

**MEETING  
OF THE  
INFORMATION BUREAU  
OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES**

**IN HUNGARY  
IN THE LATTER HALF  
OF NOVEMBER  
1949**

**PUBLISHED BY THE JOURNAL  
"FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!"  
1950**

FOOTLE  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY

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## COMMUNIQUE

### MEETING OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

*During the latter half of November, the Information Bureau held a meeting in Hungary, attended by the following representatives. From the Communist Party of Bulgaria: Comrades V. Tchervenkov, V. Poptomov; Rumanian Workers' Party: Comrades Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, J. Chishinevski, A. Moghörös; Hungarian Workers' Party: Comrades M. Rakosi, A. Gerö, J. Revai, J. Kadar; United Workers' Party of Poland: Comrades J. Berman, A. Zawadski; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Comrades M. Suslov, P. Yudin; Communist Party of France: Comrades J. Duclos, E. Fajon, G. Cogniot; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: Comrades R. Slansky, S. Bastovansky, L. Kopriva, B. Geminder; Communist Party of Italy: Comrades P. Togliatti, E. d'Onofrio, A. Cicalini.*

*The meeting heard the following reports: Comrade M. Suslov—"Defence of Peace and the Fight Against the Warmongers"; Comrade P. Togliatti—"Working-Class Unity and the Tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties"; Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej—"Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Assassins and Spies."*

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

## DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WARMONGERS

RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU

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

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

During this period the two lines in world policy have stood out with even greater clarity and distinctness—the line of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the U.S.S.R., the camp which is waging a persistent and consistent fight for peace among nations and for democracy; and the line of the imperialist, anti-democratic camp headed by the ruling circles of the U.S.A., the camp whose chief aim is forcibly to establish Anglo-American world supremacy, to enslave other countries and peoples, to destroy democracy and to unleash a new war. The imperialist camp, moreover, is becoming more and more aggressive. The ruling circles of the United States and Great Britain are openly pursuing a policy of aggression and preparation for a new war.

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

numbers and strength. The continually growing might of the Soviet Union, the political and economic consolidation of the People's Democracies and the fact that they have set about the building of Socialism, the historic victory of the Chinese people's revolution over the combined forces of internal reaction and American imperialism, the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, the increasing strength of the Communist Parties and the growth of the democratic movement in the capitalist countries, and the immense sweep of the movement for peace—all this is indicative of a substantial expansion and consolidation of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp.

The strength of the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the other hand, is waning. The successes of the forces of democracy and Socialism, the oncoming economic crisis, the further accentuation of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the aggravation of the external and internal antagonisms of this system, bear witness to the progressive weakening of imperialism.

The changing relation of forces in the international arena in favour of the camp of peace and democracy drives the imperialist warmongers to frenzied anger and fury. The American and British imperialists count upon war to change the course of historical development, to resolve their external and internal antagonisms and difficulties, to strengthen the position of monopoly capital and to win world supremacy. Aware that time is working against them the imperialists are feverishly and hastily patching together blocs and alliances of reactionary forces for the accomplishment of their aggressive plans.

The entire policy of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc is subordinated to the preparations for another war. It finds expression in the frustration of a peaceful settlement of relations with Germany and Japan, in the consummation of the partition of Germany, in the conversion of the Western zones of Germany and American-occupied Japan into hotbeds of fascism and revanchism and into vantage grounds for the

realization of the aggressive plans of this bloc. This policy is served by the enslaving Marshall plan and its direct sequels, Western Union and the North-Atlantic military bloc, which are aimed against all peace-loving peoples, by the frantic armament drive in the United States and the West-European countries, by the inflated military budgets and the extension of the network of American military bases. This policy likewise finds expression in the refusal of the Anglo-American bloc to ban the atomic weapon, despite the collapse of the myth of an American atomic monopoly, and in the insistent whipping up of war hysteria. This policy determines the whole line of the Anglo-American bloc in the United Nations, a line which aims at undermining that organization and turning it into a tool of the American monopolies.

The imperialists' policy of unleashing a new war also found expression in the conspiracy—exposed at the Rajk-Brankov trial in Budapest—organized by American and British circles against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union with the help of the Tito fascist, nationalist clique, who have become agents of international imperialist reaction.

The policy of preparing a new war involves an unbearable and continually growing burden of taxation on the masses in the capitalist countries, increasing poverty for the working people side by side with fabulously increasing super-profits for the monopolies, which are waxing rich on the armament drive. The growing economic crisis spells for the working people of the capitalist countries even greater poverty, unemployment, starvation and fear of the morrow. At the same time the policy of preparing war is coupled with continuous encroachments by the imperialist ruling circles on the elementary and vital rights and the democratic liberties of the masses, with intensified reaction in all spheres of public, political and ideological life, with the employment of fascist methods for the suppression of the progressive and democratic forces of the people. By these measures the imperialist bourgeoisie is endeavouring to prepare the rear for a piratical war.

Hence, like the fascist aggressors, the Anglo-American bloc is conducting its preparations for a new war along every line: strategical measures, political pressure and blackmail, economic expansion and enthrallment of nations, ideological doping of the masses and intensified reaction.

The American imperialist bosses are building their plans of unleashing another world war and establishing their world supremacy without any regard for the real relative strength of the camp of imperialism and the camp of Socialism. Their plans for world domination are even more groundless and presumptuous than those of the Hitlerites and the Japanese imperialists. The American imperialists obviously overestimate their own strength and underestimate the growing strength and organization of the anti-imperialist camp.

The present historical situation differs radically from the situation in which the second world war was hatched, and under present international conditions it will be incomparably more difficult for the warmongers to accomplish their bloodthirsty designs. "The horrors of the recent war are still too fresh in the memory of the peoples, and the social forces standing for peace are too strong for Churchill's pupils in aggression to overmaster them and swing them towards a new war." (J. V. Stalin.)

The peoples do not want war and hate war. They are increasingly realizing towards what a terrible abyss the imperialists are trying to drag them. The tireless struggle of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the international working-class and democratic movement against the warmongers and for the peace, liberty and independence of the peoples is meeting with powerful and daily increasing support from the broadest sections of the population in all countries of the world.

Hence the development of the mighty movement of the partisans of peace. This movement, which embraces over 600 million people, is growing and spreading, extending to all countries of the world and drawing into its ranks increasing numbers of new fighters, against the menace of war. The

peace movement is graphic evidence that the masses are taking the defence of peace into their own hands and demonstrating their unbending will to uphold the cause of peace and prevent war.

However, it would be erroneous and harmful for the cause of peace to underestimate the danger of the new war which the imperialist powers, headed by the United States and Great Britain, are preparing.

The enormously increasing strength of the camp of democracy and Socialism must not give rise to any complacency in the ranks of genuine champions of peace. It would be a profound and unpardonable delusion to think that the danger of war has diminished. History teaches that the more hopeless things are for the imperialist reactionaries, the more rabid they become and the greater the danger of military adventures.

Only supreme vigilance on the part of the peoples, and their firm determination actively to fight for peace with every means in their power will secure the failure of the criminal designs of the instigators of a new war.

In view of the increasing danger of another war, a great and momentous responsibility lies on the Communist and Workers' Parties. The struggle for stable and lasting peace, for the organization and consolidation of the forces of peace against the forces of war should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties and democratic organizations.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that their major tasks in the great and noble work of saving mankind from the threat of a new war are as follows:

1. They must work with still greater persistence for the organizational consolidation and extension of the movement of peace supporters, draw ever larger sections of the population into it and make it a movement of the whole people. Particular attention must be given to bringing into the peace movement trade unions, women's, youth, cooperative, sports,

cultural and educational, religious and other organizations, as well as scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, members of parliament and other political and public men and women who come forward in defence of peace and against war.

It is of the utmost importance today to unite all genuine peace supporters, regardless of religious beliefs, political views or party affiliation, on the broadest platform of fighting for peace and against the danger of a new war with which mankind is threatened.

2. It is of decisive significance for the further development of the movement for peace that the working class take an increasingly active part in it, and that its own ranks be solid and united. It is therefore the prime duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to enlist in the ranks of the peace champions the broadest sections of the working class, to bring about firm working-class unity, to organize joint actions of the various detachments of the proletariat based on a common platform of fighting for peace and the national independence of their countries.

3. Working-class unity can be won only in a resolute struggle against the Right Socialist splitters and disrupters of the working-class movement.

Right Socialists of the type of Bevin, Attlee, Blum, Guy Mollet, Spaak, Schumacher, Renner and Saragat, and reactionary trade union leaders like Green, Carey and Deakin, who are conducting a splitting policy, a policy inimical to the interests of the people, are the main enemies of working-class unity, abettors of the warmongers and servitors of imperialism, who camouflage their treachery with pseudo-socialist, cosmopolitan phrasemongering.

While indefatigably fighting for peace, the Communist and Workers' Parties must constantly expose the Right Socialist leaders as bitter enemies of peace. Cooperation and united action with the primary organizations and rank-and-file members of the Socialist Parties must be developed and strengthened to the utmost, all really honest elements in these

parties should be supported, and the fatality of the policy of the reactionary Right-wing leaders explained to them.

4. The Communist and Workers' Parties must counter the hate propaganda of the aggressors, who are out to turn the countries of Europe and Asia into a blood-drenched field of war, by conducting propaganda on the broadest scale in favour of stable and enduring peace among nations; they must incessantly expose aggressive blocs and military-political alliances (especially Western Union and the North-Atlantic bloc); they must widely explain that a new war would hold out dire misfortunes and colossal destruction for the peoples, and that the fight against war and in defence of peace is the cause of all the peoples of the world. They must see to it that the war propaganda and the preaching of race hatred and national animosity conducted by the agents of American and British imperialism meet with sharp condemnation from all democratic elements of society in all countries, and that not a single utterance of the propagandists of a new war be allowed to pass without rebuff from the honest supporters of peace.

5. Wide application should be made of the new and effective forms of mass struggle for peace which have fully justified themselves, such as peace committees in town and country, petitions and protests, popular referendums—such as are widely practised in France and Italy. Publication and distribution of literature exposing war preparations; collection of funds for the struggle for peace; organization of boycotts of films, newspapers, books, magazines, broadcasting companies, institutions and individuals that preach a new war—all these are the vital duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

6. The Communist and working-class parties in the capitalist countries consider it their duty to merge into one the struggle for national independence and the struggle for peace, indefatigably to expose the anti-national, treasonable character of the policy of bourgeois governments that have become direct agents of aggressive American imperialism, to



unite and rally all the democratic patriotic forces of their country around slogans calling for an end to be put to the disgraceful bondage which finds expression in servile subordination to the American monopolies, and for a return to an independent foreign and domestic policy conforming to the national interests of the peoples.

The broadest masses of the people in the capitalist countries must be rallied in defence of the democratic rights and liberties, by unceasingly explaining to them that defence of peace is inseparably bound up with defence of the vital interests of the working class and all working people, with defence of their economic and political rights.

Important tasks confront the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and other countries whose people the American imperialists want to use as cannon fodder for the realization of their aggressive plans. It is their duty to develop with still greater energy the struggle for peace, the struggle to foil the criminal designs of the Anglo-American warmongers.

7. It is the task of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, in addition to exposing the imperialist warmongers and their abettors, to further strengthen the camp of peace and Socialism for the protection of the peace and security of nations.

8. The American and British imperialists assign a big role in their aggressive plans, especially in Central and Southeastern Europe, to the nationalist Tito clique, who act as spies in the service of the imperialists. The defence of peace and the fight against the warmongers demand the continued exposure of this clique who have deserted to the camp of the malignant enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism, to the camp of imperialism and fascism.

\* \* \*

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

The courageous call of the Communist Parties, declaring that the peoples will never fight the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, is reverberating ever wider among the masses of the capitalist countries.

In the days of the war against fascism the Communist Parties were in the vanguard of the popular resistance to the invaders; in the postwar period the Communist and Workers' Parties are the vanguard fighters on behalf of the vital interests of their peoples and against a new war. United under the leadership of the working class, the opponents of another war—the men of labour, science and culture—constitute a mighty front of peace, capable of thwarting the criminal designs of the imperialists.

The outcome of the titanic and mounting struggle for peace largely depends upon the energy and initiative of the Communist Parties; it depends above all on the Communists, as the vanguard fighters, whether the possibility of frustrating the plans of the warmongers will be turned into a reality.

The forces of democracy, the forces of peace are far superior to the forces of reaction. The whole thing now is still further to sharpen the vigilance of the peoples with regard to the instigators of war, and to organize and unite the broad masses of the people for active defence of the cause of peace, in protection of the vital interests of the peoples, of their life and liberty.

# **WORKING-CLASS UNITY AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU

## **I**

The preparations the American and British imperialists are making for a new war, and the offensive bourgeois reaction has launched against the democratic rights and economic interests of the working class and the people generally, necessitate a more intense struggle on the part of the working class for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and for the organization of resolute resistance to the warmongers and to the onslaught of imperialist reaction.

Unity of the working class is the pledge of success in this struggle.

Postwar experience shows that the policy of splitting the working-class movement is one of the chief tactical means and measures employed by the imperialists to unleash a new war, suppress the forces of democracy and Socialism, and drastically reduce the living standards of the masses.

Never before in the history of the international working-class movement has working-class unity, both nationally and internationally, been of such decisive importance as it is today. Working-class unity is essential in order to safeguard peace, to frustrate the criminal designs of the warmongers and foil the conspiracy of the imperialists against democracy and Socialism, to prevent the establishment of fascist methods of rule, resolutely to repel the offensive of monopoly capital against the vital interests of the working class, and

to secure an improvement in the economic condition of the working masses.

These tasks can be accomplished primarily by uniting the broad masses of the working class, irrespective of party or trade union affiliation or religious conviction. Unity from below is the most effective way to unite all the workers in defence of peace, the national independence of their countries, and the economic interests and democratic rights of all working people. Working-class unity is quite attainable, despite the opposition of the leading centres of those trade unions and parties which are headed by splitters and enemies of unity.

The postwar period has been marked by big successes in eliminating division in the ranks of the working class and in uniting the general democratic forces, as expressed in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Democratic Women and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and in the convening of the World Peace Congress. Unity successes find expression in the consolidation of the C.G.T. in France, in the creation of a united trade union federation in Italy (C.G.T. of I.) and in the militant actions of the French and Italian proletariat.

In the People's Democracies historic achievements in working-class unity have been registered: united working-class parties, united trade unions, united cooperative, youth, women's and other organizations have been established. This working-class unity has played a decisive role in promoting the economic and cultural progress of the People's Democracies, in securing the working class the leading role in the state, and in radically improving the material conditions of the working masses.

All this is indicative of a tremendous urge on the part of the working masses to consolidate their ranks, and of the existence of a real possibility of creating a united working-class front against the combined forces of reaction—from the U.S. imperialists to the Right Socialists.

