policy of subjugating France to American trusts has aggravated the

economic and political crisis in the country.

The National Committee of the General Confederation of Labour has adopted a resolution denouncing the government's sabotage of the economic development of the country. The resolution points out that the incomes of the capitalists are increasing whereas the living standard of the working people is steadily deteriorating.

The National Committee further stresses that wages do not correspond to the subsistence minimum, and calls upon all French workers to take stock of the situation and at their general meetings to decide on the measures to be adopted in the event the government continues to reject the justified demands of the working people.

The working class of France have passed over to active defence of their interests. For the past twenty day the strike movement has been gaining momentum and today involves more than two million working people.

The Schuman government have rejected the just demands of the workers for a 25 per cent wage increase. In a recent broadcast Schuman insolently declared: "Such are my decisions and it is up to you to accept them".

France's working class are rendering all-round support to the strike movement. This is strengthening the confidence of the country's working class in their ultimate victory.

The Dissolution of the Pfeffer Pro-Fascist Party in Hungary

On the eve of his being handed over to the Hungarian Parliamentary Court Pfeffier, the leader of the fascist party "Hungarian Independence" fled to Austria and from there to the USA. The treacherous espionage activities of Pfeffer

aroused great indignation throughout the country. Hundreds of meetings unanimously demanded the immediate dissolution of this pro-fascist party.

This demand was supported by numerous mass organisations. The working people insisted that the deputies of the "Hungarian Independence" party be deprived of their parliamentary mandates.

The Hungarian government has dissolved the Pfeffer party and Parliament has unanimously adopted a resolution nullifying the deputy mandates of this party.

The Bulgarian Youth Unite into One Union

A joint conference of delegates of the Congresses of the Union of Working Youth and Peasant Youth Union, as well as of representatives of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League, of the Central Committee of the Youth League of the people's union "Zveno", and of the Executive Committee of Young Radicals, was recently held in Sofia.

The meeting adopted a resolution "to establish a united youth union of the democratic youth of Bulgaria, based on strict discipline, on a genuine democratic anti-fascist and anti-imperialist programme, which calls for a struggle to completely uproot fascism, to eradicate capitalist reaction and for the complete triumph of the people's democracy."

A decision was taken to convene in the middle of December the second congress of the Democratic Youth, which is to adopt the programme and status of the Union of the Democratic Youth of Bulgaria.

Conference of Representatives of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Bulgaria. Rumania. Albania

A conference of representatives of the trade unions of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania was recently held in Belgrade in agreement with the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Louis Saillant. The conference exchanged opinions on how to strengthen ties between the trade unions of the Balkan countries in the light of the cardinal tasks of the WFTU, stressed in particular the need for the trade unions to carry on widespread propaganda against the activities of the American and British imperialists.

The conference paid special attention to the situation in Greece. In its telegram to the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions concerning the state of affairs in the country, the conference writes: "We suggest that the World Federation of Trade Unions send out an appeal to all national centres, which are members of the WFTU; to the working people of the world and, above all, to the workers of the USA and England, to render moral assistance to the Greek people in their struggle for independence and democratic order, against enslavement by the American and British imperialists, for the eradication of fascism in Greece, which thrives thanks only to the support of the occupation troops of the American and British imperialists; to establish in the World Federation of Trade Unions and at all the national centres of the trade union movement, in cooperation with other democratic organisations, committees to aid Greece, which are to launch a widespread drive to render every moral and political support to the liberation struggle of the Greek people, to collect funds and render other material assistance to the victims of fascist terror in Greece..."

For the Unity of the Democratic Movement in Italy

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, after reviewing the situation in the country, resolved to “salute the working people of Milan, Sicily and the whole of Italy, who vigorously rebuffed the fascist provocations”.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party “with indignation denounces the tolerance shown by the government in the face of these provocations and the attempts to hold the democratic forces responsible for the fascist terror”.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy “regards the behaviour of the Christian Democratic government as outright encouragement of neo-fascism and its terroristic activities, and instructs the Secretary of the Party to establish contact and reach agreement with the leading organs of all the democratic parties, so as to take action in Parliament and in the country to ensure the free and effective development of the political struggle along democratic lines.”

