WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

DINO G. KYOSEV

Tito Unmasked

«The relationship with the Soviet Union is currently the decisive dividing line between the camp of democracy and that of reaction in the international arena, between the warmongers and the supporters of a lasting peace.»

Georgi Dimitrov

«It was easy to buy the Titoites with American dollars, but the Yugoslav peoples cannot be bought with American dollars and not with any other dollars. However much the Titoites rage today, we are nevertheless convinced that the Yugoslav workers and peasants, our brothers by blood, who shed so much blood during the time of the Second World War and showed so much heroism in the struggle against the foreign occupiers and traitors to their homeland, will find in themselves the forces to free themselves from the rule of a clique of spies and traitors and return their country to the camp of peace and socialism.»

Valko Chervenkov

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Foreword

History teaches us that not a single declining social order voluntarily cedes its place to the newly forming social order. The new social classes that arise in the process of development take their place after bloody struggles and after the destruction of the classes that have survived their time.

In the same way, the bourgeoisie, which consolidated itself as the ruling class through barricades, guillotines and bloody wars against feudalism and against feudal monarchies, does not want to cede its place voluntarily to the proletariat for the creation of a new socialist social order, which, on the basis of historical development, is called to replace the rotten bourgeois system.

The capitalist class, which has concentrated in its hands the means of production, the product of the labour of dozens of generations, and the good life, the product of the labour of millions of toilers, is furiously defending its ruling position by all means; likewise, it is full of rage and striving by all means to stop the movement of the working class, to smother the socialist revolution in a torrent of blood and to prevent the creation and development of the new socialist society.

The capitalists protect their economic power and domination not only in their own countries, but also fight desperately against the victory of the working class and the building of the socialist social order in other countries. In this case, history is «repeating itself»: the capitalists from West and East rushed in to strangle the young Soviet state just as the reactionary monarchies tried to strangle the French bourgeois rev-

olution 150 years ago. By underlining the predatory character of capitalism, J.V. Stalin gives a strong warning:

> «It would be foolish to assume that international capital will leave us alone. No, comrades, it will not leave us alone. Classes exist, international capital exists, and it cannot sit back and watch the development of the construction of socialism in our country.»

In addition, no defeat can stop the capitalists: Once defeated, they try again and with new means. After the armed imperialist intervention against the young Soviet power was crushed by the Red Army and the Russian working class, and the Denikin, Wrangel, Semyonov and others had to save themselves by wild flight abroad, the imperialists continued their struggle against the Soviet state by other means: They organized petulant and diversionary work on a large scale, formed gangs of spies and terrorists, exploited the renegades of the Bolshevik Party to create counter-revolutionary groups, among other things. The capitalists endeavoured to conquer the «fortress» from within.

Besides the numerous but always unsuccessful attempts to eliminate Soviet power by internal means, the imperialists planned and eagerly prepared a new armed campaign against the USSR. The well-known Munich Agreement between Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini and Daladier, and in general the whole Munich policy of the imperialists, was the political and psychological preparation of the fascist attack on the Soviet Union in 1941. But this attempt to liquidate the Soviet state also brought its authors and executors a

sad result: the invincible Soviet army crushed fascist Germany; as a result of the victory of Soviet power and with invaluable help from the Soviet people, the people's democratic order was established in six East European countries, as the basis for the construction of socialism in these countries.

For more than thirty years, the imperialists strived to destroy the birthplace of socialist revolution — the Soviet Union — and for more than thirty years they suffered defeat after defeat. After the Second World War, the People's Democratic states emerged in Europe, and four years later, People's Democratic China came into being. But the imperialists did not lose heart. On the contrary, the more defeats they suffer, and the more parts of the rotten edifice of world capitalism break away, the more furiously they defend their reserves filled with bloody gold.

This is the nature of the dying capitalist class. That is why the imperialists try to scare with atomic and hydrogen bombs and organized armed attacks on the freedom-loving peoples of Greece, Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaya and Korea. For the same purpose, the imperialists adopted Hitler's «total diplomacy». With brutal interference in the internal affairs of the peoples, with all means of political blackmail, economic pressure, underground agitation and with attempts at subversion, they want to subject all peoples to their rule, to their anti-people and anti-democratic policy in preparation for an attack against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Democracy.

With particular tenacity and inexhaustible energy, the Anglo-American imperialists are carrying out their dark policy with regard to the People's Demo-

cratic countries. They organized the criminal conspiracies of Mikolajczyk in Poland and Ferenc Nagy in Hungary. The collapsed coup attempts in Romania and Czechoslovakia were also their work, as were the criminal activities of Nikola Petkov and Kosta Lulchev and the Protestant clergy in Bulgaria, the Catholic Archbishop Mindszenty in Hungary, the coup conspiracies of Koçi Xoxe in Tirana, László Rajk in Budapest and Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria.

A product of this same anti-Soviet, anti-democratic and anti-working class policy of the imperialists is also the Titoite clique of traitors. The same imperialist policy of aggression against the Soviet Union, against peace and democracy is served by the Tito fascist police regime in Yugoslavia. The Tito traitors and the Tito fascist regime are an agency of the Anglo-American imperialists in the struggle against democracy, peace and socialism; they are engaged in defending the rule of the capitalists and oppressors in the world.

The present book has the modest aim of giving a fraction of the inexhaustible wealth of material on the criminal past and on the criminal present activity of the Tito clique, thus enabling the reader to see the imperialist agent Tito and his entourage without a mask.

The author — Dino Kyosev

Chapter I: From the Past of the Tito Clique

The betrayal of the Tito clique does not begin with the June 1948 resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, nor with the exposure by the letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which preceded the Information Bureau resolution. Both the letters of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) and the June resolution of the Information Bureau expose only one stage of the betrayal of the Tito clique. In the process of its development, this betrayal expressed itself at the beginning of 1948 in the form of bourgeois nationalism, hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union and betrayal of the international solidarity of the working class. Later, the traitors formed an open fascist gang in the service of the imperialists, in the struggle against the united camp of socialism and democracy, against the communist parties of the whole world, against the countries of People's Democracy, against the Soviet Union.

The betrayal of Tito and his entourage started before the beginning of the Second World War. Already at that time — as is now undoubtedly the case — began the spying and espionage activities of the whole of today's Tito gang.