The American and British imperialists and their satellites in the European countries are striving to divide and disrupt the forces of the proletariat and the people generally, pinning especial hopes on the Right Socialist and reactionary trade union leaders. On the direct orders of the American and British imperialists the Right Socialist and reactionary trade union leaders are trying to split the ranks of the working-class movement from above, and are seeking to destroy the united working-class organizations created in the postwar period. They tried to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions from within, they organized breakaway groups like the "Force Ouvrière" in France and the so-called Labour Federation in Italy, and they are now preparing to form a schismatic international trade union federation. Similar splitting moves were made by the leaders of Catholic organizations in various countries.

The characterization given by the first Meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties of the treacherous activities of the Right Socialist leaders, whom it defined as rabid enemies of working-class unity and abettors of imperialism, has been fully confirmed.

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

In those countries where Right Socialists are in the government (Britain, France, Austria, the Scandinavian countries), they act as ardent champions of the Marshall plan, Western Union, the North-Atlantic Treaty and all other forms of U.S. expansion. These pseudo-Socialists perform the despicably foul work of persecuting working-class and democratic organizations which defend the interests of the working people.

Sinking ever deeper in their betrayal of the interests of the working class, democracy and Socialism, and having utterly forsaken the Marxist teachings, the Right Socialists

now champion and advocate the predatory ideology of American imperialism. Their theories of "democratic socialism" and the "third force," and their cosmopolitan ravings about the need to surrender national sovereignty are nothing but an ideological screen for the aggression of American and British imperialism.

That wretched offspring of the Second International, which rotted alive, the so-called Committee of International Socialist Conferences (COMISCO) has become a rallying centre for arrant disrupters and disorganizers of the working-class movement. This organization has become an espionage centre working for the British and American intelligence services.

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

## II

The Information Bureau regards it as a cardinal task of the Communist Parties to work indefatigably to unite and organize all the forces of the working class, so as to offer a powerful rebuff to the insolent claims of Anglo-American imperialism; to frustrate its calculations on a new world war, to safeguard and strengthen the cause of peace and international security, and to defeat the onslaught of monopoly capital on the living standards of the working masses.

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

While waging an irreconcilable and consistent struggle in the realm of theory and practice against the Right Socialists

and reactionary trade union leaders, and while ruthlessly exposing them and isolating them from the masses, the Communists must patiently and persistently explain to the rank-and-file Social-Democratic workers the supreme importance of working-class unity, enlist them in the active struggle for peace, bread, and democratic liberties, and pursue a policy of joint actions for the achievement of these aims.

A tried and tested method of attaining unity of the working class is the organization of united action of its various detachments. Joint, coordinated actions at individual enterprises, in whole branches of industry, or on a town, district, national and international scale mobilize the broadest masses to fight for their immediate and most easily understood demands and help to establish permanent unity of the proletarian ranks. United action of the working class from below may take the form of the establishment of peace committees in factories and offices, in the organization of mass demonstrations against the warmongers, in joint actions of workers in defence of democratic rights and for the improvement of their economic conditions.

Particular attention in the struggle for working-class unity should be devoted to the Catholic working masses and their organizations, it being borne in mind that religious convictions are not an obstacle to unity of the working people, especially when such unity is needed to save peace. Specific joint actions in support of economic demands, coordination of the struggle of class and Catholic trade unions, etc., may serve as effective means of drawing Catholic workers into the common front of the struggle for peace.

A paramount task of the Communist Parties in each capitalist country is to do everything in their power to bring about trade union unity. It is of immense importance today to draw unorganized workers into the trade unions and into the active struggle. In capitalist countries such workers constitute a considerable section of the proletariat. If the Communist Parties get down to real work among the unor-

ganized workers they will achieve big successes in establishing working-class unity.

The Information Bureau is of the opinion that working-class unity must serve as the basis on which to build the national unity of all the democratic forces, in order to mobilize the mass of the people for the struggle against American and British imperialism and internal reaction. It is of extreme importance to carry on day-to-day work in the various mass organizations of the working people: women's, youth, peasant, cooperative, etc.

Unity of the working-class movement and solidarity of all the democratic forces is not only necessary for the accomplishment of the daily and current tasks of the working class and the labouring masses generally: it is also necessary for the solution of the fundamental problems confronting the proletariat, as the class which leads the struggle for the abolition of the power of monopoly capital and for the reorganization of society on socialist lines. Success in uniting the ranks of the working-class movement and cementing all the democratic forces will make it possible to develop the struggle in the capitalist countries for the formation of governments which would rally all the patriotic forces opposed to the enslavement of their countries by American imperialism, take their stand on the platform of enduring peace among nations, put an end to the armament drive and raise the living standards of the working people.

In the People's Democracies, the task of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to consolidate the working-class unity already achieved and the united trade union, cooperative, women's, youth and other organizations.

\* \* \*

The Information Bureau is of the opinion that continued success in the struggle for working-class unity and solidarity of the democratic forces depends, above all, on improving the entire organizational and ideological work of every Communist and Workers' Party.

It is of the utmost importance that the Communist and Workers' Parties ideologically expose and wage an irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations of opportunism, sectarianism and bourgeois nationalism, and against the infiltration of enemy agents into the Party ranks.

The lessons arising from the exposure of the Tito-Rankovic espionage clique urgently demand that the Communist and Workers' Parties heighten revolutionary vigilance to the maximum. The agents of the Tito clique, acting at the behest of the American imperialists, are today the most malignant disrupters of the ranks of the working-class and democratic movements. It is therefore necessary resolutely to combat the machinations of this imperialist agency wherever it endeavours to be active in working-class and democratic organizations.

Strengthening of the Communist and Workers' Parties organizationally, ideologically and politically on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism is the essential condition for the success of the struggle of the workers for the unity of their ranks, for peace, for the national independence of their countries, for democracy and Socialism.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE POWER OF ASSASSINS AND SPIES

### RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU

The Information Bureau, consisting of representatives of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Hungarian Workers' Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Italian Communist Party, having discussed the question, "The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Assassins and Spies," unanimously reached the following conclusions:

Whereas the Meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties in June 1948 placed on record that the Tito-Rankovic clique had abandoned democracy and Socialism for bourgeois nationalism, in the period that has elapsed since that meeting of the Information Bureau this clique have definitely passed from bourgeois nationalism to fascism and outright betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia.

Recent developments have shown that the Yugoslav government is in a state of complete dependence on foreign imperialist circles and has become a tool of their aggressive policy, which has resulted in the liquidation of the sovereignty and independence of the Yugoslav Republic. The Central Committee of the Party and the government of Yugoslavia have completely joined forces with the imperialist circles against the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, against the Communist Parties of the whole world, and against the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

The Belgrade clique of hired spies and assassins have openly formed a compact with imperialist reaction and entered its service, as the Budapest trial of Rajk-Brankov made perfectly clear.

This trial showed that the present Yugoslav rulers have deserted the camp of democracy and Socialism for the camp of capitalism and reaction, have become direct abettors of the instigators of a new war, and are endeavouring by their treacherous deeds to earn the praise of, and curry favour with the imperialists.

The desertion of the Tito clique to fascism is not fortuitous; it was done at the orders of their masters, the British and American imperialists, whose hirelings, as is now known, they have been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, in obedience to the wishes of the imperialists, made it their purpose to recruit in the People's Democracies political gangs consisting of reactionary, nationalist, clerical and fascist elements, and, with their support, to effect counterrevolutionary coups in these countries, sever them from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp and subordinate them to the forces of imperialism. The Tito clique converted Belgrade into a centre of American espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

When all sincere friends of peace, democracy and Socialism look upon the U.S.S.R. as a mighty stronghold of Socialism, as a loyal and steadfast protector of the liberty and independence of peoples, as the main buttress of peace, the Tito-Rankovic clique, having climbed to power under the mask of friends of the U.S.S.R., have, at the behest of the American and British imperialists, started a campaign of calumny and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilizing the most dastardly fabrications borrowed from the arsenal of the Hitlerites.

The conversion of the Tito-Rankovic clique into direct agents of imperialism and abettors of the warmongers was consummated by the open adhesion of the Yugoslav government to the imperialist bloc in the United Nations, where

the Kardeljs, Djilases and Beblers act in a united front with the American reactionaries on major questions of international policy.

In the sphere of home policy, the principal outcome of the activities of the traitorous Tito-Rankovic clique is the actual liquidation of the people's democratic system in Yugoslavia.

As a result of the counterrevolutionary policy of the Tito-Rankovic clique, who have usurped power in the party and the state, an anti-Communist police regime of the fascist type has been installed in Yugoslavia. The social basis of this regime consists of the kulaks in the countryside and the capitalist elements in the towns. Power in Yugoslavia is in fact in the hands of anti-popular, reactionary elements. Active members of the old bourgeois parties, kulaks and other elements hostile to people's democracy are ensconced in the central and local government bodies. The ruling fascist clique maintain their power with the help of an inordinately inflated military and police machine, by means of which they oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia, have turned the country into a military camp, wiped out the democratic rights of the working people and suppress every free expression of opinion.

The Yugoslav rulers demagogically and brazenly deceive the people when they allege that they are building Socialism in Yugoslavia. It is clear to every Marxist that there can be absolutely no question of building Socialism in Yugoslavia when the Tito clique have broken with the Soviet Union and the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, thereby depriving Yugoslavia of the chief support in building Socialism, and when they have subordinated the country economically and politically to the American and British imperialists.

The state-owned sector in Yugoslavia's economy has ceased to be the property of the people, since the state power is in the hands of enemies of the people. The Tito-Rankovic clique are providing wide opportunities for the penetration

of foreign capital into the country's economy and have placed it under the control of capitalist monopolies. American and British industrial and financial circles are investing capital in the Yugoslav economy and are transforming Yugoslavia into an agrarian and raw-material adjunct of foreign capital. Yugoslavia's increasing bondage to imperialism is leading to the intensified exploitation, and severe deterioration of the conditions, of the working class.

The policy of the Yugoslav rulers in the countryside is of a kulak-capitalist character. The pseudo-cooperatives forcibly instituted in the countryside are controlled by the kulaks and their agents, and are an instrument for the exploitation of the broad mass of the labouring peasants.

The Yugoslav hirelings of imperialism, having seized the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, unloosed a campaign of terror against the genuine Communists who are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are struggling to make Yugoslavia independent of the imperialists. Thousands of Yugoslav patriots devoted to Communism have been expelled from the party and incarcerated in prison and concentration camp, while many have been tortured and murdered in jail or nefariously assassinated, like the well-known Yugoslav Communist Arso Jovanovic. The ruthlessness with which staunch champions of Communism are exterminated in Yugoslavia can only be compared with the brutalities of the Hitler fascists or of the butchers Tsaldaris in Greece and Franco in Spain.

While expelling from the ranks of the party Communists who are loyal to proletarian internationalism and annihilating them, the Yugoslav fascists have thrown the doors of the party wide open to bourgeois and kulak elements.

As a result of the fascist terror of the Tito gang against the healthy forces in the Yugoslav Communist Party, the leadership of the party is now wholly in the hands of spies and assassins, hirelings of imperialism. The Yugoslav Communist Party has fallen under the control of counterrevolu-

tionary forces that presume to speak and act in the name of the party. We know that it is an old method of the bourgeoisie to recruit spies and provocateurs in the ranks of working-class parties. The imperialists endeavour by this means to undermine these parties from within and bring them under their control. This they have succeeded in doing in Yugoslavia.

The fascist ideology, and the fascist home policy, like the treacherous foreign policy, of the Tito clique, which are entirely governed by foreign imperialist circles, have dug a chasm between the Tito-Rankovic clique of spies and fascists and the fundamental interests of the freedom-loving Yugoslav peoples. This is why the anti-popular and treacherous activity of the Tito clique is encountering increasing resistance both from the Communists who remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism and from the working class and labouring peasantry of Yugoslavia.

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On the basis of irrefutable facts testifying that the Tito clique have definitely swung over to fascism and deserted to the camp of world imperialism, the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties considers that:

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

2. This espionage group represent not the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the will of the American and British imperialists, and have therefore betrayed the interests of the country and destroyed the political sovereignty and economic independence of Yugoslavia.

3. The "Communist Party of Yugoslavia," as at present constituted, having fallen into the hands of enemies of the people, assassins and spies, has forfeited the right to be

called a Communist party and is merely an apparatus for carrying out the espionage assignments of the Tito-Kardelj-Rankovic-Djilas clique.

The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties therefore considers that the fight against the Tito clique of hired spies and assassins is the international duty of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to assist in every way the Yugoslav working class and labouring peasantry who are struggling to bring back Yugoslavia to the camp of democracy and Socialism.

An essential condition for Yugoslavia's return to the socialist camp is active struggle of the revolutionary elements both inside and outside the Yugoslav Communist Party for the resurrection of a revolutionary, genuinely Communist party of Yugoslavia, which will be faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and which will fight for Yugoslavia's independence from imperialism.

The forces of Yugoslavia loyal to Communism, being unable under the present savage fascist terror to come out openly against the Tito-Rankovic clique, have been compelled to resort to the same means of fighting for the cause of Communism as are employed by the Communists in those countries where legal activity is debarred to them.

The Information Bureau expresses the firm conviction that forces will be found among the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia capable of assuring victory over the Tito-Rankovic clique of spies and restorers of the bourgeois system, that, led by the working class, the toiling people of Yugoslavia will succeed in recovering the historical gains of people's democracy, won by the peoples of Yugoslavia at the price of heavy sacrifice and heroic struggle, and that they will take the road of building Socialism.

The Information Bureau considers it one of the most important tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties to enhance revolutionary vigilance in their ranks to the utmost,

to expose and eject bourgeois-nationalist elements and agents of imperialism, under whatever flag they may disguise themselves.

The Information Bureau deems it necessary to intensify ideological work in the Communist and Workers' Parties, the work of educating Communists to be faithful to proletarian internationalism, to be implacable towards all departures from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to be faithful to people's democracy and Socialism.



*M. Suslov*

## **DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WARMONGERS**

Comrades, a little over two years have passed since the first Information Meeting of representatives of a number of Communist Parties.

The Declaration issued by this Conference gave a profound analysis of the changes that had taken place in the international situation as a result of the second world war and in the early postwar years; it showed that two camps with opposite aims and objects had formed in the world arena; it exposed the aggressive plans of the imperialist camp, headed by the U.S.A., aimed at establishing the world supremacy of Anglo-American imperialism and the destruction of democracy; it disclosed the treacherous role played by the Right Social-Democratic leaders as abettors of imperialism in all its actions against the interests of the people.

The whole course of events in these past two years has fully corroborated the assessment of the international situation given by the first Informbureau Meeting, and of the perspectives and tasks of the anti-imperialist camp outlined by that Meeting.

Evaluating today the importance of the decisions adopted by the first Informbureau Meeting, and also of the resolution "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" adopted at the second Informbureau Meeting, it may be confidently said that these were truly historic decisions, that they have played an outstanding mobilizing and

organizing role in rallying the ranks of the international working-class movement, in mobilizing the masses to resist world reaction and the fomenters of a new war, and in promoting the further growth and consolidation of the forces of democracy and Socialism throughout the world.

In the period that has elapsed since the first Meeting of the Information Bureau substantial changes have taken place in the international situation.