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IN ANTWERP. M. PJADE

At the end of November the international conference of representatives of the Socialist Parties opened in Antwerp. This is the seventh conference since December 1944, and the fifth one since the end of the war of the parties which were members of the Second International prior to the war. Three such conferences were held in the course of the Second half of 1946: in Clacton, Paris and Bournemouth. Last June the representatives of the Socialist Parties came together in Zurich, preceded by a conference of representatives of the Socialist Parties of the Balkan countries, held last May in Budapest.

In order to appraise the tasks which the Antwerp conference has set itself, it is necessary to look back on the activities of the parties, which are the initiators and organisers of this conference.

The British Labourites play the first violin in convening the conference. They are trying to cover up their role and to carry out their leadership through the medium of their agents—the Belgian Socialists. The right-wing French socialists come second as the party which is trying to set the tone of this conference.

Both the British Labourites and the French right-wing Socialists constitute the party of the British and French bourgeoisie. And inasmuch as both the British and French bourgeoisie are completely under the thumb of the American imperialists, it stands to reason that the two parties are trusted servants, devoted lackeys of American imperialism. They are proving this daily as the parties in power in England and

France.

The Antwerp conference of the Socialist Parties will spare no efforts to glue the label of socialist phraseology on the expansionist activities of American imperialism, to render the maximum support to the American plans to enthrall Europe economically and politically, and to clear the ground for the preparations for a new world war for the world domination of American imperialism.

The organisers of the Antwerp conference fully side with the imperialist and anti-democratic camp in the struggle of the two opposing camps—the imperialist and anti-democratic camp on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, on the other.

This is borne out by their activities in their own countries, by the preparatory work, overt and covert, undertaken by its organisers prior to the conference.

Here note should be taken of three factors, which shed light on the real aims of the initiators of the conference.

Firstly, as a result of the Second World War the authority of the Soviet Union, as the main force which saved the world from fascist barbarism, has grown immeasurably. The victory of the Soviet Union in the war is a victory of its social order, a victory of socialism, which dealt, a crushing blow to the right-wing Socialists who, on orders from their masters, have for years been predicting the inevitable collapse of the “Bolshevik experiment”.

Secondly, in the course of the war the Communist Parties of the enslaved countries of Europe stood at the head of their peoples and selflessly fought for their national liberation. The Communist Parties proved that they are closely linked with the

masses, give voice to their vital interests that they are the only truly genuine people's, truly national parties.

Thirdly, the popular masses of the different countries and above all, the workers, are ever more insistently demanding joint action between the Communists and Socialists, the establishment of labour unity, as the core of an anti-imperialist people's front in a number of countries the Communist and Socialist Parties have already started joint activities with the prospect of the two parties merging.

The right-wing Socialist-Democrats are out to smash the broad democratic front, and, above all, to prevent the rapprochement of the Communist and Socialist Parties. These splitting activities are headed by the right-wing leaders in the British Labour Party, who were the first to speak of the need to restore the Second International.

During the war already the right-wing Socialists hoped to take the leading role in the restored International and thus direct its policy in the interests of imperialism. Thus, for instance, Attlee, today the Prime Minister of Great Britain and one of the leaders of the Labour Party, addressing the conference of the Labour Parties of England and the British dominions, (September 1944) said that the workers of the occupied countries would draw inspiration from the activities of the Labour Parties of the British Empire and turn to them for guidance.

It goes without saying that these hopes of the Labourites fully coincided with the calculations of the British imperialists, who reckoned that the Anglo-Saxons would dominate the world and impose their will on the peoples after the war.

However, the course of events upset the plans of British imperialism and its Labourite myrmidons. In view of the fact

that a number of left-wing Socialist leaders favoured joint action with the Communists serious differences arose among the Socialist Parties on the question of cooperation with the Communists. The Labour Party leaders deemed it necessary to bide their time to smooth over the differences existing between the different Socialist Parties. But an organ to guide the activity of the Socialist Party was needed.