Tito's Path of Betrayal

Tito himself is an old Trotskyist, an anti-Soviet element who for years was able to hide his true views behind a hypocritical grimace. Let's hear what

Traicho Kostov[1] said about Tito's past:

«...my acquaintance with Tito... began in 1934 in Moscow, where we had both found asylum as political emigrants...

«The situation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was difficult at that time. Its leadership was torn apart by sharp factional struggles. On the agenda was the question of how to promote the formation of a new party leadership within the country, above all from native party functionaries.

« Béla Kun and Valecki[2], who at that time had not yet been exposed as Trotskyists, opted for Tito. The choice of the disguised Trotskyists Béla Kun and Valecki was not accidental because, as I was able to convince myself on the basis of the file material available to me in the personal file of 'Walter' (Tito), he had also taken Trotskyist positions...

«Tito knew — certainly from Béla Kun or Valecki, to whom he was very close — of my affiliation to the left sectarian grouping in Bulgaria and was therefore open-hearted during our meeting. During one of our conversations in 1934, Tito shared with me his Trotskyist convictions and told of the inconveniences he had experienced because of them. In this context he expressed his hatred for the leadership of the CPSU(B), with Stalin at its head. Tito wanted to go to Yugoslavia as soon as possible to work there without any control according to his political convictions...

«It was only thanks to the intercession of the Trotskyists Béla Kun and Valecki, and to the favourable character I gave Tito, that he was able to leave for Yugoslavia in 1934 for leading party work.»[3]

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[1] Traicho Kostov was a sophisticated agent of the American-English imperialists and Tito's crony in Bulgaria. He was exposed in 1949 and sentenced to death by the Supreme People's Court in Sofia. — The *ed.*

[2] Until the 7th Congress of the Communist International in August 1935, Béla Kun and Valecki worked in the Balkan Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

[3] «Traicho Kostov and his Group». Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1951, pp. 109-110.

How great Tito's ambition was to work «uncontrolled and in accordance with his political convictions», which were already anti-Soviet and anti-communist at that time, and how he succeeded in realizing this ambition, can be seen from Tito's boastful confession, which he made on 26 July 1950 in his speech before the Skupština (the parliament) in Belgrade:

> «After 1936,» Tito explained, «when we began to adhere less and less to the directives from outside (the Comintern. — D.K.), our party developed faster and faster.»[1]

At the same time, Tito also boasted that even during the period of fascist occupation and the People's Liberation War, the Yugoslav party leadership not only did not pay attention to the Comintern's instructions and advice, but also very often acted contrary to these instructions and advice.[2]

On 8 October 1951, Tito gave a speech to the syndicates in Zagreb. Here he revealed that already in 1935 he and his comrades «absolutely did not like what was going on in the Soviet Union». Later, on the eve of the Second World War, he realized «what was going on» — especially when his eyes «brightened» and he could «explain the foreign policy of the Soviet state».[3]

In his speech in Belgrade on 21 December 1951, Tito admitted even more openly and even more cynically that he and his clique, hiding behind the slogan of «friendship with the Soviet Union», carried out a

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[1] *Borba*, Belgrade, of 27 July 1950, Serb.
[2] See *Ibid.*
[3] *Borba* of 9 October 1951.

consistent anti-Soviet policy during the period of the People's Liberation War of the Yugoslav peoples.[1] Here Tito not only confirms the statements of Traicho Kostov, but also openly admits both his hostile attitude towards the Comintern and the USSR, which he had already adopted before the Second World War, and the fact that even then he consciously followed the path of separation from the international workers' movement and that of hostile activity.

But Tito's treacherous past is far from exhausted by his affiliation with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite gang. There is now evidence that Tito was linked to the British spy service, the Secret Intelligence Service, at least since 1936. At that time, one of the main agents of the Secret Intelligence Service in the CPY and to some extent in the international workers' movement was M. Gorkić (Josip Čižinski), General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, who was exposed in 1937. Tito became head of the CC of the CPY in 1937 and was on close terms with Gorkić. It is now clear that when Tito took over as General Secretary of the CPY CC, he also took over the work of the exposed Gorkić for the Secret Intelligence Service.

Tito's relationship with the Secret Intelligence Service was skillfully camouflaged not only from the wider party public, but also from a whole range of the leading CPY party functionaries. And yet individual far-sighted Party functionaries, loyal to the working class, have noticed Tito's attachment and affection for the British imperialists. Metodi Shatarov, secretary of

[1] See *Borba* of 22 December 1951.

the Macedonian regional committee of the CPY in Skoplje, declared openly in 1941, after a short period of working together with Tito: «Tito is not one of us. He is an enemy!»

Metodi Shatarov also communicated his conviction to representatives of the CC of the CPY, of which even Tito wrote in a letter to the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party in July 1941:

«Our delegate (of the CC of the CPY — D.K.) stated on the spot that Sharlo (Metodi Shatarov) was slandering the leadership of the CPY and the secretary of our party (Tito — D.K.) that they were anglophiles.»[1]

This was not only the opinion of «Sharlo».

«We took the decision,» Tito continues in the letter, «to dismiss the entire leadership of the Macedonian organization because the majority of the leadership declared solidarity with Sharlo.»

Signs about the real face of Tito were also given by the enemy camp. In 1943, Franco's fascist radio from Madrid announced — and repeated many times — that the Tito «fighting» in Yugoslavia was not the real Tito. Because the real Josip Broz-Tito was anti-Soviet and nationalist. The one appearing under his name, Radio Madrid claimed, was someone else who had appropriated the name of the real Tito, while the real Tito had already died.

There can be no doubt that the Spanish fascists, who were in contact with both the English Secret In-

[1] *Sozialistitischeska Zora*, Organ of the CC of the CP of Macedonia, Skoplje, March-April 1949, pp. 87-88, Mace.

telligence Service and Hitler's Gestapo, knew much and important about Tito and either unconsciously or on the instructions of someone, probably the Gestapo, exposed Tito's anti-Soviet face even then.

Tito's anti-Soviet attitude was also known in other circles of the pro-Hitler camp at that time. Thus Lieutenant General Shilkov, a Bulgarian liaison officer with the German command staff in Belgrade, reported in confidential letter no. 2284 of 13 May 1944 to Sofia:

«I have received the following information from a reliable source: In local communist circles it is said that Tito is a Trotskyist...»[1]

Shilkov further reports on «Tito's inclination towards the English».