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### CONSPIRACY OF THE AGGRESSORS AGAINST THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF NATIONS

The two past years have brought out with even greater clarity and distinctness the two lines in world policy—the line of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp, headed by the U.S.S.R., the camp which is waging a persistent and consistent fight against imperialist reaction, for peace among nations, and for democracy; and the line of the imperialist, anti-democratic camp, headed by the U.S.A., the camp whose chief aim it is to enslave other countries and peoples, forcibly to establish Anglo-American world supremacy, to smash the forces of democracy, and to unleash a new war. The struggle between these opposite camps has grown more acute. The imperialist camp has become still more aggressive.

Whereas, at the first Informbureau Meeting, it was pointed out that the U.S.A. and Britain were embarking on a policy of preparing for new military ventures, today the American and British ruling circles who head the imperialist camp are openly pursuing a policy of aggression, a policy of preparing and precipitating a new world war. Having entered into a military and political conspiracy against the peace and security of nations, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Great Britain are carrying on their preparations for a new war at top speed, and are with increasingly

cynical brazenness and insolence asserting their claims to world domination, to "American leadership of the world," resurrecting the insane plans of German fascism and forgetting the lessons administered by history to the demented claimants to "dominate the world."

The entire policy of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc is now subordinated to the preparations for another world war. It finds expression in the unrestrained economic, political and military expansion the U.S.A. is practising in all continents, in the attempt to seize the strategic raw materials and other resources needed for its war preparations. The American imperialists are enveloping the whole globe with a network of naval and air bases and preparing vantage grounds for a new war.

It is in order to further the preparations for a new war that the Anglo-American imperialists support all obsolete reactionary regimes (the Franco government in Spain, the royalist-fascist government in Greece, Chiang Kai-shek in China, etc.), that they support the remnants of the shattered exploiting classes, the spies, saboteurs and assassins in the People's Democracies, that they support the reactionary forces all over the world. American imperialism has become the centre and bulwark of world reaction.

United States and British imperialist circles have openly trampled upon the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which were designed to provide a just solution of the German problem, and to convert Germany into a democratic and peaceable state. Although they pledged themselves to treat Germany as a single unit, they are pursuing a policy of partitioning Germany, crowning it with the formation of the puppet Bonn "government." Instead of democratizing and demilitarizing Germany, the governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France are reviving the war industries in Western Germany, and restoring the dominance of the reactionary monopolists, the Junkers and the militarist elements, who in the past constituted the buttress of German imperialism and Hitlerism. At the same time, they are doing every-

thing to frustrate the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany, endeavouring to turn the temporary occupation into permanent and undivided colonial rulership in Western Germany.

All honest people can see that this policy towards Germany is determined by the desire of the Wall Street bosses to utilize Western Germany for the furtherance of their imperialist aims and, above all, as a bridgehead, and its population as cannon fodder, for the accomplishment of their aggressive schemes.

That it is the brazen design of the American imperialists to use the German people as cannon fodder was quite recently blurted out by Congressman Poage, who urged that the U.S.A. create a mercenary force of twenty-five German divisions. This warmonger, having little faith that the Germans will shed their blood in the interests of the American capitalist magnates, recommends that all the ammunition of these mercenary forces be kept "in American hands" and that "all the senior officers should consist of Americans." With unparalleled cynicism, Poage declares that he is not at all proposing to send American boys to fight in a war, since he reckons that cannon fodder can be bought very cheaply, by paying, in the words of this blood merchant, "a fraction of the wages that we pay American troops." Poage further says that the United States should endeavour to create a similar mercenary army in Japan.

Such are the brazen schemes the American imperialists are entertaining with regard to the peoples of Germany and Japan.

The policy of preparing war is reflected in the so-called Marshall plan. The Information Meeting of the Communist Parties held in September 1947 disclosed the real designs of the Marshall plan, showing that it was a plan for the economic and political enslavement of Europe to American imperialism.

Actual developments have cruelly scoffed at those who believed in the beneficent role of the Marshall plan. After

nearly two years of Marshall "aid," the economies of the European Marshallized countries, instead of recovering, are in a state of complete derangement. This has become so obvious that it is corroborated by the United Nations Secretariat in its world economic report for 1948, published in July 1949. Even the most ardent admirers and eulogizers of the Marshall plan are now forced to admit its failure.

By subordinating the economies of the Marshallized countries and making them serve the interests of the American monopolies, by flooding the markets of Western Europe with shop-soiled goods that cannot find a sale in the U.S.A., by forcing upon these countries the fatal policy of trade discrimination against the East-European countries, the Marshall plan is in fact accelerating and aggravating the economic crisis that is more and more fastening its grip on the capitalist economy of Europe and America.

The United States offensive against the disorganized economies of the Marshallized countries has lately been still further intensified. Taking advantage of the devaluation of the West-European currencies carried out at their orders, the American imperialists are endeavouring to bring the economies of the West-European countries completely under their control.

Now that life itself has ruthlessly torn the peacock's feathers from the Marshall plan, it stands revealed for what it is—an economic, political and military instrument with the help of which the United States imperialists are bringing the economy of Western Europe under their control and dictation, and are endeavouring to convert it into a colonial adjunct of the United States of America.

The Marshall plan was very soon supplemented by the formation of military and political aggressive blocs of imperialist powers, such as Western Union and the North-Atlantic bloc.

The North-Atlantic bloc is today the principal instrument of American and British ruling circles in their aggressive policy of preparing a new war. As pointed out in the state-

ment of the Soviet Government of January 29, 1949, exposing the real military and political import of the North-Atlantic pact, the aim of this pact is to give the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Great Britain the whiphand over as many countries as possible, by depriving them of the possibility of pursuing an independent national foreign and home policy, and by using them as an auxiliary means for the accomplishment of their aggressive plans of establishing Anglo-American world supremacy.

One of the purposes of the North-Atlantic bloc is to crush the resistance of the European peoples to the United States onslaught on their vital rights, national liberty and independence, and to convert Western Europe into a semicolony of American imperialism and into a base and vantage ground in the preparation of a new war.

The North-Atlantic bloc envisages outright aggression against the democratic states of Eastern Europe and, first and foremost, against the Soviet Union, as the principal force of the democratic camp and the reliable bulwark of the peace and security, the liberty and independence of nations.

Lastly, it is one of the major purposes of the North-Atlantic treaty and its projected subsidiaries—the Mediterranean, Middle-Eastern and Far-Eastern treaties—to pave the way for the crushing of the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies, and to fight the Chinese People's Republic and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, which have scored a supreme victory over the alien imperialists and internal reaction.

Consequently, the North-Atlantic alliance of imperialists under the aegis of the U.S.A. represents a threat to all progressive mankind. And it is quite correctly that this latest dastardly imperialist plot is compared to the notorious anti-Comintern pact which Hitler and Mussolini concluded before the fascist aggressors hurled themselves upon the peoples of Europe with the object of destroying their liberty and independence. Like the anti-Comintern pact, the North-Atlantic

treaty, under cover of the frayed and tattered banner of anti-Communism, is a program of aggression and war, a program for the strangling of the national independence and democratic rights of peoples.

The facts thus show that the imperialists, under the supreme command of the United States imperialists, are preparing a new world war, into the fires of which they are ready to plunge the majority of the peoples and countries of the world for the sake of the covetous aims of a handful of billionaires. For the sake of these aims, the United States ruling circles are converting Western Germany into a military bridgehead in Europe, and are endeavouring to drag the German people into the mincing-machine of a new war. For the sake of these aims, they are, with the direct complicity of the British Labour leaders, converting Britain into a base for their air force and navy, and intend to use the British people as cannon fodder. This is the fate they are also preparing for the peoples of France, Italy and other European countries. In furtherance of their aims of aggrandisement, the American imperialists are turning Japan into a bridgehead of aggression against the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic, North Korea and the peoples of the Pacific, and are endeavouring to use the Japanese people for this purpose. In the Middle East, the American imperialists are building military bases and strongpoints in Turkey, Iran and Iraq, turning these countries into their satellites and trying to get the Turks, the Persians and the Arabs to fight for the profits of the United States monopolists.

In a word, it is now perfectly clear that it is the strategy of American imperialism to kindle the flames of war in all parts of the world and to compel the peoples of all continents to fight at the behest and in the interests of the American billionaires.

The more candid American spokesmen, men like the aforesaid Congressman Poage or General Bradley, frankly and cynically announce that it is their intention to "fight with the hands of others" and to use the soldiers of other

nations as cannon fodder for the U.S.A., which will only supply the arms and rake in the profits.

However, in these presumptuous calculations they are reckoning without their host. The peoples of the countries which the United States and British imperialists want to compel to do the fighting have not the slightest interest in such a war. It holds nothing in store for them but heavy sacrifice and the devastation and ruin of their countries. War is not needed by the peoples, and they do not want war.

Nor is war needed by the masses of the United States, where the monopolist circles are the chief warmongers. Notwithstanding the spate of lying propaganda disseminated by the imperialist aggressors and their abettors, the common people of the U.S.A. are coming more and more to realize that were the warmongers to succeed in unleashing war, it would mean for them, the common people, nothing but soldiering and death in overseas countries, far from their homeland, that war would invade the American continent too, bringing with it the horrors of modern bombing and the destruction of the fruits of the labour of many generations.

Having frankly adopted the course of unleashing another world war, the organizers of the North-Atlantic treaty are disrupting international cooperation, and in the first place, cooperation with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies; they are undermining the United Nations and trying to convert it into an instrument of their schemes of aggrandizement, and are sabotaging the UN General Assembly's decisions on banning the atomic weapon and on reduction of armaments. The policy of disrupting international cooperation led to the celebrated "cold war," to the kindling of a war psychosis and war hysteria, to the artificial creation of a tense international situation, which is being exploited by the arms manufacturers and rabid warmongers.

The Budapest trial of the Rajk-Brankov spy ring uncovered the wide-flung international conspiracy organized by the American and British imperialists against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, against peace and democ-

racy. This imperialist conspiracy pursued the far-reaching aim of overthrowing with the help of Tito's clique of fascist spies, who have become agents of international reaction, the democratic system in Hungary and other People's Democracies, of severing these countries from the camp of peace and democracy, of restoring reactionary fascist regimes in them, and converting the countries of Southeastern and Central Europe into puppets of the imperialists and bridgeheads of aggression.

One direct consequence of the policy of aggression and preparation of a new war is the frantic armament drive, which lays a heavy burden on the working class and all the labouring population of the capitalist countries. Suffice it to say that military expenditures in the U.S.A. in the forthcoming fiscal year will amount to 22,000 million dollars, or twenty times more than before the war. According to E. Nourse, former chairman of the U.S. President's economic advisory council, the U.S. Federal government allocates for military expenditure in one week more than it does in a whole year for public education. One week's appropriations for military purposes would also fully cover a year's total expenditure on public health.

Hence the Truman administration, in its frenzied armament drive, annually spends on war preparations twenty-six times more than on education and public health together. In Great Britain, military expenditures swallow up three times as much as in 1939. The other Marshallized countries are also practising the policy known by the Hitler motto of "guns before butter."

It goes without saying that this policy, accompanied as it is by an inordinate increase in the burden of taxation, results in a sharp deterioration of the economic condition of the working masses in all the capitalist countries. In their preparations for war, the capitalist monopolies are launching a furious offensive against the living standards of the working class and of all the working people. This finds expression in intensified exploitation of the workers by

means of speed-up and reduction of wages, in wholesale discharges of workers from industries not producing for war, and so on.

The preparation for war is also accompanied by a fierce attack on the democratic rights of the working people. In order to clear the way for foreign-policy adventures and the unleashing of war, the imperialists are trying to stifle the working-class and general democratic movement, and to open the sluices for the fascization and complete militarization of the internal regime. Comrade Stalin pointed out as far back as 1927 that imperialism cannot prepare for new wars without suppressing the opposition to war, without suppressing the masses. "In order to conduct war, it is not enough to increase armaments, nor is it enough to organize new coalitions. It is also necessary to strengthen the rear in the capitalist countries. No capitalist country can wage a serious war without first strengthening its own rear, without bridling its 'own' workers, without bridling its 'own' colonies. Hence the gradual fascization of the policy of the bourgeois governments." (J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 282).

The "crusade" against Communism, the persecution of and open terrorism against Communist Parties (U.S.A., France, Australia, India, Latin America, the Middle East, etc.), anti-labour and anti-trade union legislation (U.S.A., Greece, Turkey, etc.), the setting up in the Marshallized countries, at Washington's behest, of reactionary regimes slavishly subservient to dollar imperialism, the resurrection of fascism in Western Germany, the utilization of the Tito clique of fascist spies for subversive activities in the People's Democracies—all these are links in one and the same chain of preparation for war. Under the flag of anti-Communism, the warmongers are creating something in the nature of a "holy" alliance of the forces of imperialism, fascism, the Vatican and the Right Socialists.

The imperialist camp is at the same time engaging in large-scale ideological preparation for a new war. It is continually searching for new means of moulding public opin-

ion in this direction, of doping the masses by the frenzied preaching of race fanaticism and hate propaganda, and by fostering atomic psychosis and war hysteria. Every medium of psychological influence—the press, literature, radio, cinema, the church—have been brought into action.

The ideological stock-in-trade of the propaganda of the warmongers and their abettors is extremely simple, which, however, does not prevent it from being harmful. This stock-in-trade consists chiefly in laudation of the "American way of life" and bourgeois democracy; propaganda alleging the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race; the launching of regular floods of the most unscrupulous lies and slanders against the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving states; the preaching of cosmopolitanism and renunciation of national sovereignty, the purpose of which is to undermine the will of the peoples to resist the encroachments of the American and British imperialists.

One of the chief means of indoctrinating the countries undergoing "Americanization" is to inundate them with American detective literature and Hollywood films, in which gangsters and murderers, sadists and rapers, hypocrites and humbugs invariably figure as the principal heroes. Such "art" and "literature" poison and blunt the minds of the reader and spectator.

Propaganda in favour of a new war pours from the American press and the reactionary press of other countries in torrents. And although the UN General Assembly, at its second session, passed a special resolution condemning war propaganda, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, far from taking any measures to curb the warmongers and their propagandists, are openly spurring them on. Alongside of the venal hacks of the reactionary press and radio, a regular galaxy of official spokesmen, members of the Truman administration, Congressmen, generals, admirals and English lords, now come out openly calling for war.

And so we see that, like the fascist aggressors prior to the second world war, the Anglo-American imperialist bloc

is conducting its preparations for a new war along every line: strategical measures, political pressure and blackmail, economic expansion and enthrallment of nations, ideological doping of the masses, and intensified reaction in all spheres of public life.

The ruling circles of America and Britain harbour the lunatic idea of bringing the whole world under their domination by armed force, and are threatening humanity with a new world carnage. That is why the aggressive military and political conspiracy of the American and British imperialists represents such a terrific menace to the destiny of the world, to the life and well-being of millions of common people, to the national independence and democratic achievements of all peoples.

## II

### FORCES OF THE CAMP OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM ARE GROWING IN STRENGTH AND NUMBERS

It would, however, be a profound mistake to believe that the feverish activity being displayed by the imperialist camp is a sign of its strength, a sign of the impossibility of preventing war.