With this aim in view the Bournemouth conference in November 1946 formed the so-called Consultative Committee, with headquarters in London. Dennis Healy, secretary of the International Department of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, was appointed secretary of the Committee.

The real object of the organisers of the conference of Socialist Parties was obvious. The so-called Consultative Committee is nothing but a branch of the International Department of the Labour Party's Executive Committee, which pursues the policy of British imperialism, which has become the junior partner of the American imperialists.

The efforts of the so-called Consultative Committee are also directed at undermining the unity of the popular masses in the countries of the new democracy.

Thus, on the eve of the conference of representatives of the Socialist Parties in Zurich, the leaders of the British Labour Party held a conference of the Socialist Parties of the Danube countries in Budapest. The purpose of this conference was to strengthen the position of the rightwing elements in the Socialist Parties of these countries and gradually to break the existing ties between these parties and the Communists.

The bosses of the Antwerp conference would have you believe that the Socialist Parties present a united camp where no principled differences exist.

This is by no means the case. The conference is attended by representatives of the Social-Democratic Parties of some of the new democracies and left-wing representatives of the Socialist Parties of other countries. This wing consists of healthy elements who regard unity, of the working class an imperative condition in the struggle against imperialism. Experience has shown that many members of these parties are aware of the treacherous, splitting character of the policy of the right-wing Socialists. American imperialism regards the initiators to restore the Second International as loyal supporters with whose aid it is trying to realise its delirious plans for world domination.

The Labourite methods of implementing “Socialist” ideas fit in beautifully with the plans of American imperialism in postwar Europe. It is therefore not surprising that Labourism has become the standard of all servants of imperialism, starting with Blum and ending with the Finnish fascists of the type of Tanner. Thus, for instance, the general secretary of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, Leskinen, a staunch follower of Tanner, adding his voice to Schumacher’s stated that “the Socialist International must be restored, not in its original form, however, but along the lines projected by the Labour Party of England.”

The-Socialists of the type of Bevin and Blum have today been called upon to offer the most demagogic “theoretical” reasons for the rapacious plans of American imperialism.

In keeping with America’s plans to enthral Europe the right-wing Socialists, such as Blum, are feeding the people with reactionary “cosmopolitan” ideas, demanding that they renounce national sovereignty, are acting as the salesmen of American imperialism.

As was the case before the Second World War, when the leaders of the Second International, propagating the policy of non-intervention, prepared the ground for the ignominious capitulation of a number of European bourgeois armies and thus ensured Hitler Germany easy victories, so, too, today the organisers of the conference of the Socialist Parties are bringing grist to the mill of American imperialism by helping it to carry out its plans of seizure.

Reviving the well-known ultra-imperialist theories about the advantages of “one world market”, “one world economy”, while preserving the foundations of capitalism, they are trying to present the “Marshall Plan” as a purely “Socialist” project, which corresponds to the interests of “progress”. There is not a single despicable undertaking of the imperialists which the Blums would not present as an expression of “pure humanism”.

It is obvious that the tasks of the projected international will include carrying out the policy of American imperialism in the guise of a “middle” way between the two “extremes”, but which actually will be directed against the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and which will cover the true aims of American imperialism. There are two camps today: one is the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, which is preparing a new imperialist war, is waging an irreconcilable struggle against the forces of socialism and democracy, is in every way supporting the reactionary pro-fascist regimes and movements; the second camp is the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist camp, whose object is to combat the danger of new wars and imperialist expansion, to strengthen the forces of democracy and eradicate the remnants of fascism. There is no other alternative. The experience of history teaches us that the position taken by the Social-Democrats regarding a “third force”, i.e. allegedly between capitalism and Communism, has always strengthened and even brought temporary victory to

reaction in different countries, and is actually foul betrayal of the interests of the working class, and servility to the bourgeoisie.

The working class and the working people of the capitalist countries will answer the new treachery of the right-wing Social-Democrats by rallying still closer around the anti-imperialist and democratic front, by waging a more resolute struggle against the instigators of a new war and their contemptible servants.

Editorial Board

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