In the confidential lecture No. 5386 of 31 August 1944 by the then Bulgarian Prime Minister Bagryanov to the Regent Cyril, there is also talk of Tito's defection to the English.

At the time, Churchill himself did not conceal his relationship with Tito and his clique. On 22 February 1944, he declared in the House of Commons:

«We will do everything possible to give help and support to Marshal Tito... During my illness I received a letter from him, and since then I have been in constant correspondence with him, drenched in mutual understanding... In his standing as Yugoslav leader, Tito has lost his communist face to a great extent. He has declared several times that he has no intention of changing private property and the social system existing in Serbia.»

Now there are other admissions that Tito had ear-

[1] *Rabotnicheskoye Delo* of 4 January 1951

lier links with the British spy service. General Fitzroy MacLean, chief of the British military mission to Tito's staff in Yugoslavia, has published a book entitled «On the Preliminary Steps to the East». In this book, the experienced English spy reveals with his usual caution the real relations between Tito and the English spy service. MacLean writes that there was a «same language» between Tito and the English spy service:

«Above all, we had to find the same language. I convinced myself that this was no problem.»

The «same language» also prevailed between Tito and the old imperialist and deepest communist-hater Churchill. «Churchill and Tito», writes MacLean, «got on excellently». MacLean also testifies that Tito and the British spy service made common cause.

«I tried to summarize the impressions I had gained of the person after our conversation, and I came to the conclusion that one can work with him.»

By «can work» General MacLean of course understands that Tito carries out his orders. The head of the British spy service also confirms that the soldiers and honest commanders of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army had recognized the espionage and provocateur activities of MacLean's «mission» and indignantly opposed their activities.

«Often when, as a result of resistance from subordinates, our work reached an impasse,» MacLean writes of these cases, «Tito interfered and overturned the decisions of the subordinate commanders.»

It seems that Churchill knew Tito's past well and justifiably determined the path for his further development. In Churchill's opinion, Tito was ready to «gradually become more and more nationalist and less and less communist» (MacLean). Churchill already knew at that time that after a certain time Tito would throw away his communist mask, which he had put on in order to deceive the masses and public opinion, and that he would show himself in his true form: as a nationalist, as an enemy of the Soviet Union and as an obedient agent of the imperialists. This is precisely why Churchill had every reason to allay MacLean's concerns that a truly communist regime could be created in Yugoslavia:

«The less we both — you and I — » Churchill told MacLean, «worry about the form of administration they will create, the better.»

Churchill had every reason to pay no attention to Tito's «communism». Already during the meeting in Naples in 1944, Tito categorically asserted that he and his clique had no intention of introducing the communist regime into Yugoslavia. Stephen Clissold, a member of the British military mission to Tito's staff, describes this conversation in the following way:

«During the meeting Churchill turned to the translator Olga Ninčić[1]:

'Tell the Marshal, my dear, that I would like to ask him one

[1] *Olga Ninčić*, daughter of the former royal foreign minister Momčilo Ninčić, was Tito's mistress. Later, on Tito's orders, she married Avdo Humo, the secretary of the CC of the Tito Party of Bosnia.

more question, a frank question: is it true that a large section of the Yugoslav peasantry would be very happy if the Communist system were introduced in Yugoslavia?'

'We have no intention of introducing such a system. I have often underlined that,' Tito replied categorically and even irritably.

'Yes, I remember, but I also wanted to hear it from you personally,' Churchill replied.

At the end of the meeting, Churchill turned to Olga Ninčić and said: 'I have asked a lot of questions. Please, tell the Marshal that he can also ask me questions in his turn, even unpleasant ones.'

After Tito had thought for a short time, he said: 'I am worried by this constant question about communism in Yugoslavia. I have already stated categorically that we have no intention of introducing it.'»[1]

The «common language» and «common work» between Tito and Churchill led to the significant fact that the old monarchist and anti-communist Churchill already renounced King Peter and his bourgeois-fascist government during 1943 and backed the «communist» Tito. This was done behind the back of the Soviet government, which was officially informed of this fact by a boastful telegram from Tito in which he stated, among other things, that «the English general (meaning MacLean — D.K.) has already submitted to them that the English government does not insist very strongly on the king and the Yugoslav emigrant government».

On 19 January 1945 Churchill said in the House of Commons:

«My sincere hope is that Marshal Tito will prove as much

[1] *Salzburger Nachrichten* of 6 September 1950.

the saviour and unifier of the country as he is today without doubt the undisputed master of it.»

Referring to King Peter, Churchill scrupulously opined:

«If we are not fortunate enough to obtain King Peter's consent for this, then conditions will develop as if the same had given his consent.»

In recent times, more and more light has been thrown on Tito's relations with Hitler's occupiers of Yugoslavia. For example, the above-mentioned General Fitzroy MacLean wrote in an article in the newspaper *Foreign Affairs* in January 1950 that during 1941 Tito «regularly visited those salons where the best representatives of the Belgrade bourgeoisie gathered, the flower of foreign espionage and, of course, the officers of the German Wehrmacht, SS men and Gestapo agents».

In 1951, the book «Organization, Persons and Activities of the German Secret Service in Yugoslavia» by Dr. Hötel (Walter Hagen), the head of this service, was published in Vienna. In this book, Tito's relations (via Velebit, «Dr. Petrov» and the German agent engineer Karl Walter Ott) with General Gleise von Horstenau, the commander of the German troops in Croatia, are reported in detail. Among other things, Dr. Hötel proves at length that Tito was already a man of the «West» during the time of the war.[1]

Churchill's forebodings and calculations proved correct: the Trotskyist in disguise, the enemy in dis-

[1] *Unita* of 5, 6 and 7 December 1951, Ital.

guise of communism and the Soviet Union, the agent of the British Secret Intelligence Service, who was not even afraid to maintain liaison with Hitler's Gestapo, proved to be an even more zealous and active servant of Anglo-American imperialism than the not yet mature King Peter and his mouldy government in London and Cairo.

That's Tito!

Tito's Environment

We do not know whether Tito selected his staff himself or whether the imperialist agencies, which had already created their anti-working class and anti-communist fifth column within the Yugoslav workers movement in the past, systematically introduced known Trotskyists and reliable spies to Tito and grouped them around him. Most likely, Tito's traitor environment was formed in the past through the joint efforts of Tito himself and the foreign spy centres.

What is Tito's immediate environment?