In these past two years the strength of the imperialist camp continued to diminish, more links dropped out of its chain, and all its internal and external contradictions grew more acute. On the other hand, in this period the forces of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism have been steadily growing in numbers and strength. Consequently, notwithstanding the fact that the imperialist camp is preparing for war on so broad a scale, there is now a mighty and ever-growing barrier in the path of its instigators.

While the imperialist camp, headed by the U.S.A., is preparing for military ventures, the anti-imperialist camp is consolidating its forces to offer determined resistance to

bellicose imperialist aggressors, and is waging a persistent struggle to isolate the incendiaries of a new war and to frustrate their monstrous designs.

The democratic forces of peace are growing incomparably faster than the sinister forces of the warmongers. The relation of forces in the international arena has fundamentally changed, and is continuing to change, in favour of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The growth and consolidation of this camp is attested, in the first place, by the continuously increasing might of the Soviet Union, which leads the van of the anti-imperialist camp, of the struggle for lasting peace. Gone forever are the hopes of the imperialist circles that the U.S.S.R., which bore the main brunt of the war, would be unable to cope with the difficulties caused by the war and the depredations of the German-fascist invaders on a part of the Soviet territory.

The Soviet Union is making mighty strides in all spheres of economy and culture. The imperialist gentry would do well to ponder over the figures published in the Soviet country showing how the postwar five-year plan is being fulfilled. In October of this year, the output of Soviet industry was more than 50 per cent greater than the average monthly output in the prewar year 1940, and exceeded the average monthly output envisaged by the five-year plan for 1950.

Whereas the economies of the capitalist countries present a picture of maturing crisis and decline, which are being accelerated by inordinate military expenditure, the economy of the Soviet Union is steadily progressing from year to year, and from month to month. In the first ten months of 1949, the increased plan of industrial output was overfulfilled; total industrial output was 20 per cent greater than in the corresponding period of last year.

Agriculture is making steady headway. This year's gross grain harvest was bigger than in 1948, and exceeded that of the prewar year 1940. The harvests of cotton, flax and many

other industrial crops were also bigger than last year and exceeded prewar. Socially owned animal husbandry has greatly expanded.

The progress of the national economy is the basis for a continuous improvement in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people, which inspires them to strive for more and bigger achievements.

It is now perfectly clear that the devoted labour of the free Soviet people, the labour of the millions of stakhanovites, guarantees the fulfilment of the U.S.S.R.'s postwar five-year plan of economic development ahead of schedule. And this will not only further increase the might of the Soviet state, but will also strengthen the entire camp of the champions of peace and democracy.

The immense vital force of the Soviet socialist system is likewise reflected in the substantial technical progress made in the Soviet country. New techniques are continually being devised and introduced into production.

One indication of this technical progress and scientific development is the rapidity with which our country mastered the secret of atomic energy and deprived the United States of the monopoly of the atomic weapon.

The announcement by TASS on September 25, 1949, that the Soviet Union had mastered the secret of the atomic weapon and had already possessed this weapon in 1947 effectively disposed of the "prophecy" of the ruling circles of the imperialist powers and of the bourgeois scientists who truckle to them, who had repeatedly declared that the Russians could not master the atomic weapon before 1952.

This TASS announcement caused consternation and dismay in the camp of the imperialists and warmongers, diminished its strength and dealt a crushing blow to the Truman-Churchill "atomic diplomacy," which had calculated on the possession of a monopoly of the atomic bomb and had used it to blackmail the timorous. On the other hand, all supporters of peace ardently acclaim the Soviet Union's possession of the atomic weapon as a victory for the cause

of peace, since they know that the Soviet Government is faithful to its peace policy, and, in spite of the fact that it possesses the atomic weapon, adheres to its former position that the atomic weapon must be unconditionally banned.

The peaceable foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and also of the People's Democracies, is a powerful factor in the strengthening of the camp of peace and democracy. According, as it does, with the vital interests of the common people all over the world, it inspires and rallies all champions of peace, and fortifies their will to victory.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Government follows logically from the very nature of our socialist society, where there are no classes interested in war. The Soviet state is a determined opponent of the policy of national and racial oppression, and its foreign policy is founded on respect for the rights and independence of all nations of the earth, big or small. The Soviet people are fervently building Communism, and are directly interested in the maintenance of peace. Our people are imbued with the profound conviction that in peaceful competition with the capitalist system, the socialist system of society they have created is certain to win.

The Soviet Government's foreign policy in its relations with capitalist states is based on the belief that the socialist and capitalist systems can live side by side and peacefully cooperate. Comrade Stalin formulated this policy with the utmost clarity and distinctness already in 1934 in the following words: "Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow."

The proposals submitted by the Soviet Government at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly to condemn the preparations for a new war being made in a



number of countries, notably in the United States and Great Britain, and to take practical measures for the unconditional banning of the atomic weapon, as well as for the conclusion by the five Great Powers of a Pact for the Strengthening of Peace, were a valuable contribution to the battle for peace, and another blow to the camp of the warmongers.

Further evidence of the growth and consolidation of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism is the big successes achieved by the People's Democracies, which have firmly taken the course of building Socialism.

The rapid economic and cultural progress made by Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Albania, the successful way they are fulfilling their national economic plans, the rising material standards of their people, the consolidation of the internal forces of the People's Democracies, the formation of united Marxist-Leninist workers' parties, which march in the van of the struggle for Socialism, the growing friendship and mutual political, economic and cultural cooperation and mutual assistance among the peoples of Southeastern Europe, the strengthening of their economic and cultural relations with the U.S.S.R.—all these are weighty contributions to the common cause of consolidating and cementing the forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp.

The economic, political and cultural achievements of the People's Democracies serve as a graphic example to other nations of how they can, without deals that bind them in bondage to imperialism, relying upon their own forces, upon mutual cooperation and upon the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union, and preserving their economic and national independence, very quickly heal the wounds dealt by the war and fascist rule and ensure the rapid progress of their industry and other branches of economy and culture.

The exposure at the Rajk-Brankov trial in Budapest of the traitorous Tito clique, and the failure of the perfidious schemes of world reaction to restore capitalism in the Peo-

ple's Democracies testify to the strength and firmness of the people's democratic regimes.

Further evidence of the growth and consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces is the immense successes achieved by the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies. The Chinese people have scored an historic victory, having overthrown the Kuomintang regime, which was a regime of national betrayal, colonial exploitation and feudal oppression. The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic is a powerful blow to the plans of aggrandizement of American imperialism, which calculated upon turning China into its colony and into a vantage ground for another aggressive war; it drives another enormous breach in the imperialist system, and opens a new chapter in the national-liberation struggle of all the peoples oppressed by imperialism. The inclusion of China in the family of democratic peace-loving states has still further altered the alignment of forces in the international arena in favour of the camp of democracy and peace, and extends and strengthens the peace front.

A major victory for the camp of peace and democracy and one more defeat for the imperialist camp was the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, which Comrade Stalin, in his message of congratulation to Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, characterized as a turning point in the history of Europe. This historic act is a reflection of the growth and cementation of the democratic forces of the German people, who are striving for a united, democratic and peaceable Germany, are drawing direct conclusions from the two world wars, and who do not want to be used any more as mercenaries for aspirants to world supremacy.

The victory of the democratic forces in Germany, who are taking the destiny of their country into their own hands, is another defeat for the American and British warmongers. As Comrade Stalin says, "there can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving democratic Germany together with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union precludes

the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe and makes impossible the enslavement of European countries by the world imperialists."

The growing numbers and strength of the democratic camp, and the weakening of the position of imperialism are further eloquently attested by the progress everywhere to be observed of the democratic, and especially the working-class, movement, headed by the Communist Parties. The best proof of this is the growing influence of the Communist Parties among the masses, in spite of the frantic persecution of the Communists by the entire camp of world reaction, and the growth of the working-class strike movement in all the capitalist countries of Europe, America and Australia.

The steady growth and increasing strength of the camp of peace and democracy is vividly evidenced by the powerful development of the movement for peace, which already embraces hundreds of millions of people.

For the first time in history, an organized peace front has arisen, which has made it its aim to save mankind from another world war, to isolate the warmonger clique, and to ensure peaceful cooperation among nations. This movement reflects the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world as a result of the war of the peoples for liberation from the threat of fascist enslavement. It likewise testifies to an unprecedented awakening of the political consciousness of the masses, to the fact that the people have drawn the lessons from the bitter experience of two world wars and are unswerving in their determination to prevent another war, to uphold the cause of peace, to thwart the sinister schemes of the warmongers.

With the grim experience of the past decades in mind, the peoples are now taking the defence of peace into their own hands—and this is one of the cardinal features of the peace movement.

The warmongers and their abettors may rage as they will, but the historical circumstances now radically differ from what they were at the time when the first and second

world wars were in the making. "The horrors of the recent war are still too fresh in the memory of the peoples, and the social forces standing for peace are too strong for Churchill's pupils in aggression to overmaster them and swing them towards a new war." (J.V. Stalin.)

In the concrete historical circumstances of today, salvation of the world from a new war is not a utopia; it is a real possibility. If the peoples are vigilant, active and united in their struggle for peace, if they display staunchness and fortitude in defending peace, the warmongers will be unable to realize their bloodthirsty design of lighting the flames of a third world war.

The strength of the peace movement lies in the fact that it embraces hundreds of millions of people belonging to the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the urban middle classes, irrespective of race or nationality, religious or political convictions. The strength and might of the movement for peace further lies in the fact that it has acquired an organized character. The champions of peace are increasingly uniting and organizing locally, nationally and internationally.

The peace movement arose as a protest movement of the masses against the Marshall plan and the aggressive Western Union and North-Atlantic alliance. Millions of people in France, Italy and other countries raised their voices against the policy of American imperialism, and took part in protest strikes and demonstrations and the collection of signatures to peace petitions.

Of great significance to the development of the peace movement were the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals for Peace, the World Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Budapest (autumn 1948), and especially the World Peace Congress in Paris and Prague on April 20-25 of this year, at which 600 million organized fighters for peace were represented.

The peace movement steadily grew in extent and strength. The Second World Trade Union Congress held in Milan in

the early part of July approved the Manifesto of the Paris Congress and elaborated a concrete program of action for the 72 million trade unionists organized in the World Federation of Trade Unions. National peace congresses have been held in a number of countries. Western Europe was swept by a wave of strikes, mass demonstrations and meetings in protest against the ratification of the North-Atlantic treaty. National peace committees have been set up in many countries, and the formation of similar committees in cities, industrial plants and offices has begun. The peace movement is likewise spreading in the United States and Great Britain, whose peoples are increasingly feeling the burden of the fatal aggressive policy of their ruling circles.

And so, comrades, this brief review of the international situation shows that in the struggle against imperialism and war the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have grown and multiplied. The continually growing might of the Soviet Union, the political and economic consolidation of the People's Democracies and the fact that they have set about the building of Socialism, the historic victory of the people's revolution in China, the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, the increasing strength of the Communist Parties and the growth of the democratic movement in the capitalist countries, the immense sweep of the movement for peace—all this is indicative of a substantial expansion and consolidation of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp.

The imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the other hand, is losing one position after another. The victories of the camp of democracy and Socialism, the oncoming economic crisis, the further accentuation of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the aggravation of all the external and internal antagonisms of this system, bear witness that the imperialist camp is growing steadily weaker and that the entire capitalist system is doomed by history.

Within the camp of world reaction itself the antagonisms among the imperialist powers are becoming acuter, and cannot but become acuter, no matter how they are masked

by the unity of these powers in their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist policy.

The policy of the United States towards the Marshallized countries, which is essentially a colonial policy, a policy of enslaving the West-European and other capitalist countries to American imperialism, and the frenzied competitive struggle for markets, for exploitation of colonies, especially in the conditions of an economic crisis, add greater acuteness to the antagonisms between capitalist countries, and in the first place, between the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

The antagonisms within the capitalist countries are also growing acuter, and cannot but grow acuter. In spite of all the prophecies of the bourgeois "exorcisers of economic storms," both in America and in Europe an economic crisis is inexorably maturing. Production is falling, exports and domestic retail trade are declining. Unemployment is steadily increasing: the number of unemployed and semi-employed in the capitalist countries has already reached the enormous figure of 40 million! The armament drive is laying an increasing burden of taxation on the working people. Wages and the living standards of the working class generally are progressively falling. The devaluation of currencies carried out in the majority of capitalist countries is one more robbery of the working people, since with their already meagre earnings they are now able to buy still less of the means of subsistence. The material condition of the working people is becoming unbearable.

This cannot but lead to an aggravation of the internal political situation in the capitalist countries; it cannot but provoke serious class conflicts.

All this has the effect of weakening the forces of the imperialist camp, the forces of the warmongers, and will weaken them more and more as time goes on.

The reckless foreign policy of the Wall Street and City imperialists, in its turn, is helping to weaken the anti-democratic camp still further. This policy is sustaining defeat after defeat. The collapse of "atomic diplomacy," the failure

of the Marshall plan, the collapse of the imperialists' subversive schemes in Southeastern and Central Europe, the bankruptcy of America's policy in China—these are only a partial enumeration of the failures sustained by the foreign policy of the imperialists. Needless to say, this accentuation of all the capitalist antagonisms and the increasing weakness of the imperialist camp are inherent in the very nature of capitalism. However, this whole process is accelerated by the reckless foreign policy of the American and British imperialists.

### III

#### THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN THE VANGUARD OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WARMONGERS

From the fact that the anti-democratic, imperialist camp is growing weaker, the conclusion must not be drawn that the danger of war is diminishing. Such a conclusion would be profoundly erroneous and harmful.

The experience of history teaches that the more hopeless the position of imperialist reaction, the more frantic it becomes and the greater is the danger of its launching into military ventures.

The changing relation of forces in the world arena in favour of the camp of peace and democracy drives the imperialist and warmongering camp to fresh outbursts of frenzied fury. The American and British imperialists count upon war to change the course of historical development, to resolve their external and internal antagonisms and difficulties, to strengthen the position of monopoly capital and to win world supremacy.

If the plans of imperialist aggression are to be foiled, the peoples must display supreme vigilance, the peace front must be further extended, and the active struggle of all the forces standing for peace must be still more united.

The expansion of the anti-war movement testifies to the determination and readiness of the broad mass of the people to safeguard peace and not allow the aggressors to plunge mankind into a destructive war. Everything now depends on turning this determination of the masses into active concrete actions which will foil the plans and measures of the Anglo-American warmongers.

The entire history of the anti-war movement on the eve of the first, and especially of the second, world wars shows that it is not enough to desire peace; it must be actively fought for, and all the forces and levers countering the preparation and unleashing of war must be brought into operation.

In the midst of the present ever-growing threat of a new war, a great and momentous responsibility lies upon the Communist and Workers' Parties. The Communist and Workers' Parties must utilize every means in the struggle to ensure stable and prolonged peace; they must subordinate all their activities to this paramount task of the day.

We must work still more persistently to strengthen and extend the peace movement by bringing ever larger sections of the population into the movement, and making it the universal and irresistible movement of the day. This movement can and must embrace all who treasure the peace, honour, national liberty and sovereignty of their country, no matter what their political convictions, religious views or party affiliation.

Particular attention must be given to bringing into the peace movement trade unions and women's, youth, cooperative, sports, cultural and educational, religious and other organizations, as well as scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, members of parliament and other political and public men and women who come forward in defence of peace and against war.

It is of decisive importance for the further development of the peace movement that the working class take an increasingly active part in it, and that their ranks be solid and united. It is therefore the prime duty of the Communist and

Workers' Parties to enlist in the ranks of the peace champions the broadest sections of the working class, to bring about firm working-class unity, to wage a determined struggle against the Right Socialist splitters and disrupters of the working-class movement, to organize joint actions of the various detachments of the proletariat, based on a common platform of fighting for peace and the national independence of their countries.

The trade unions of the working class already occupy an honourable place in the camp that is fighting for peace and opposing the warmongers. The World Federation of Trade Unions is an active champion of peace and international cooperation, the organizer of millions of factory and office workers in the fight against the instigators of a new war. The trade union centres affiliated with the WFTU are playing a big part in organizing the supporters of peace. They are the initiators of the national peace movements in many countries and of national peace committees. The trade unions have taken a leading part in the organization of protest strikes and demonstrations against the aggressive North-Atlantic treaty, and in organizing nation-wide petitions and other mass measures in defence of peace and the national independence and liberty of peoples.

However, the trade unions can do much to deploy the forces of the whole people in the struggle against the instigators of a new war, for the further activization of the camp of peace. The central link in this activity of the trade unions can be and should be the factory and office peace committees, the formation of which the Paris Peace Congress and the Milan Trade Union Congress recommended. Such committees have already been formed at many plants in France, the Netherlands, Britain and other countries. Unit- ing factory and office workers irrespective of nationality or party or trade union affiliation, the peace committees should become centres of the effort to achieve the all-embracing unity of the workers in defence of peace, democracy and the vital interests of the masses exploited by capitalism.

Numerous facts—the petition to the UN General Assembly in support of the proposals on banning the atomic weapon and reduction of armaments by the Great Powers, which was signed by eleven million women of Italy, Czechoslovakia and the Eastern zone of Germany, the participation of women's organizations and the Women's International Democratic Federation in the Paris and Prague Congresses—show what a serious force women and women's organizations represent in the fight for peace.

The democratic youth of all countries demonstrated their will to peace and readiness to fight for it at the World Conference of Working Youth in Warsaw in 1948 and at the international youth congresses and festivals in 1947 and 1949. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, which unites more than 60 million young men and women in its ranks, is an active champion of peace.

It is the task of the working class, of the Communist and Workers' Parties, to head the fight for peace of all the mass public associations, and to lend it a purposeful and effective character.

Diverse forms and methods must be utilized to unite the broadest sections of the people in the fight for peace: mass demonstrations, outdoor and indoor meetings, petitions and protests, popular referendums, formation of peace committees in town and country—such as is widely practised, for example, in France and Italy.

It goes without saying that measures in defence of peace must not be standardized and stereotyped, that the concrete conditions in each country must be taken into account, and diverse forms and methods of the movement must be skillfully combined with the general tasks.

The warmongers, as we have seen, having no base of support among the masses, endeavour to mislead the people by every means of slanderous propaganda. Accordingly, exposure of the warmongers' propaganda and dissemination of truthful and genuine information regarding their

anti-popular activity must not bear the character of an episodic campaign, but must be conducted from day to day.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must counter the lying propaganda and hate preaching of the aggressors and their hired pen gangsters by conducting propaganda on the broadest scale in favour of stable and enduring peace among nations, and indefatigably exposing aggressive blocs and military and political alliances. It must be widely explained that a new war would hold out dire misfortunes and unprecedented destruction for the peoples, that the fight against war and in defence of peace is the cause of all the peoples of the world.

The forces of peace, and, in the first place, the Communist Parties, must see to it that the war propaganda and the preaching of race hatred and national animosity conducted by the agents of imperialism meet with sharp condemnation from all the democratic elements of society, that not a single action of the fomenters of a new war be allowed to pass without resistance, which should take the most diverse forms, including mass boycotts of war-preaching films, newspapers, books, magazines, broadcasting companies, organizations and individuals.

The preparations for a new war are inseparably bound up with the enslavement of the countries of Europe and other continents by American imperialism. The Marshall plan, Western Union, the North-Atlantic pact—all these links in the sinister conspiracy against peace are at the same time links in the chain which the transoceanic monopolists are fastening around the necks of other nations.

It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries to merge into one the struggle for national independence and the struggle for peace, indefatigably to expose the anti-national, treasonable character of the policy of the bourgeois governments that have become direct agents of American imperialism, to unite and rally all the democratic patriotic forces in each country around the slogans calling for an end to be put to the dis-

graceful bondage to America and the adoption of an independent foreign and domestic policy conforming to the national interests of the peoples. The Communist and Workers' Parties must hold high the banner of protection of the national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must rally the broad masses in defence of democratic rights and liberties, and unceasingly explain to them that defence of peace is inseparably bound up with the defence of the vital interests of the working class and all working people, that the fight for peace is at the same time a fight against poverty, hunger and fascism.

Particularly important are the tasks facing the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and other countries, whose people the American imperialists want to use as cannon fodder for the realization of their aggressive plans. It is their duty to develop with still greater energy the struggle for peace, the struggle to foil the criminal designs of the Anglo-American warmongers.

It is the task of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, in addition to exposing the imperialist warmongers and their abettors, to further strengthen the camp of peace and Socialism for the protection of the peace and security of nations.

The complete exposure of the leaders of the Right Socialist parties continues to be an urgent duty of the Communist Parties. Developments have fully corroborated the characterization given of the Right Socialists by the first Meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties, when it said that they were performing the dastardly role of agents of imperialism, abettors of the instigators of a new war, and betrayers of the national interests of their people, masking their villainous activity under socialist catchwords and cosmopolitan pratings. Consequently, while indefatigably fighting for peace, the Communist and Workers' Parties must constantly expose the Right Socialist leaders as bitter enemies of peace.

At the same time, cooperation and united action in the struggle for peace with the primary organizations and rank-and-file members of the Socialist parties must be developed and strengthened to the utmost; all really honest elements in these parties should be supported, and the fatality of the policy of the reactionary Right-wing leaders explained to them.

The American and British imperialists assign a big role in their aggressive plans, especially in Central and South-eastern Europe, to the Tito clique in Yugoslavia, to those spies in the service of the imperialists. The defence of peace and the fight against the warmongers, therefore, demand the continued exposure of this clique who have deserted to the camp of the malignant enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism, to the camp of imperialism and fascism.

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Comrades, in the days of the war against fascism, the Communist Parties were the vanguard of the popular resistance to the invaders; in the postwar period, the Communist and Workers' Parties are the vanguard fighters on behalf of the vital interests of their peoples, and for world-wide peace. Under their leadership, the opponents of a new war, the men of labour, science and culture united in the mighty front of peace, are capable of thwarting the criminal designs of the imperialists.

The forces of democracy, the forces of peace are far superior to the forces of reaction. The whole thing now is still further to strengthen and develop the mighty movement of peace supporters, to work to convert this movement into a movement of the whole people, constantly to sharpen the vigilance of the peoples with regard to the machinations of the imperialist aggressors. It is necessary to mobilize all the forces of the peoples to conduct an active fight in defence of peace and against the warmongers. If this is done, then the sacred battle for the enduring peace and security of the nations of the world will be won for certain.

*Palmiro Togliatti*

## **WORKING-CLASS UNITY AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

### **I**

Comrades, since the victorious end of the second world war, the cause of working-class unity has made big strides all over Europe. The working class acquired immense political experience in the second world war. It was exclusively thanks to their unity that the forces of democracy succeeded in defeating and destroying German imperialism and fascism; the policy of unity in the fight against Hitlerism consistently pursued by the Soviet Union, and especially the victory, which was primarily due to the heroic efforts of the Soviet people and their army—all this had a profound influence on the workers and on the peoples of the whole world.

In the course of the war itself, the industrial workers and working people of all political opinions in the major countries of Europe, responding to the insistent appeal of the Communists, united to fight shoulder to shoulder in the armed partisan detachments against the fascists and foreign invaders. The workers—Communists and Socialists, Democrats and Catholics—learned to know one another, and realized the necessity of continuing after the war to work together to eradicate all vestiges of fascism, and to create a new, free and peaceable society, in which the independence of all peoples and social progress would be guaranteed.

The decisions of the international conferences at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, and the setting up of the United Nations

encouraged the hope that the biggest of the world Powers, having cooperated during the war for the achievement of victory, would continue to cooperate in order to ensure world peace, and this hope still further strengthened the urge for class unity and for the national and international unity of the people.

Successes in the sphere of unity were more rapid and comprehensive in that part of Europe where the presence of Soviet troops brought about a situation in which the reactionary forces were unable to raise their heads: there the Communists and Socialists concluded united action agreements, broad national front organizations were formed, and the trade unions were reorganized on a unity basis. This enabled the representatives of the working class to play an important role in the governments; it became possible to adopt the necessary measures to eradicate the vestiges of fascism and to deprive fascism of the possibility of reviving; the nationalization of industry was begun, radical agrarian reforms and the democratization of the machinery of state were carried out, and a policy of peace, cooperation among nations and friendship with the Soviet Union was pursued.

But also in the countries which, after the victory, were occupied by American and British troops and were administered by foreign military authorities, who from the very first set out to restore the old reactionary capitalist regimes and rendered open support to the conservative bourgeoisie and even the fascists—in these countries too the working-class movement was reorganized on a unity basis: Communists and Socialists concluded agreements for united action; the trade unions began to embrace workers of all political opinions, and, under the pressure of the masses, the question was broadly mooted of forming a united political party of the working class.

These advances toward unity undoubtedly had a beneficent influence in improving the economic and political condition of the working class; they facilitated the appearance in parliaments of big representations of the work-

ers' parties; in some countries they enabled the Communist Parties—the most persistent champions of unity—to make big strides towards winning a majority of the working class.

A big victory in the struggle for unity was the formation of a united international trade union organization—the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). In this organization, the working-class trade unions of the Soviet Union united for the first time in history with trade unions of all capitalist Europe, the People's Democracies, America, China and the colonial countries.

The WFTU drew up a democratic program for the defence of the economic demands of the working people, for winning and protecting political and trade union liberties, and for coordination of the resistance and struggle of the working people of the whole world against every attempt of the imperialists to plunge the world into a new war. Side by side with the WFTU, there sprang up other powerful international unitary movements, embracing industrial workers and working people of all parties and of no party: the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, etc.

## II

The task of splitting the movement for working-class unity was entrusted by the bourgeoisie to the Right Social-Democrats and the parties they lead.

At a moment when the general crisis of capitalism had been accentuated by the war itself, when the prestige and strength of the Soviet Union had grown enormously, when new European countries were breaking away from the capitalist system and taking the path of Socialism—at such a moment the assistance of Social-Democracy was essential for the temporary salvation of capitalism and imperialism. Once again Social-Democracy came forward as a bourgeois party in the ranks of the working class. The Right Social-Democrats acted as "faithful helpers of the imperialists, spreading



corruption in the ranks of the working class, poisoning its consciousness" (Declaration of Meeting of Representatives of a Number of Communist Parties, September 1947).

After a very brief period, during which the leaders of a number of Social-Democratic parties coquetted with the idea of unity, with the obvious purpose of not allowing the leadership of the working-class movement to pass entirely into the hands of the Communists, the fight against unity was resumed under the slogan of "action on two fronts," that is, the alleged necessity to organize a "third force," which, standing between the Socialist camp and the imperialist camp, would maintain a "balance" between them and prevent them from clashing. This "third force" ideology turns out at the very first glance to be a gross deception. What "middle course" can there be for a sincere Socialist between the interests of the working class and the working masses generally and the interests of monopoly capitalism and the privileged castes? It is impossible to stand "midway" between the Soviet Union, which pursues a consistent policy of peace, and the imperialists, who are poisoning the world by preaching and provoking a third world conflict. The sham "third force" theory is nothing but a weapon used by the Right Social-Democrats for the furtherance of their foul work, by classing the Land of Socialism in one category with the leading American and British groups of imperialists and warmongers. But, while performing this vile work, the "third force" advocates in every country always find ways and means of making it known that they are "honest and loyal administrators" of the interests of the capitalist bourgeoisie and faithful servitors of imperialism in international affairs.

It was sufficient for the imperialist forces, and above all for United States leading circles, to violate the agreements concluded toward the end of the war, to completely renounce the policy of international democratic cooperation and to begin the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and all the Right Social-Democrats and the parties they lead, without exception, unreservedly

joined the imperialist front. They supplanted and entwined the preaching of a neutral, so-called "third force" with the old opportunist, anti-Marxist and anti-scientific theory of the transition of "national" capitalism to a supra-capitalistic organization, which was to be built on the pattern and under the direction of American monopoly capital. Thus the brazen expansionist proclivities of the United States, the acquisition of political and military bases for the purpose of destroying the independence of nations and preparing a new war, the sacrifice of the economic interests of the Marshallized countries to the exclusive interests of the big American monopolies, and the systematic attempts to create an American world empire are shamelessly represented as a means of eliminating the internal contradictions of capitalism. The last remnants of respect for the interests and traditions of individual nations are being discarded; American imperialism is becoming the ideal and leader of the Social-Democrats; in its behalf and interests, a fictitious "Europeanism" and cosmopolitanism are preached, which have nothing in common with the solidarity of peoples and proletarian, socialist internationalism.

Proletarian, socialist internationalism is the basis of the solidarity of the working people and of cooperation among nations in defence of their independence against imperialist machinations, in defence of peace. It teaches the workers in each country to unite for the purpose of fighting the power of capital and for ensuring the transition to a socialist economy. It teaches the working class and the peoples to develop ties of international solidarity in order the better to wage the fight for peace, and to isolate the fomenters of a new war and render them harmless.

Proletarian internationalism teaches the workers and the peoples that in their struggle for democracy, national independence and peace, they must follow the great example of the Soviet Union, whose peoples, guided by the heroic Bolshevik Party, by Lenin and Stalin, have built a new society, vanquished imperialism, and transformed their

country into a great socialist state, which points to all peoples the sure road to democracy, Socialism and peace.

The cosmopolitanism and "Europeanism" of the Social-Democrats, on the contrary, is a propagandist weapon of imperialism designed to disorientate the peoples, to split their ranks and turn them into slaves. When the agents of American imperialism talk about "uniting" Europe, they are really trying to prevent cooperation among the European peoples, to raise a barrier between them in order to isolate the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. As Lenin had already foreseen, the sole purpose of the "Europeanism" of the Social-Democrats is to ensure concerted action in strangling Socialism in Europe, and collaboration in protecting the colonies. The muddled slogans calling for a "European parliament" or a "world government" are nothing but a wretched mask to conceal from the peoples the methods by which they are robbed for the benefit of American imperialism.