Aleksander Ranković, organizing secretary of the Tito Party, Minister of the Interior and head of the State Security Administration, is one of the darkest and most hated figures from Tito's immediate surroundings. Apart from the Gestapo in the past and the Secret Intelligence Service and the American Counter Intelligence Corps today, no one knew his real name. He called himself Janko, Ranko, Marko, Leko, Strašni, etc. His origins and profession are even murkier. Some say he was a village tailor or blacksmith's servant, others — the head of a band of robbers. It is known that Ranković was in contact with King Ale-

ksander's police as early as 1935. There is also information that Ranković belonged to the worst Yugoslavian decoy and espionage group of Begović-Šumanovac-Dominkuš-Matović and others, which helped the monarcho-fascist dictator General Pero Živković to crush the most healthy forces of the CPY and physically destroy more than a hundred of the best Party functionaries, among them the Secretary of the Central Committee Djuro Djaković.

There is no doubt that Ranković was already an agent of Hitler's Gestapo in 1941, and he first fell into the hands of the Gestapo in 1941. The Gestapo organs knew that Ranković was a member of the Politburo of the CPY; in addition, various party documents, addresses, weapons and money were found during his arrest. As is well-known, the Gestapo beat to death all those whom they even suspected of being connected with the partisans. Ranković, however, was transferred by the Gestapo «for healing» to a hospital under their control, but was set free soon afterwards. Major General Miladin Jovanović, who was also in the hands of the Gestapo and was released together with Ranković, openly admitted as early as 1942 that their release was due to an agreement with the Gestapo.

During the period of the People's Liberation War, Ranković was chairman of the Titoite Revolutionary Tribunal, which had more partisans shot than Gestapo agents in Yugoslavia.

Edvard Kardelj, a member of the Politburo of the Titoite CC, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Yugoslav Foreign Minister, is a colourless,

characterless coward who developed his Trotskyist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas even before the beginning of the Second World War. In 1942, as head of the CC of the Slovenian CP, Kardelj was in contact with the head of the Gestapo of the Slovenian coastal area in Bled, who was known by the nickname Joshica. Joshica «helped» Kardelj in the way that he drove Kardelj's couriers from one place to another in his car and provided him with a number of Gestapo people as «commanders» for the partisan battalions. As a result of this «working partnership» between Joshica and Kardelj, the Yugoslav partisans had huge losses in this area and three general staffs were destroyed one after the other. Kardelj and his crony Boris Kidrić, of course, remained unscathed.

Milovan Djilas, member of the Politburo, Secretary of the CC of the Tito Party and «theoretician» of the anti-Soviet activity of the Tito gang, is the son of a policeman from Montenegro. He used to be a bohemian, an unsuccessful and talentless literary man who rendered «small services» to the Yugoslav police in his youth. The Yugoslav general Popivoda wrote in the press about the role Djilas played as an agent provocateur in the suppression of the uprising in Montenegro in 1941 and in the extermination of thousands of Montenegrin partisans. The Gestapo, in recognition of Djilas' services, released Djilas' wife Mitra Mitrović, who was in custody, and had the fascist Nedić gendarmes escort her to the territory liberated from the partisans. This fact is also confirmed by the head of the Gestapo in Yugoslavia, Dr Hötel, in the book «Organization, Persons and Activities of the German Secret Service in Yugoslavia», which has already been

cited.

Of the same kind are the other people from Tito's immediate surroundings, the other members of the Politburo of the Tito CC:

Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, chauvinist to the bone and Bulgarian-hater, who lived almost legally and moved freely throughout the period of the People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia, enjoying the support of Gestapo agents; organizer of many provocations in Macedonia, Serbia and Herzegovina, which cost the lives of many thousands of Yugoslav fighters. *Blagoje Nešković*, Gestapo agent during the Second World War, was in close contact with Hitler's deputy in Belgrade, Milan Nedić. He was even more closely connected with Boško Bećarević, the head of the anti-communist department of the special police in Belgrade. *Moša Pijade* is an unsuccessful artist, but an old Trotskyist and provocateur of the Yugoslav workers' movement. He and Djilas took part in the liquidation of the uprising in Montenegro and the crushing of the loyalist Montenegrin partisans. *Ivan Gošnjak* is the intimate friend of the well-known English spy Velebit[1], who also brought him to serve for the Secret Intelligence Service.

The rest of Tito's collaborators, who are still close today, are also such cunning traitors, spies and provocateurs.

How the Tito Clique Usurped the Power of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

[1] *Velebit* is currently Yugoslav ambassador in Rome.

How could these traitors and foreign agents, Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Ranković, Vukmanović-Tempo, Pijade, Nešković, Kidrić, Gošnjak and the rest, seize the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the leadership of the state?

Elsewhere we have already emphasized the historical fact that the bourgeoisie, in defending its class rule against the proletarian revolution, has always endeavoured to penetrate the ranks of the workers' movement, especially the communist parties, to smuggle its agents into them and to recruit its members in order to corrode the communist parties from within, to render them impotent and to harness them to the service of the class interests of the bourgeoisie. The expression of the penetration of bourgeois influence by paid or unconscious agents into the workers' movement and into the communist parties is the factional struggle which has been waged in the past by various right and «left» oppositions. The revelations of the numerous and varied right and «left» faction groups before the Second World War prove that all these groups were connected in one form or another with the bourgeois and fascist centres created for the struggle against the revolutionary workers' movement and against the first socialist state in the world — the Soviet Union.

History also teaches us that all these efforts of the bourgeoisie to infiltrate the workers' movement and the communist parties in order to debilitate them and turn them into their obedient agencies can only be beaten off if there are healthy and firmly united parties with a clear and strict Marxist-Leninist ideology and tested, experienced cadres.

Unfortunately, in the past the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was not able to develop and consolidate itself as a unified party in ideological and organizational terms. Since the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was founded in 1919 from the most diverse groups in areas which were at different stages of their economic and political development, different groupings were also formed within the party (Macedonia and Montenegro were completely backward, Slovenia and Croatia were significantly more advanced areas, Serbia and Montenegro existed earlier as independent states, while Macedonia was under Turkish, Slovenia, Croatia and others under Austro-Hungarian rule). Already in the first days after its foundation, a bitter factional struggle began within the party, which lasted for several years. The Yugoslav bourgeoisie skillfully exploited this bitter factional struggle to smuggle its agents provocateurs into the party, who, apart from other tasks, had to further inflame the unprincipled factional struggle within the party.

If we take a look at the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from its founding (unification) congress in Vukovar in 1919 to its 5th Party Conference in the autumn of 1940, we see an unbroken chain of irreconcilable, bitter factional struggles, going as far as denunciation to the police, waged within the central leadership, within the lower party organizations, in the trade union and all other organizations connected in one way or another with the Communist Party. The factional struggle was waged on all questions of party policy and organizational building: on the assessment of the political situation, on tactical questions, on the national, peasant and trade union

question, etc. This struggle took on an increasingly unprincipled character and turned into a struggle for the various posts not only in the party leadership but also for other leading posts in various organizations of the workers' movement.

This factional struggle intensified especially after the monarcho-fascist overthrow of General Pero Živković in 1929, when there was much betrayal within the CPY and many police raids, involving mass arrests and assassinations of many devoted party workers. Among those murdered were the able and talented Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPY, Djuro Djaković, the devoted and talented party workers Debeljak, Vidas and others.

The spread of factional struggle within the CPY was also favoured, among other things, by the absence of any positive traditions from the past. The CPY followed the negative traditions of Austro-Marxism of Adler, Bauer, Renner and others, which had taken root in Slovenia and Croatia, formerly part of Austria-Hungary, and the social-chauvinist traditions of Topalović, Skerlić, Lapčević and others in Serbia.[1] The only clear head in the pre-war workers movement in Serbia was Dimitrije Tucović. However, he fell in the First World War without leaving behind any positive traditions or healthy revolutionary cadres.

In such a state of the party, no healthy party leader

[1] Viktor Adler, Fritz Adler, Otto Bauer, Karl Renner and others were the leaders of Austrian social democracy, called Austro-Marxists in the past. Živko Topalović, Dragiša Lapčević, Skerlić and others were the leaders of the right-wing social democracy in old Serbia.

could have developed around whom the party could have united and who could have put an end to factionalism. On the contrary!

«The misfortune of the workers' movement and the CP of Yugoslavia is,» writes General Pero Popivoda, «that since the foundation of the CPY in 1919, for almost 30 years, at its head there was in fact an agency of the bourgeoisie which constantly diverted the party from the right path, more than once provoked crises in the party and ultimately brought about its destruction and ignominious liquidation... In 30 years, the central leadership of the CPY was reshuffled more than ten times and, with a few rare exceptions, was always treacherous and hostile to the working class. Of a dozen Party secretaries, only Djuro Djaković was not a traitor and not an enemy of the working class!»[1]

In reality, excellent communists emerged from the Yugoslav working class, gifted leaders and selfless revolutionaries. However, as a result of the prevailing factional struggle and cruel police terror, they were quickly recognized and physically destroyed by the police.

After the 4th Party Congress of the CPY in Dresden in 1928, all the signs were there for a consolidation of the party, under the leadership of Djuro Djaković. However, after Djaković's assassination by the police of the executioner Pero Živković, the leadership again fell into the hands of traitorous elements such as Martinović, Mavrak and others, who reignited the factional struggle.

After 1937, there was again a process of consolidation; at the centre were devoted revolutionaries and

[1] *For lasting peace, for people's democracy!* of 15 September 1950.

staunch communists such as Ognjen Prica, Otokar Keršovani, Ivan Milutinović, Rade Končar, Božidar Adžija and others. Inside this outwardly successful recovery process, however, there was something rotten, as is clear today: at the leadership of the party at that time were the disguised traitors Tito, Ranković and Co.

In this situation within the CPY, there could be no talk of a Bolshevization of the party, of the creation of iron discipline and unity in its ranks, of the cleansing of foreign and hostile elements. On the contrary! The party was constantly in confusion, lacked the most elementary discipline and the cadres were discouraged. On this ground, the spies and traitors within the leadership gained the upper hand, headed by the paid agent of the English Secret Intelligence Service, M. Gorkić (Josip Čižinski), who was General Secretary of the CC of the CPY until 1937 and practised multiple vile betrayals which cost the lives of hundreds of communists.

During the years 1934 to 1937, as a result of the factional struggle and systematic betrayal, the CPY was in an extremely difficult situation and had in fact already ceased to be a communist party. In this situation, the Executive Committee of the Communist International was forced to dismiss the entire Central Committee of the CPY, with the spy Gorkić at its head, and to take a series of measures for the reconstruction of the shattered CPY.

During this period Tito was pushed to the fore as a «capable» leader by the later exposed Trotskyists Béla Kun and Valecki. These Trotskyist traitors had earlier protected Tito, although they knew that Tito

did not shine with great cleverness and special abilities and had a weak Marxist-Leninist basis. On the other hand, he had Trotskyist yeast in him, great ambitions and a pathological craving for fame, and these «qualities» made Tito a valuable tool of the anti-communist and anti-working class policy of the Trotskyist gangs of spies.

In this way, Tito became secretary of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia and gradually surrounded himself — again on the instructions of the Trotskyist centre — with the most diverse adventurers, Trotskyists and spies such as Ranković, Djilas, Kardelj, Vukmanović-Tempo and others. And so we see how, at the 5th Party Conference in October 1940, under the slogan «liquidate the factional struggle and establish the unity of the party», for which honest party functionaries such as Hebrang, Prica, Milutinović, Adžija and others were fully committed, a number of hardened Trotskyists, nationalists and agents of the foreign spy services crept into the leadership of the CPY.

In this way, on the basis of factional struggle, betrayal and the basest hypocrisy, the CPY was already at the beginning of Hitler's occupation of Yugoslavia in the hands of a Central Committee which cleverly masked enemy elements and foreign spies, and with Tito at the head, they had the upper hand.

How the Titoites Turned the CPY into a Police Apparatus for Repression and Espionage

The period from 1920 to 1940 ended with the seizure of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia by anti-communist, hostile elements, headed by Tito, Kardelj,

Ranković and Djilas. However, it was not enough for the imperialists that only the leadership of the party was in the hands of their agents. They wanted to turn the whole party into their compliant instrument in the struggle against the working class and the Soviet Union, they wanted to transform the CPY into a police apparatus for repression and espionage, with the help of which they hoped to carry out their anti-people measures.

The period of the People's Liberation War is characterized by the penetration of anti-class elements into the lower organizations of the CPY, which constitute the main component of the CPY today. How was this possible?