Hatred of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, which have committed the "crime" of abandoning the path of capitalism and choosing the path of Socialism, is the chief characteristic of all Right Social-Democrats. They realize that the advancement of Socialism throughout the world really means their end. They are purveyors and propagandists of the basest lies and slanders fabricated and disseminated with a view to discrediting and isolating the socialist camp. They strive their utmost to undermine the faith and devotion cherished by the industrial workers and all working people for the Soviet Union and its leaders. They were the first to take up Churchill's call for a new crusade against the Land of Socialism. They are the ideological exponents of the political and military blocs being formed by imperialism in preparation for such a crusade. Collaborating with the secret services of imperialist countries in the attempt to shatter the front of the socialist countries, they have clasped to their bosom Tito's clique of spies and provocateurs.

In all that today constitutes the ideological foundation of the Social-Democratic position, there is not a trace of Socialism or of the democratic spirit. This position is one of open betrayal of the independence of nations, democracy and social progress, betrayal of the cause of peace.

### III

In conformity with this anti-democratic and anti-socialist position, the parties led by the Right Social-Democrats have conducted, and are conducting, a policy in international affairs which openly, fully and completely coincides with the policy of the American imperialists. They are the most active supporters of atomic diplomacy and the cold war against the socialist countries, they are propagandists of the Marshall plan and the conversion of the West-European countries into colonial or semi-colonial markets of American big industry and agriculture. From supporting the Marshall plan they unhesitatingly passed to supporting the military pacts and the armament drive forced upon the European peoples by American imperialism. In France, the Léon Blum Socialists led the hate campaign against the Communists when the latter declared that the French people would never consent to take part in a war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. In Italy, the Saragat Social-Democrats have discarded even the fig leaf of demanding a policy of "neutrality." In Norway, the Social-Democrats declared in favour of rejecting the Soviet Union's proposal for the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression. It is Social-Democracy that has everywhere provided the men who are pursuing the criminal policy of war—from Bevin to Spaak, from Léon Blum to Saragat and Schumacher.

In the sphere of relations with colonial peoples, Social-Democracy was and is the inspirer, as well as the direct perpetrator, of aggression, oppression and open war against these peoples, who are struggling for their emancipation. The British Labourites are conducting a predatory war against

the peoples of Malaya and Burma, incite the assassination of leaders of the national movement of these peoples and of the Middle East peoples, support reactionary Indian bourgeois groups in order to perpetuate the division of the Indian people and violently strangle the Communist movement and the revolutionary peasant movement. In France, it was the Socialists who began the war on Viet-Nam, and who justify the brutal repressions in Madagascar; in Holland, it was the Socialists who started and who are continuing the aggression against the national movement in Indonesia.

In the sphere of economic policy, the efforts of Social-Democracy are directed toward including Western Europe in the orbit of the American imperialist economy, in order to make it possible for the big American monopolies, and the European capitalists who have become their agents, to lay the burden, not only of the aftermath of the war but also of the new economic crisis on the shoulders of the working people of Europe. Wherever the Social-Democrats are in power, the condition of the workers is steadily deteriorating, unemployment is increasing, and the social conquests of the workers are jeopardized, while the profits of the capitalists are continuously growing. Every, even the most insignificant attempt at reforming the economic structure is committed to oblivion. The nationalization carried out in Britain has in no respect cleared the way for the building of a new, socialist society, and has not contributed to the destruction of the economic power of the financial oligarchy. In France and a great number of other West-European countries, the Social-Democrats, following the example of the Labourites, facilitated the devaluation of the European currencies imposed by the American capitalists as a means of still further depressing the living standards of the European workers.

In the sphere of domestic policy, the Social-Democrats openly approve and are themselves instrumental in carrying out the anti-democratic and reactionary measures to which capitalism is today resorting in all countries, both in an attempt to smash the organizations and the struggle of the

workers and in order to complete its military preparations. It was on the orders of a Socialist Minister that fire was opened in France on workers who were striking for justified trade union demands. It was the British Labourites, who, in violation of the right to strike, proclaimed a state of emergency in order to break the movement of the dockers. It was a government headed by a Socialist that in Finland employed police forces against the trade union movement, in order to provoke a trade union split. In Italy, it is Saragat and his accomplices who persistently solidarize with the Clerical Minister of Police in the murder of workers, as well as in this Minister's unseemly persecution of partisans.

Foes of working-class and democratic unity in any shape or form, the Social-Democratic parties have been unable even nominally to create any international unitary organization to take the place of the defunct Second International. In obedience to the direct orders of the imperialists, they endeavoured to smash the unity of the trade union movement achieved within the WFTU.

"Comisco," which arose simply as a bureau for the organization of international socialist conferences, confined its activities to a series of attempts to engineer or widen splits in the working-class movement, internationally and nationally. Having created "Comisco" as a simple tool of their imperialist policy, the British Labourites attempted with its help to get the Socialist parties of the People's Democracies to break off cooperation with the Communist Parties, and to disrupt unity of action between the Communists and Socialists in Italy. These manoeuvres failed. The honest Socialists in the People's Democracies broke with this bogus Social-Democratic organization and remained faithful to the cause of unity. So big a party as the Italian Socialist Party adheres to unity and the class outlook, and the manoeuvres undertaken against it by the Right Social-Democrats or the Centrists under the false slogan of "socialist unity" have so far failed, since it is becoming clearer and clearer to all honest Socialists that the only thing the Rights are striving

for is to force the yoke of De Gasperi's Clerical government and of British and American imperialism upon the Italian working people.

The breakaway move engineered against the WFTU was undertaken on the initiative of the British Labourites, who, with the support of the American trade union bureaucrats, put forward in the name of the Trades Union Congress the absurd demand that the WFTU should suspend its activities. This unseemly attack on unity was fully exposed by the overwhelming majority of the trade unions affiliated to the WFTU, who are continuing their activities, and whose ranks embrace over seventy million workers.

The attack on the unity of the workers' trade unions was continued in France and Italy, but in both these countries the overwhelming majority of the organized workers remained within their united trade unions, and, in spite of all their efforts, the ring-leaders of the split, the Social-Democrats and Clericals, succeeded in winning the following of only an insignificant minority.

#### IV

Decisive successes in effecting the unity of the working class and the democratic forces were achieved in the People's Democracies, especially after the Information Bureau was set up and the Declaration of the Meeting of a number of Communist Parties was published. Working-class unity in these countries came as a consequence of the victory over the Hitler invaders and their agents and collaborators, as a consequence of the democratic policy of the Soviet authorities, of the desire of the masses for profound economic and political reforms, of the necessity to protect the independence and the future of these countries from the machinations and threats of the imperialists.

The Communist Parties waged a consistent struggle for unity in close contact with the masses, basing themselves on the finest traditions of the Marxist working-class movement

in each of these countries and on the positive experience of the united front against fascism. In the Socialist parties, on the contrary, in connection with the intense struggle against the vestiges of fascism and for essential social reforms, acute divergence arose between the sincere friends of unity and Socialism and the old opportunists, who were previously allies and accomplices of the reactionary bourgeoisie, and who were prepared once more to play the part of agents of capitalism and imperialism in the workers' ranks. Preaching a return to "Western bourgeois democracy," that is, to traditional reactionary capitalism, playing upon narrow party chauvinism, etc., the Right Social-Democrats sabotaged co-operation with the Communists, created obstacles to economic reforms which were essential and had been promised, again linked themselves with the forces of local and international reaction, entered the service of the British Labourites and the American imperialists, and collaborated with the American and British secret services, in order to disintegrate the unity of the workers and the people and to promote the interests of imperialism.

Further success in the sphere of unity and in strengthening people's democracy could be achieved only in an open and determined struggle against the Right Social-Democrats, only by exposing and isolating them, removing them from leading posts and expelling them from the ranks of the Socialist parties. This task was accomplished, although sometimes slowly and irresolutely, by the Left Socialists with the effective aid of the Communists. In this struggle against the Right Social-Democrats, the Socialist parties in the People's Democracies became rejuvenated and politically steeled, resumed their ties with the working class and resolutely addressed themselves to bringing about the political unity of the proletariat. At the same time, it became clear that this unity could not be attained by way of a ridiculous compromise between Marxism and the various opportunist trends, but only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teachings. It was precisely in the ideological and political struggle for the

defence and dissemination of these teachings among the working class that the Communist and Workers' Parties in each of the People's Democracies succeeded in uniting all the advanced forces of the proletariat in a single political class organization.

The fact that Right Social-Democracy has ceased to exist in the People's Democracies must be regarded as a big victory for the cause of unity. The fomenters of a new war have sustained a defeat of first-class dimensions: the working-class parties have become the basic element of popular power, the indestructible foundation of the workers' and peasants' alliance, the leading force in the building of socialist society.

## V

The prime and basic duty, not only of the Communists but of all honest Socialists and democrats is to realize that at the present moment working-class unity is needed more than ever before, in order to frustrate the imperialists' preparations for a new war, to prevent the destruction of democratic liberties, and to achieve the social reforms necessary for the protection and improvement of the living standards of the working people. Disunity and division of the workers' forces open the road for the enemies of the independence of nations. Working-class unity is a reliable basis for uniting the efforts of all who desire to save this independence. Attempts to restore reactionary regimes of a fascist type can be frustrated far more easily if the broad masses are rallied around the united forces of the working class. The working class can perform its progressive mission and effectively counter the schemes of the imperialists and fascists only if its forces are united.

The basic condition for the success of the struggle to unite the working class is all-round exposure of the policy of the Right Social-Democratic servitors of imperialism, of their betrayal of democracy and Socialism. In this struggle the Communists must be unflinching. At the same time, they

must remember that in order to advance the cause of working-class unity, they must work diligently and patiently to explain the importance of unity to all workers and the working people generally, especially those who still follow the Right Social-Democrats and their parties.

Some of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have in these past years made big strides, they have become mass parties and head big movements, in which the most active sections of the working people participate; in some countries, on the other hand, the Communist Parties continue to remain small parties, while Social-Democracy still possesses strong influence and strong organizations. In both cases primary stress must be laid on the necessity for a consistent struggle for working-class unity. The potentialities and prospects for this struggle have lately improved in all countries. The Right Social-Democrats' policy of betraying the interests of the working people is arousing dissatisfaction and disgust in the workers' ranks, which is compelling the Social-Democratic leaders themselves to don a camouflage of new Leftist phraseology, and is prompting groups of workers to resign from the Social-Democratic parties. Contact with these workers and with the mass of Socialist workers generally, must be primarily based on defence of the working people's elementary demands, in the course of the wage struggle, the struggle for observance of freedom of organization and the right of strike, and in the course of the struggle for peace.

For this purpose, the proposal should be made to Socialist workers to set up joint committees at factories, in towns and in villages, as an effective means of achieving working-class unity and facilitating the formation of a broad united front of working people from below. This would offer Left Social-Democratic groups a field of activity in which they could prove whether they are really anxious for working-class unity, or whether their Leftist utterances are only a mask for complicity with the Right Social-Democrats. It should, lastly, be borne in mind that even in those countries where

the class trade unions are highly developed, and the Communist Parties are mass parties, large sections of the working people, and sometimes even the majority of the working population do not belong to any organization—whether trade union, cooperative, or political—and that decisive successes in activizing and organizing these masses may be of material assistance to the achievement of unity.

In the struggle for working-class unity, particular attention should be paid to the Catholic working masses and their organizations. In some countries these organizations have in recent years acquired great importance, and where Social-Democracy has been particularly weakened, they are trying to take its place in order to provide a mass support for the reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie. In Italy, for example, the Catholic trade unions are stronger than the small Social-Democratic breakaway groups. In Belgium, Austria and Italy, the Catholic parties are the principal bourgeois parties, and direct the state.

However, there is in all Catholic organizations a profound contradiction between the policy of the leading circles of the church, who are allies of imperialism and reaction and enemies of social progress, and the working masses, even the most backward, who desire peace and protection of their vital interests. This explains why, in spite of the repressive measures of the church authorities, Left, progressive trends are constantly appearing in the Catholic movement which instinctively seek for cooperation and unity with the non-Catholic workers' movement. The excommunication of Communists proclaimed by the Jesuits in order to render such cooperation and such unity impossible has not altered the situation, since it has had no influence on the ranks of the working class.

The revolutionary workers should remember that differences of religious views must not be allowed to serve as an obstacle to unity of the working people, especially when this unity is essential for the salvation of peace. In the People's Democracies, where the Communist Parties are in power,

there are no conflicts on religious grounds: in these countries, freedom of religion and worship is guaranteed to all citizens, and the democratic authorities punish only those who, acting on the orders of the imperialists, use false religious pretexts to destroy the democratic conquests and to precipitate war.

Close contact with the Catholic workers, for the purpose of convincing them of the necessity for working-class unity, must be continuous. This close contact should lead to concrete joint actions in the economic and social fields and in the field of political struggle, to coordination in the fight for economic demands between class and Catholic trade unions, especially from below, to the setting up of joint committees among the women, youth, etc. Enlistment of the majority of the Catholic working masses in the united front for the defence of the peace, liberty and living standards of the working people is one of the preliminary conditions for rendering this defence effective.

Working-class unity offers a reliable basis for the creation in each country of the broadest possible alliance of the forces of the people and the nation for resistance and struggle against the war policy of imperialism. The imperialist warmongers are threatening the independence and sovereignty of all nations. To facilitate this, they endeavour to disintegrate and split the unity of the people within each country. It is for this purpose that broad anti-Communist campaigns in the pure fascist spirit are launched, hatred of revolutionary workers is preached, and all, even members of the middle classes, who do not want to become servants of foreign imperialism and are anxious to save their countries from war, are insulted and persecuted. The task of the workers, their organizations, and the most enlightened and authoritative supporters of peace is to work to increase the number of such honest democrats and patriots and to guide them in uniting their forces for cooperation with all sections of the people in defence of the independence and integrity of nations.

Broad mass democratic organizations of peace supporters, representing all social strata, the youth, the women, and the

intellectuals, have so far proved themselves the best means of accomplishing this task, and in every country they must become a real political force, the basis of a broad popular front, capable not only of conducting effective peace propaganda, but also of carrying out political actions in resistance to the machinations of foreign imperialism and its agents. The accomplishment of this task can result in overcoming the split of the forces of the people which the enemies of unity have succeeded in provoking in many countries; it can create a real movement for democratic and national unity, and help the peoples to set up governments which, relying on a united working class, people and nation, could put an end to the policy of preparing a new war, resist the subjugation of their countries to American imperialism, uphold a program of peace among nations, end the armament drive, restore national independence and sovereignty, and dedicate themselves to peaceful economic recovery and the improvement of the living standards of the working masses. It is such governments, and not governments that behave as slaves of American imperialism, that the peoples of France, Italy and all capitalist Europe most need today. Success in achieving working-class unity will be a pledge of the accomplishment of this aim.

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The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries must carry the fight for working-class unity to a victorious conclusion. This requires that they shall further strengthen the solidarity of their ranks, and raise the ideological level of their cadres and of the mass of their rank-and-file members; it requires better mastery of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, more precise organizational work, and more effective propaganda. They must indefatigably and steadfastly combat all manifestations of opportunism, and work intensively to eliminate sectarianism, which is a serious impediment to the struggle of the Communists for working-class unity. The biggest danger that now threatens the Communist Parties

is the danger of being passive in the face of current developments, of capitulating to difficulties, of overrating the strength of the enemies of peace and democracy, of failing to understand that the struggle of the vanguard of the proletariat is of decisive importance for the achievement of working-class unity and the salvation of peace, and that success in this struggle depends primarily and chiefly on the persistent work of the Communists.

The American imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie of all countries are brazenly using Tito's gang of spies to sabotage the struggle for working-class unity, to introduce division and provocation in the ranks of the Communist vanguard. The results of the Rajk trial are of supreme importance to all Communist and Workers' Parties. They have shown us how essential it is to heighten revolutionary vigilance, to combat and ruthlessly extirpate all vacillation in the struggle against the enemy. It is in this way that we must protect and fortify the purity of our Marxist-Leninist teachings, the fidelity of the Communists to the cause of unity, and their devotion to the Land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, to its Party and the great Stalin, the leader of all the working people in the struggle for democracy, Socialism and peace.

The cause of working-class unity is the cause of all working people who do not wish to become servants of imperialism, who are anxious to break the chains of capital, to save peace, and to march forward in peace to a better future, to a socialist society. The cause of unity is to us a vital cause. Thanks to the devoted efforts of the Communists and the revolutionary workers, the cause of working-class unity must triumph and will triumph throughout the world.

*Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej*

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA IN THE POWER OF ASSASSINS AND SPIES

### I

Comrades, it is more than a year since the Information Bureau passed its historic resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Developments in Yugoslavia in this period, the Budapest trial and the provocative activity of the Tito delegation in the United Nations have fully confirmed the correctness of the resolution and the exceptional theoretical and practical value of this document for the world revolutionary movement.

The resolution exposed with exceptional force and profundity the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist nature of the Yugoslav leaders, and also convincingly showed that they had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. With masterly prevision, it disclosed the sources of the subsequent developments in Yugoslavia, pointing out that "such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degenerating into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of imperialist countries." We find the same scientific insight in the elucidation given by the resolution of the economic consequences of the demagogic and unscrupulous measures adopted by the Tito clique with the aim of discrediting Socialism. The resolution has been of powerful support to the healthy, revolutionary, internationalist elements in the Yugoslav Communist Party in their struggle against the Tito-Rankovic fascist dictatorship. The

Yugoslav masses have been deeply imbued, and are being deeply imbued, with the spirit of the resolution, since they feel from their own experience the correctness of its estimation of the bloody butchers who have seized the administration of the state.

The Information Bureau's resolution was an historical turning point in the orientation and activity of the entire world revolutionary movement. Thanks to its Marxist-Leninist ideological clarity and its elucidation of the problems of the class struggle in the situation that arose after the second world war, especially in the People's Democracies, the Communist and Workers' Parties were able successfully to combat nationalist deviations in their own ranks and to strengthen their ideological unity. The world revolutionary movement was more resolutely directed along the line of proletarian internationalism. The Communists and the working class became still more deeply imbued with the ideology of proletarian internationalism and the realization that fidelity to the homeland of Socialism, the Soviet Union, is the touchstone and criterion of internationalism. The Information Bureau resolution on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party was the basis for numerous victories of the Communist and Workers' Parties. With its help the Communist and Workers' Parties were able to orient themselves in the struggle against nationalist deviations and for the promotion of proletarian internationalism, and to take up a firm and clear position on questions affecting war and peace.

Comrade Stalin has rendered immense assistance to the international Communist movement. With his genius and insight, he warned us against a number of ideological deviations and misconceptions and helped us to combat them successfully. This assistance of Comrade Stalin was the salvation of many Marxist parties. It made it possible to avoid numerous blunders in practical and theoretical orientation.

In their statements on what the attitude of the Communist Parties would be in the event of imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies,



Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Foster and other outstanding leaders of the international working-class movement expressed the readiness and determination of the working masses of their countries to fight shoulder to shoulder with the liberating Soviet Army against the imperialist aggressors. This resolute stand against the Anglo-American warmongers evoked a broad response all over the world and was an important stimulus to the struggle of the masses for peace.

The Information Bureau's resolution was a powerful call for revolutionary vigilance. It was a reminder that those who sink into the mire of anti-Sovietism run the danger of falling into bourgeois nationalism; a danger against which Comrade Stalin warned already twenty-two years ago:

"He is an internationalist," Comrade Stalin says, "who unreservedly, unhesitatingly and unconditionally is prepared to defend the U.S.S.R., because the U.S.S.R. is the base of the world revolutionary movement, and it is impossible to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement without defending the U.S.S.R. For he who thinks of defending the world revolutionary movement without, and against, the U.S.S.R., goes against revolution, and is bound to slide into the camp of the enemies of revolution." (J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 51.)

How profoundly apt do these words of our great teacher sound today! The dialectic of the class struggle is inexorable.

The shameless and hypocritical attempt of the Tito clique to conceal their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist position from the revolutionary movement of the world and from the working class and labouring people of Yugoslavia with talk about building Socialism and a so-called "independent line" with respect to the two camps into which the world is now divided, has completely failed and has evoked profound disgust. The Tito clique have openly deserted to the imperialist warmongering camp and are working in the service of the American imperialists. The espousal of fascism by the Tito clique was a logical consequence of their anti-Communist

and anti-Soviet policy. This clique have sold Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav people to the American monopolists, have liquidated the state sovereignty, national independence and the last vestiges of liberty by establishing a brutal terrorist regime of the Gestapo type.

The facts revealed at the Budapest trial, in the Bulgarian People's Republic, in the Rumanian People's Republic and in other People's Democracies have completely demonstrated that Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Pijade, Gosnjak, Maslarić, Bebler, Mrazovic, Vukmanovic, Koca Popovic, Kidric, Neskovic, Zlatić, Velebit and others, Rajk, Brankov, Traicho Kostov, Patrascanu and their confederates are agents of the British and American imperialist secret services. Already at the time of the second world war, these contemptible spies and traitors were helping the British and American imperialists to prepare support bases for the accomplishment of their plan of world domination. This gang of spies and traitors were introduced like a Trojan horse into the ranks of Communist and Workers' Parties. In obedience to the orders of their masters, they made it their criminal aim to seize the direction of the party and state in the countries where the working class had come to power, to crush the revolutionary movement and to bring about the restoration of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

In the Central and Southeastern countries of Europe liberated by the Soviet Army, the bourgeois parties and bourgeois politicians emerged from the war seriously compromised. The popular revolutionary forces exposed them and politically demolished them. World reaction fiercely defended its bourgeois agents in these countries. But it did not confine itself to this, since the bourgeois parties and the Right Social-Democrats were themselves no longer able to cope with the popular forces led by the Communist and Workers' Parties. The imperialists began to look for new reserves for the restoration of the capitalist regime, and in order to split the working-class and democratic movement and to sow confusion in its ranks.

Lenin pointed out that the bourgeoisie, with its great political experience, always seeks to find, even in its most difficult moments, when it seems to be at its last gasp, new and unexpected reserves with which to save itself from death.

The Tito clique's desertion to fascism is not fortuitous; it was done at the orders of their masters, the British and American imperialists, whose hirelings, as is now known, they have been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, in obedience to the wishes of the imperialists, made it their purpose to recruit in the People's Democracies political gangs consisting of reactionary, nationalist, clerical and fascist elements, and, with their support, to effect coups d'état in these countries, sever them from the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp and subordinate them to the dominating forces of imperialism. The Tito clique converted Belgrade into a centre of American espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

Already during the war, in 1943, the BBC, which had supported Mihailovic and ex-King Peter's exile government, abruptly changed its tone in favour of Tito. Later it became known that a British military mission had arrived at Tito's headquarters, after which he appointed Colonel (now General) Velebit, an agent of the British secret service, as his representative to London. Imperialist intrigues began. At that time the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership published a political declaration—nationalist in essence—regarding Macedonia, calling upon the Macedonian patriots, at the height of their struggle, to desert the EAM and place themselves at Tito's disposal. Tito's emissaries, including Vukmanovic, immediately began undermining activities within the Communist Parties of Greece and Macedonia.

Churchill sent his son Randolph with a special mission to Tito. Later, this old reactionary and mortal foe of the U.S.S.R. met Tito personally. Already then, the imperialists showed great interest and trust in Tito and his clique.

On the other hand, the exposures of Yugoslav General Popivoda have revealed in its true light the compromising

attitude of Tito, Rankovic and others towards the Nazi invaders and the Gestapo, and also their dastardly betrayal of the Yugoslav partisans at the most serious moments of the war. All this fully explains the subsequent line of the Tito clique. For the experience of the working-class movement teaches us that people who are once recruited by the bourgeois police remain at its disposal for the rest of their lives.

The British and American imperialists popularize the infamous position of the Tito gang and recommend it as an anti-Communist specific on an international scale. They have tried to bring the Communists of other countries under Tito's influence. But the plan of the imperialists failed; from beneath his "Marshal's" cap, there peeped out the ears of a spy of international capital.

When all sincere friends of peace, democracy and Socialism look upon the U.S.S.R. as a mighty stronghold of Socialism, as a loyal and steadfast protector of the liberty and independence of peoples, as the main buttress of peace, the Tito-Rankovic clique, having climbed to power under the mask of friends of the U.S.S.R., have, at the behest of the American and British imperialists, started a campaign of calumny and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilizing the most dastardly fabrications borrowed from the arsenal of the Hitlerites.

All the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to extend Tito's anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, subversive policy beyond the borders of Yugoslavia have been shattered against the iron unity of the world revolutionary proletarian movement.

When the Information Bureau published its resolution, the Belgrade fascist fiends began to complain that they were the victims of injustice. But their sole idea was to conceal their shady past and their connections with Anglo-American imperialism as long as possible. The Budapest trial came as a thunderbolt to the Tito clique.

The facts proved that it was not a case of blunders, but of a deliberate counterrevolutionary, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist policy, conducted by a gang of spies, professional

informers and agents-provocateur with a long record of collaboration with the police and bourgeois secret services. A large number of the present Yugoslav leaders were sent into Yugoslavia from the concentration camps of France by the Gestapo as long ago as 1941.

The detection of the Rajk-Brankov gang, the trial and the verdict must be regarded as a big victory for the front of Socialism and democracy over the designs of the imperialists. The facts brought to light at the Budapest trial completely stripped the mask from Tito and his clique, revealing them to the peoples of Yugoslavia and the whole world in their true guise as long-standing spies and agents-provocateur who had worked their way into the working-class movement as paid agents of the American and British imperialists.

The plan of the American imperialists to intimidate and undermine the People's Democracies and to create an anti-Soviet bloc in Central and Southeast Europe, in which the Tito clique would play the role of the storm detachment, is part of imperialism's general strategical plan to kindle a new world war. The exposure of this plan was therefore a tremendous defeat for the warmongers and a victory for peace.

The conversion of the Tito-Rankovic clique into direct agents of imperialism and abettors of the warmongers was consummated by the open adhesion of the Yugoslav government to the imperialist bloc in the United Nations, where the Kardeljs, Djilases and Beblers act in a united front with the American reactionaries on major questions of international policy.

The foreign policy of the Tito clique is an anti-Soviet policy of the vilest order. The Belgrade counterrevolutionary agents are carrying out the orders of the imperialist aggressors and instigators of another world war.

The fascist fiends are trying to conceal from the peoples of Yugoslavia the nature of the Atlantic pact, to which they would like to adhere. Their actions, as exposed at the Budapest trial, are damning proof of their active participation in

the realization of the military plans of the American and British imperialists. The Communist and Workers' Parties, analyzing the trend of the Tito clique's foreign policy, long ago pointed out that it would be no matter of surprise if Tito, in order to curry favour with his masters, were soon to invent a new theory according to which it is not capitalism and its contradictions, not imperialism that is the cause of war in our era, but Socialism.

And, true enough, this has now become the chief slogan of the foreign policy of the Yugoslav government. In all their foreign-political utterances, the Belgrade fascist gang pursue one single aim, which is to revile and blacken the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. There is no such thing as imperialists to the Tito clique. All their sorties breathe hatred and malice towards the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Tito's American and British masters ordered him, their agent, to be more active at the present session of the United Nations. The imperialists are worried by the enormous prestige won by the Soviet Union. The task they have assigned the Tito emissaries in the United Nations is to discredit the principal force of peace, the Soviet Union, and to erect a smoke screen to obscure the fact that the American and British imperialists are instigating war.

Tito's sabotage emissaries are trying their hardest to discredit the new type of relations, the socialist relations between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, which are based upon equality and community of interests. These relations are becoming a centre of attraction for all peoples who yearn for peace and liberty, for the peoples of all countries that are in vassal subordination to American imperialism. But the rabid Tito clique are impotent in face of the facts. Only thanks to the socialist aid of the U.S.S.R. have "the People's Democratic Republics entered that phase of development when the people, having experienced the joy of a free and independent life, feel themselves masters in their country and dedicate all their energy to promoting its

strength and progress." (G. M. Malenkov, in his speech of November 6, 1949.) At the same time the economy of the U.S.A. is facing a disastrous crisis which will sweep along with it all the countries, including Yugoslavia, that have tied their destinies with it.

At the present session of the United Nations the Tito clique have completely exposed themselves: it has become clear who is behind them and whom they are serving.

Tito zealously carries out all the orders of his masters. There are no national interests which Tito is not ready to betray at the behest of Washington. The Belgrade correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, in an article entitled "U.S.A. Will Demand Political Concessions of Tito," declared already last June that the Yugoslav government would change its attitude as regards its claims on Austria, the question of Trieste and the question of the Greek partisans. That menial of the imperialists, Judas Tito, carried out the orders of his masters to the letter. He renounced Slovene Carinthia and is preventing a just settlement of Yugoslav's interests in Trieste. As for Greece, Acheson himself, in his speech at the opening of the UN General Assembly, stressed the change in the position of the traitorous Yugoslav government.

All this prompted the *Times* to note that Tito, in his foreign policy, had removed some of the obstacles which had hampered the establishment of economic relations with the Western Powers. In the language of the capitalists, this meant that their agent Tito might be sent the dollars he was asking for.

In the sphere of home policy, the principal outcome of the activities of the traitorous Tito-Rankovic clique is the actual liquidation of the people's democratic system in Yugoslavia.

As a result of the counterrevolutionary policy of the Tito-Rankovic clique, who have usurped power in the party and the state, an anti-Communist police regime of the fascist type has been established in Yugoslavia. The social base of

this regime consists of the kulaks in the countryside and the capitalist elements in the towns. Power in Yugoslavia is in fact in the hands of anti-popular, reactionary elements. Active members of the old bourgeois parties, kulaks and other elements hostile to people's democracy are ensconced in the central and local government bodies. The ruling fascist clique maintain their power with the help of an inordinately inflated military and police machine, by means of which they oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia, have turned the country into a military camp, wiped out the democratic rights of the working people and suppress every free expression of opinion.