It is known that the People's Liberation War, which the Yugoslav peoples started in 1941, was directed against the fascist occupiers, that is, against the foreign occupation army, which had established a violent, predatory regime in Yugoslavia after the destruction of the Yugoslav state. As a result of this peculiarity of the struggle, the People's Liberation Movement, led by the Communist Party, embraced the broadest masses of the people, including bourgeois layers in the cities and countryside, who were opponents of socialism and communism according to their social situation, outlook and political party affiliation. Thousands of kulaks (rich peasants), small traders and factory owners, bourgeois intelligentsia, many former policemen and armed men, members of nationalist organizations and others took part in the movement against the occupiers. In the course of the struggle, many supporters of the Draža Mihailović

groups[1], supporters of Ante Pavelić[2] and people from the Nedić police[3] also joined the People's Liberation Movement. Even many leading people from the immediate surroundings of Mihailović, Pavelić and Nedić went over to the side of the partisans.

These people brought their bourgeois interests and ideology into the ranks of the liberation movement. The Tito leadership of the CPY, in which the agents of the imperialist spy services already had the upper hand at that time, favoured and facilitated the penetration of these foreign bodies into the ranks of the Communist Party. It opened the gates of the party to kulaks and other exploitative and nationalist elements. A large part, if not the largest part, of the 148,000 or so Party members admitted to the CPY from 1941 to 1945 belonged to the category of such class aliens or to the category of temporary allies. These foreign elements flooded the CP of Yugoslavia and were placed by the Tito leadership in positions of responsibility both within the party and the Popular Front and in the organs of the new state that was being formed.

The Tito traitors went even further. They effectively dissolved the CPY into the Popular Front, in which an even larger number of such foreign, bourgeois-nationalist elements were represented. Hereby, the Titoites consciously took the path of the complete

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[1] *Mihailović*, leader of that direction of the resistance movement in Serbia which was under the influence of the royal emigrant government in London. Later, Mihailović worked with the German fascists against the partisans.

[2] Croatian Quisling.

[3] Serbian Quisling.

liquidation of the Communist Party as the «vanguard of the working class, as the highest form of class organization of the proletarian dictatorship» (Stalin), and that of the transformation of the party into a multicoloured political grouping, with a clear preponderance of bourgeois-nationalist tendencies.

Simultaneously with the flooding of the party with kulaks, bourgeois nationalist and other hostile elements, the Tito clique began to get rid of honest and staunch communists already during the People's Liberation War. This was done by commanding such communists to front sections where their demise was certain, or by organizing «misfortunes», «suicides» and «enemy raids». Now it is known through a series of authoritative statements that in this mean way the members of the Central Committee of the CPY Rade Končar, Ivo Lola-Ribar, Božidar Adžija, Ognjen Prica and others were eliminated. In Macedonia, among others, Kuzma Josifovski-Pitu and Kosta Racin were murdered, in Kosova Boro Vukmirović, Sadik Sadiković and others. This «purification» continued after the liberation of Yugoslavia and after the formation of the new Yugoslav state. At the beginning of 1948, the members of the CPY Politburo, Žujović and Hebrang, were arrested. At the 5th Congress of the CPY, Tito himself gave the signal for the destruction of all «hidden anti-party elements» — as he called the real communists in Yugoslavia — and he demanded that the organs of the State Security Administration act mercilessly against them. Ranković's executioners were only waiting for this signal: ten days later, the hero of the people, Colonel General Arso Jovanović, was murdered, and after him thousands

more honest communists. Other tens of thousands of communists, generals and soldiers, professors and students, workers and peasants, were crammed into prisons and camps or driven into emigration.

As a result of this anti-communist policy of the leadership, according to official data, 58,504 wealthy and rich peasants, i.e. kulaks, were members of the CPY on 1 July 1948, which is about 13 per cent of all party members and about 26 per cent of the number of peasants. In addition, 31,277 traders, rentiers and other exploitative elements were members of the party.

The percentage of workers within the party is given as 29.5 per cent. What these «workers» are can be seen from the Party statistics, which also list Tito and Ranković as «workers». The real workers are outside the party. For example, in three industrial plants in Slovenia with a workforce of 21,000 workers and employees, only 245 people, or 1.17 per cent, are party members, and these are exclusively the leading cadres of the plants. In five industrial plants in Croatia with over 18,000 workers and employees, 32 persons or 0.18 per cent are party members. Such examples, which come from the official documents of the Tito clique, can be listed many more.

An even more valuable yardstick is the party age of its members. Of 468,175 members on July 1, 1948, according to official data, only 3,000 were members of the Party before July 1941, 138,000 persons joined the Party from July 1941 until the end of the war, and about 227,000 persons joined the Party after the end of the war until July 1, 1948. The number of communists expelled from the Party, arrested, emigrated

and murdered by Ranković's executioners in the period from 1 July 1948 to the present day is over 200,000, in whose place a large number of fascist and nationalist subjects were admitted to the Party.

It goes without saying that all the leading cadres of the party, the mass organizations and the state apparatus have thus also come from the Tito-Ranković recruitment and have been carefully selected and filtrated by their Trotskyist espionage apparatus.

An extraordinarily important role in the transformation of the Tito Party into an instrument of repression and betrayal is played by the regime of terror in the internal life of the Party. The party organizations were and are deliberately kept in a semi-legal state, torn away from the workers' and mass organizations. After the end of the war, the CPY did not emerge from illegality as a victorious and leading party, but remained conspiratorial, carrying out its political tasks through the so-called Popular Front of Yugoslavia.

The Tito conspirators did not dare to legalize the CPY because then the communists and all the working people would have seen that the bourgeois, the kulaks and all the surviving fascist rabble had crept into the party; according to their class affiliations, these have no interest at all in bringing the class struggle to an end for the benefit of the working class and the toiling peasant masses, but only in hindering the development of socialism in Yugoslavia and restoring the old capitalist system of rule. Thus, the Tito spy gang hid the class enemy of the workers within the party.

Until 1948, when the Tito clique openly broke with the socialist front and went over to the camp of the imperialists, the CPY had neither a program nor a

statute as the basis of its political and organizational activity, which could have informed both the party members and the working people about the aims of the party. Thus, they were kept in uncertainty and had to rely only on directives and instructions from the Titoite upper class. The Tito clique, however, used the system of instructions and directives to popularize itself as an «innovator» in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to present its anti-Marxist stand as «new specific theories» in the «specific» conditions of Yugoslavia.

In this way, the party members knew neither their rights nor their duties, and the Tito clique dictated their hostile directives. These created chaos within the party and prepared its final liquidation as a proletarian, revolutionary party.

Criticism and self-criticism were and are absolutely forbidden within the CPY, not only during the period of the People's Liberation War, but also after the end of the war and after the new Yugoslav state was created. The Tito upper class knows that if criticism and self-criticism are allowed within the party, the honest communists would expose the enemy elements and purge the party ranks of the same. However, the exposure of the enemies who had crept into the party would logically lead to the exposure and full liquidation of the Tito upper class.

The duties and rights of the members of the CPY are based on the fascist principle: a Party member is obliged to attend the meetings regularly, to receive the directives and orders of the Titoite upper class with the obligation to fulfil them and to report on the implementation of the orders received earlier. The ideo-

logical and political work among the party membership sank to the level of education in the chauvinist spirit. The materials issued by the Tito clique on the People's Liberation War are filled with praises of Tito.

Democratic centralism as the basis of leadership within communist parties does not exist at all within the CPY. Not a single party leadership, from the CPY Central Committee to the lower party organizations, is elected from below but appointed by orders from above. Appointment and co-optation was and is the way to create the leading cadres of the Tito Party. In this way, the Tito clique managed to fill all the leading posts with its tried and tested spies and class enemies.

The big and small Titoite leaders surround themselves with comforts, they are given privileges and advantages that bind them to the leading clique and make them their docile tools. This system of demoralization and decomposition of the party cadres and organs of state power has created in Yugoslavia a new privileged caste of big and small leaders, state security service and police agents, kulaks and other parasites who live a parasitic life of gluttony at the expense of the starving masses of the people. This caste forms the main and strongest part of today's Tito Party.

Through hypocrisy and deceit, bribery and demoralization, arrests and assassinations, the Tito clique has brought about the present composition of the CPY, which has already lost the right to call itself the Communist Party, since it has turned into an apparatus for terrorizing the toilers of Yugoslavia and into a compliant tool of the American and British imperialists.

The extent and results of the fascist regime intro-

duced by the Tito-Ranković gang within the CPY are shown by the information that even the organ of the CC of the CP of Croatia in Zagreb, *Napred*, was forced to publish. In its issue of 8 June 1951, the newspaper reports that while in the 3rd quarter of 1950, 561 members of the Zagreb party organization received punishments, of which 374 persons were expelled from the party, in the 1st quarter of 1951 the number of punished party members reached 771, of which 486 were expelled from the party.

Most of those punished, the newspaper admits, were called to account for the first time and immediately received the maximum punishment — expulsion. The newspaper hypocritically writes that «the party organizations care very little about the education of party members and candidates» and that «the punishment was carried out without any prior warning or indication of the mistakes committed».

What kind of education can there be in a fascist party like the Tito Party, which is subordinate to the police minister Ranković as organizational secretary and is directly directed in its lower organizations by agents of the bloody state security service?

The reasons for punishment, including expulsions, were — according to the *Napred* newspaper — mainly «hostile» activity and undisciplined behaviour. Under the heading of «hostile» activity fall «supporters of the Information Bureau», «supporters of Russian imperialism» and «those who work against our party and our people». In other words, honest communists and Yugoslav patriots, friends of the Soviet Union and fighters for peace and democracy are expelled from the party and undoubtedly thrown into prisons.

This fascist police regime in the party organizations in Zagreb is not a coincidental phenomenon which occurred in individual lower organizations of the Tito Party. This is also confirmed by the newspaper *Napred*, which admits — albeit very cautiously — that «the district committees and even the control commission at the city committee in Zagreb have in many cases contributed to the introduction of this practice». It is well-known that the city and district committees receive their instructions directly from the Central Committee in Belgrade.

The messages of the newspaper *Napred* testify not only to the furious fascist police regime of the Tito Party, but also to the fact that this fascist party is in the process of decomposition. The honest members, who until now have been confused by the propaganda apparatus of the Tito-Ranković clique, will undoubtedly realize the truth. They will either leave the party or be thrown out for «hostile» activity, while the strivers and anti-people elements will be readily accepted into the party by the Tito bandits, engage in corruption and abuse and exploit the party book for personal gain. This repels the labourers, they turn their backs on the Tito party and find their way to the new revolutionary party of the Communist Internationalists. Even the newspaper *Napred* cannot hide the fact that «many workers and non-party members recognize the incorrect decisions of individual party organizations and consequently refuse to join the party.»

So: some leave the Tito Party, others are expelled, and new members do not join, and if any do join, they are exclusively decomposed, snobbish, fascist elements and enemies of the people. This is the picture of

today's fascist Tito-Ranković party, which has been transformed by the criminal Belgrade Tito gang into a branch of the State Security Service for espionage and terror, for the benefit of the Anglo-American masters.

The Criminal Activity of the Tito Clique during the Period of the People's Liberation War

Churchill's plan to strike at the «belly» of Hitler's Germany by setting up the «second» front in the Balkans did not materialize. It was not the sabotage of the Second Front plan, systematically carried out by Churchill with the aim of weakening the Soviet Union to the greatest possible extent, that thwarted Churchill's plans, but the rapid advance of the Red Army. The Anglo-American imperialists were already no longer thinking of the «belly», but hurried to secure the «heart» of Germany, that is, to lay their hands on the rich Rhine-Ruhr area. The landing of a numerically small British force on Istria at the beginning of 1945 had no practical military significance, neither for the crushing of Hitler's Germany nor for the liberation of the Balkans, because the Soviet army elements had already advanced deep into the Balkans and Central Europe. The question of the liberation of the Balkans was thus solved.

When it was seen that the Soviet armies were inexorably approaching the heart of Germany and that Hitler's resistance was collapsing beyond repair, the American and British forces intensified their attack on the weak Hitlerian front in France and Belgium. However, their efforts did not have the desired success: de-

spite the weak forces of the German fascists fighting the Anglo-American army, the offensive in the Ardennes triangle stifled, while the Soviet armies were already at the gates of Berlin and the troops of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Fronts stormed Budapest and fought their way into Austria and southern Germany.

Churchill and Eisenhower were jumping out of their skins. They were looking for ways to halt the advance of the Soviet armies and thus buy time to occupy as much of West Germany as possible. Their eyes fell on the Balkans. There, the 350,000-strong Army Group E was under the command of General Löhr. This army group could — so Churchill and Eisenhower considered — be thrown against the Soviet army in Central Europe in order to stop its advance to the West.