The Yugoslav rulers demagogically and brazenly deceive the people when they allege that they are building Socialism in Yugoslavia. It is clear to every Marxist that there can be absolutely no question of building Socialism in Yugoslavia when the Tito clique have broken with the Soviet Union and the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, thereby depriving Yugoslavia of the chief support in building Socialism, and when they have subordinated the country economically and politically to the American and British imperialists.

Recent developments have shown that the Yugoslav government is in a state of complete dependence on foreign imperialist circles and has become a tool of their aggressive policy, which has resulted in the liquidation of the sovereignty and independence of the Yugoslav Republic.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of Yugoslavia have completely joined forces with the imperialist circles against the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, against the Communist Parties of the whole world, and against the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

Tito and Rankovic have instituted a fierce reign of terror in the country. Any free expression of progressive democratic opinion is fraught with danger to liberty and life; all human rights are savagely trampled upon. The prisons

are filled with Communists, strikers, and peasants who refuse to perform forced, so-called "voluntary," labour. The torture chambers, the violence and manhandling, the blinding of prisoners and the starvation regime in the jails fill the country with horror. There is no end to the killings and shootings. Yugoslavia today is a bloody shambles and a prison of the peoples.

The Yugoslav hirelings of imperialism, having seized the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, unloosed a campaign of terror against the genuine Communists who are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are struggling to make Yugoslavia independent of the imperialists. Thousands of Yugoslav patriots devoted to Communism have been expelled from the party and incarcerated in prison and concentration camp, while many have been tortured or murdered in jail or nefariously assassinated, like the well-known Yugoslav Communist Arso Jovanovic. The ruthlessness with which staunch champions of Communism are exterminated in Yugoslavia can only be compared with the brutalities of the Hitler fascists or of the butchers Tsaldaris in Greece and Franco in Spain.

Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang and many other Communist leaders in Yugoslavia, many generals, colonels and other officers who were heroes of the anti-Hitler resistance, outstanding party workers, university professors, progressive intellectuals, workers and labouring peasants who love their country and yearn to see it wrested from the clutches of the imperialists, and who love the Soviet Union and Socialism, have been cast into jail and subjected to a regime of extermination.

While expelling from the ranks of the party Communists who are loyal to proletarian internationalism and annihilating them, the Yugoslav fascists have thrown the doors of the party wide open to bourgeois and kulak elements.

As a result of the destruction of the healthy forces of the Yugoslav Communist Party by the Tito gang, the leadership of the party is now wholly in the hands of spies and assassins,

hirelings of imperialism. The Yugoslav Communist Party has fallen under the control of counterrevolutionary forces that presume to speak and act in the name of the party. We know that it is an old method of the bourgeoisie to recruit spies and provocateurs in the ranks of working-class parties. The imperialists endeavour by this means to disintegrate these parties from within and bring them under their control. This they have succeeded in doing in Yugoslavia.

The fascist ideology, and the fascist home policy, like the treacherous foreign policy, of the Tito clique, which are entirely governed by foreign imperialist circles, have dug a chasm between the Tito-Rankovic clique of spies and fascists and the fundamental interests of the freedom-loving Yugoslav peoples. This is why the anti-popular and treacherous activity of the Tito clique is encountering increasing resistance both from the Communists who remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism and from the working class and labouring peasantry of Yugoslavia.

We send our militant Communist greetings to all our Yugoslav comrades who are courageously enduring the bloody terror in the jails and concentration camps of the butcher Rankovic.

Yugoslavia's economic situation is becoming an increasing burden on the workers. The state-owned sector is not the property of the people; it is a state capitalist sector, working in the service of foreign capital.

The Yugoslav worker does not work for himself, for his people. The surplus value he produces is appropriated in ever larger proportion by foreign banks and trusts. The strikes which broke out at various enterprises—at the Stura foundry, the car-repair shops near Maribor and the Trbovlje mines—were drowned in blood by Rankovic's thugs.

The Tito clique are exercising their fascist terror dictatorship against the working masses for the benefit of foreign capital and the domestic bourgeoisie, rural and urban. The growing strength of the kulaks is accompanied by the

growth of the urban bourgeoisie. The Belgrade fascist demagogues endeavour to conceal their measures for the restoration of capitalism with talk about "abolishing exploitation" or "the triumphant march of Socialism." A year and a half ago the traitor Kardelj declared: "the days of such survivals of exploitation of man by man as still exist in our country are numbered." Actually, however, capitalist exploitation in Yugoslavia has become more intense both in town and countryside; the kulaks and other exploiters bless their benefactor, Judas Tito.

Owing to their hostile policy towards the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, which has deprived Yugoslavia of the support of these countries, the Tito clique have made an utter failure of the five-year plan. The working people of Yugoslavia are coming more and more to realize what a base fraud is Tito's talk of "building Socialism" in Yugoslavia without and against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Never has the condition of the labouring peasants been as hard as it is now. They are brutally exploited by the kulaks and weighed down by heavy taxation and compulsory labour. The "producer cooperatives," forcibly created and directed by the kulaks, represent a new form of exploitation of the labouring peasants. Possessing agricultural implements, the kulaks exploit the labour of the poor peasants in the so-called "cooperatives" far more ruthlessly than on their own private farms.

Of late, Tito is increasingly resorting to one of the most brutal forms of exploitation—unpaid forced labour for the benefit of foreign capital. This is the so-called "voluntary work" in lumber camps, on road building and so on. Tens upon tens of thousands of people are forcibly sent to lumber camps.

Characteristic in this respect is the "voluntary work" in the forests of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where timber is felled for export to Britain and America. People are detailed for the "voluntary work" without warning. Representatives of the

state authority come during the dinner hour or at night and forcibly carry off the people whose names are down on their lists. Often enough, these people do not answer the requirements of the regulations, that is, they are either too old (over 55) or too young (under 14), or are sick and unfit for work. As many as 20 per cent of the mobilized for the work are sick or old persons. Even medical certificates granting exemption from "voluntary work" are ignored. Working hours are from 10 to 14 a day. The food is poor, consisting of bean soup, 200 grams of bread and 200 grams of maize flour. The people are not provided with clothing, they sleep on the ground in the forest, often in the mud and rain, since not even huts are available. Besides people, draught animals—horses and oxen—are mobilized for "voluntary" work. The resistance of the masses to this forced labour is growing more and more bitter.

The national policy of the gang of spies and assassins now in power in Yugoslavia is a national-chauvinist race policy of the fascist type, a policy of savage oppression of national minorities, a policy of depriving them of all right to free development.

The organizations of the national minorities have been dissolved, and their honest leaders arrested and annihilated in the jails of the Yugoslav fascist butchers.

Since the press of the national minorities in Yugoslavia, like the press generally, is in the hands of fascist elements, the national minorities have no possibility of freely voicing their aspirations in their own language.

The Yugoslav press has been placed entirely at the service of American imperialism and its agents, the Tito spies and assassins.

Yugoslavia has become a Marshallized country. Whereas in the beginning Tito and his clique loudly boasted that they would get along without loans and vowed that they would not sully their "own forces" and "specific path" with American dollars, today these political scoundrels are openly appealing to American banks for aid. But we know that Amer-

ican bankers are not content with interest alone. The American Hoare, head of the commission sent to Yugoslavia by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, has installed himself in Belgrade like a master. He told journalists at a press conference he called that he was there to check the way the credits granted by the bank were used. Yugoslav economic plans are submitted to these monopolists for approval. All this is accompanied by many privations for the people due to Marshallization.

Foreign capital penetrates into Yugoslavia through numerous channels. Yugoslavia's economic independence has been liquidated.

The foulest mission, the counterrevolutionary agent Tito took upon himself was to strike a blow at the Democratic Army of Greece. The butchers of the Greek and Yugoslav peoples, Tsaldaris and Tito, reached full agreement, secretly arranging to destroy the heroic Greek partisans. While Tito was instructing his troops how to stab the Greek Democratic Army in the back, his henchman, Vukmanovic, wrote in *Borba* about the "blunders" allegedly committed by the Communist Party of Greece. In these trying days for the Greek patriots, he, with unparalleled baseness and treachery, attacks the leadership of the Party and Comrade Zahariadis. Aware of the sympathy and solidarity the Yugoslav people cherish for the Greek partisans, the Tito clique prepared a monstrous "justification" of their action.

That old provocateur, Vukmanovic, wrote that the battle "was lost because of the absolutely erroneous line of the leadership on vital questions (armed struggle, organization and training of troops, the question of power, relations with the imperialists, etc.)."

These articles are unable to conceal the villainy of the Tito clique, for of all the crimes they have committed, their assistance to the royalist-fascists against the Greek partisans is the most dastardly.

All these facts present an ample description of the gestapo regime and fascist policy of the Tito clique.

But the day is not far off when the Yugoslav peoples will settle accounts with this gang of spies, provocateurs and assassins.

## II

What conclusions should be drawn from this analysis of the situation in Yugoslavia?

1. The Tito espionage group represent not the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the will of the American and British imperialists, and have therefore betrayed the interests of the country and destroyed the political sovereignty and economic independence of Yugoslavia.

The fight against the instigators of a new world war is inconceivable without a fight against the Tito clique. The international significance of this fight is therefore clear.

2. The "Communist Party of Yugoslavia," as at present constituted, having fallen into the hands of enemies of the people, has forfeited the right to be called a Communist party and is merely an apparatus for carrying out the espionage assignments of the Tito-Kardelj-Rankovic-Djilas clique.

The fight against the Tito clique of hired spies and assassins is the international duty of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

3. The main task in the fight against Tito's fascist dictatorship falls upon the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia, headed by the revolutionary Communists.

The peoples of Yugoslavia cherish sincere love for the Soviet Union which liberated them, and desire with all their hearts to return to the great family of Socialism and democracy. The peoples of Yugoslavia bitterly hate the Tito espionage clique and their masters, the American and British imperialists. There is a growing desire and a growing struggle on the part of the working people of Yugoslavia to overthrow the fascist usurpers.

It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to assist in every way the Yugoslav working class and labouring

peasantry who are struggling for Yugoslavia's return to the camp of democracy and Socialism.

4. The struggle against the fascist regime of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia is assuming ever more acute forms: strikes, passive resistance, chiefly against compulsory conscription for work, distribution of illegal leaflets, opposition to production programs in factories and government procurement programs, etc. The Yugoslav workers are coming clearly to see that increased production serves the interests of the imperialists and are resorting to passive sabotage.

An essential condition for Yugoslavia's return to the socialist camp is an active struggle of the revolutionary elements both inside and outside the Yugoslav Communist Party for the resurrection of a revolutionary, genuinely Communist Yugoslav party, which will be faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and which will fight for Yugoslavia's independence from imperialism.

5. The working class of Yugoslavia, and the Communists who lead it, must have the fullest solidarity of the international working class in the building of their party. The work of the Yugoslav Communists is beginning to acquire a more active and more coordinated form.

The political and ideological campaign for the exposure of the Tito clique must be continued with still greater energy. The anti-popular policy of this agency of imperialism should be unanimously condemned by world public opinion. The Titoites wail at every street corner that they are being expelled from all international democratic organizations. They betray their fear that they may not be able effectively to continue their espionage activity and will be discharged by their American masters.

Let us be ruthless and implacable towards these despicable agents! Let them nowhere find the least point of support!

6. Every Communist and Workers' Party has most important duties to perform with respect to enhancing vigi-

lance. This applies not only to party members, but to all the working masses, who must be educated in revolutionary vigilance. The vigilance of the masses must assume organized forms. We must expose and eject from our ranks bourgeois-nationalist elements and all agents of imperialism, under whatever flag they may disguise themselves.

Of particular importance in the People's Democracies is state vigilance—vigilance of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We know that in the People's Democracies the old state machine was not smashed right away, as was the case in the Great October Socialist Revolution. This requires that the vigilance of the Communists in this sphere be particularly keen. It is the duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to draw all the conclusions from the Budapest trial of the spies Rajk and Brankov.

It must be remembered that, notwithstanding the severe defeat the American and British imperialists suffered at the Budapest trial, they have not renounced espionage and conspiratorial activity in the People's Democracies. The conference of the American Ambassadors to the East-European countries recently held in London was called precisely for the purpose of reconsidering the work of American agents in this part of Europe in the light of the Budapest trial. On the admission of the Western press, which no longer conceals what the American diplomats are occupied in, it was decided in London to set up an espionage centre in Belgrade. At the same time, a State Department commission, under the chairmanship of Allen Dulles, the notorious U.S. intelligence chief, drew up a program of action for the East-European countries, envisaging "new methods."

There can be no doubt that the chief role in this dastardly work will be assigned to the old spies and agents-provocateur of the Tito clique. They will endeavour to utilize people like Rajk, as well as every weakness and fissure in the ranks of the party and the government service, and malcontents, nationalist elements and people with dubious pasts.



We must constantly bear in mind, as Bolshevism teaches, that it is necessary to put an end to the opportunist complacency which arises from the false assumption that as our strength grows the enemy becomes more tame and inoffensive. This assumption is fundamentally fallacious. We must remember that the more hopeless the position of our enemies becomes, the more readily will they resort to "extreme methods."

We must base the enhancement of vigilance on more intense educational work. The newspaper *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* summarized the tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties in this connection in an article entitled "Strengthen Revolutionary Vigilance!":

"Marxism-Leninism teaches that the party of the working class can successfully get to grips with and beat the enemy always and everywhere, no matter what mask he dons, only if it engages in systematic work to raise the political and ideological level of its cadres; if it trains them in the spirit of irreconcilability to each and every deviation from the line of Marxism-Leninism; if it strengthens its ranks organizationally, resolutely rids the Party of alien elements, exposing and smashing in good time nationalist and revisionist deviations, and by deepening the class consciousness of the working class and all toilers."

A cardinal lesson to be drawn from the experience of the great Bolshevik Party is that in order to enhance vigilance we must put our own party house in Bolshevik order. The principal means for this is a verification of party members. It has been carried out in the parties of a number of the People's Democracies and yielded very good results. In our party, for instance, as a result of the verification which is still going on, we are expelling from its ranks hostile and alien elements who penetrated into the party in the period when its doors were wide open for admittance. There can be no doubt but that this measure will considerably hamper the efforts of the enemy to find a foothold in our party.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must strengthen the ideological vigilance of their members. They must display genuine Bolshevik irreconcilability to all deviations from proletarian internationalism, and intensify the ideological work of educating Communists to be faithful to proletarian internationalism, to be implacable towards all departures from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to be faithful to people's democracy and Socialism, to the international socialist front, headed by the U.S.S.R.

In science, literature, painting, music and the cinema there must be keen vigilance and an irreconcilable attitude towards all trends alien to the working class, and towards the propaganda of cosmopolitanism.

Let us raise still higher the victorious banner of proletarian internationalism, by fostering devotion to the Soviet Union—the first socialist country, the foundation of the world revolutionary movement and the main bulwark of the struggle for the peace and liberty of peoples—to the great Bolshevik Party, the leading force in the world revolutionary movement, and to the genius who is the teacher of labouring humanity and the leader of the struggle of the peoples for peace and Socialism, Comrade Stalin.

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