Unfortunately for Churchill and Eisenhower, the Soviet troops crossed Romania and northern Bulgaria, rushed to Belgrade and on to the West. To this end, the nearly half-million-strong army of the «Fatherland Front» of the new Bulgaria, which was incorporated into the 3rd Ukrainian Front under the command of Marshal Tolbukhin, marched a little further south to Niš and Skoplje in order to cut off the way North for the German divisions in Greece, the Aegean Islands, Macedonia, Albania and southern Serbia. Marshal Tolbukhin gave the Bulgarian People's Army the important task of cutting off the Germans' route of retreat to the North and North-West by a rapid advance on the Morava, Vardar and Ibar river valleys.

Churchill and Eisenhower wanted to prevent the inevitable demise of Army Group Löhr and sought a means of securing an unimpeded withdrawal by the

Germans through Yugoslavia, hoping that these German divisions would be thrown against the Soviet armies in Central Europe and that the rapid advance of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Fronts in a westerly direction could thus be halted. Churchill and Eisenhower found this remedy: they gave Tito and his clique the task of facilitating the unimpeded withdrawal of the German divisions through Yugoslavia.

How did the Tito clique solve this task set by Churchill and Eisenhower? The Titoite government's fulfilment of this task had a twofold effect: first, in not disturbing the lines of communication in Yugoslavia along which Hitler's divisions were withdrawing from Greece and the Aegean Islands; and second, in obstructing the Bulgarian People's Army from cutting off the path of German troops retreating through the valleys of the Vardar, Morava and Ibar rivers.

Until the middle of the summer of 1944, almost until the Soviet Army entered the Balkans, the main partisan forces in the western areas of Yugoslavia, in Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, etc., were under the command of Tito's Supreme Staff. Almost during the whole period of the war, the main lines of communication of the German fascists to Greece and the Aegean Islands, which passed through Yugoslavia, through the valleys of the Morava, Vardar and Ibar rivers, remained unthreatened and were not seriously troubled by the partisan forces. As already mentioned, immediately after the uprising in Serbia, the insurgent detachments operating in the valley of the Morava River were withdrawn to the west — to Bosnia and Herzegovina — on the orders of the Tito clique.

The most elementary art of warfare demanded that, at least in August and the following months of 1944, the partisan units should have directed their forces against the enemy's lines of communication, that they should have occupied these lines of communication and prevented the German command from carrying out its plan, namely, to withdraw its troops from the southern parts of the Balkan Peninsula and throw them against the Soviet army in Hungary and Austria.

In fact, in August 1944, Tito's Supreme Staff gave orders to the units under his command in the western areas of Yugoslavia to move immediately to the east of the country. However, this was not done in order to occupy the enemy's lines of communication and prevent his march back to the North, but to reach the North-East of Serbia and the banks of the Danube as quickly as possible to receive the Soviet formations coming from Romania and Bulgaria.

«Even before the Red Army came to Serbia,» recounts the well-known Titoite Mijalko Todorović-Plavi, «a column of the People's Liberation Army under the command of General Peko Dapčević was sent to Montenegro, firstly to help the Serbian divisions and secondly to begin the struggle for the liberation of Belgrade. Similarly, the first proletarian force was also commanded to Serbia and directed towards Belgrade... Eight strong divisions of about 50,000 soldiers from all parts of our country went to Belgrade.»[1]

On Koča Popović's orders, the partisan divisions of Radivoje Jovanović-Bradonja from South-Eastern Serbia were also transported by the fastest route to

[1] *Borba* of 20 October 1951, serb.

Negotin (on the Bulgarian border near Vidin) and to Donji Milanovac (on the Danube, opposite the Romanian bank). They had the task of receiving the Soviet divisions. Without embarrassment, Bradonja admitted that behind his headlong rush to Zaječar-Negotin-Donji Milanovac was a group of German divisions sent from Greece via Niš to the Zaječar-Negotin area to receive the Red Army as well. These German divisions had the task of protecting the right flank of the German troops who had begun to withdraw northwards from Greece and Macedonia. But it gets better: Bradonja has the shamelessness to admit that his divisions evacuated Negotin, leaving the place to the Germans without a fight, in order to rush to Donji Milanovac himself, to meet the Soviet troops.[1] The treachery of the Tito bandits goes even further: Bradonja relates that Marshal Tolbukhin expressed the «wish» that Bradonja's corps should begin the destruction of the German formations in the area of Deli Jovan-Veliki Greben and Majdanpek and at the same time guard the Bor-Žagubica-Petrovac road on which the Soviet troops were moving. Bradonja refused this order from Marshal Tolbukhin. «I did not agree,» he recounts, «on the one hand because, although demoralization had already set in among the Germans, the corps' forces were not strong enough to carry out this task, and on the other, more importantly, because I had to take part in the battle for Belgrade, a task we had received in this sense from General Koča Popović.»[2]

[1] See *Politika* of 21 November 1951, serb.

[2] *Politika* of 22 November 1951, serb.

Thus, in accordance with the interests of both Hitler and Churchill and Eisenhower, the Tito clique left the lines of communication to the Hitler divisions so that they could subsequently be thrown into battle against the Soviet armies in Hungary and Austria.

But even this did not satisfy the Tito clique. In the further course of events, it attempted to prevent the Bulgarian People's Army — and through its persistent sabotage it succeeded to a certain extent — from completing the task set for it by Marshal Tolbukhin, namely, to prevent the northward withdrawal of the Hitlerian divisions coming from Greece, the Aegean Islands, Southern Macedonia and Albania through rapid and sudden intervention in the valleys of the rivers Vardar, Morava and Ibar.

By the beginning of the second half of September, the Bulgarian People's Army was already ready to act against the German fascist troops in the direction directed by the commander of the Soviet forces. This was contrary to the intentions of Churchill and Eisenhower, as is clear from Churchill's speech to the House of Commons on 28 September 1944: «We do not wish the Bulgarians to take part in the war against the Germans on the territory of the Allies.» This was a categorical instruction; the Tito upper class set out eagerly to carry it out. The Tito clique tried in every possible way to prevent the Bulgarian People's Army from fighting the retreating German divisions. The Titoite Staff of the 50th Division, for example, wrote to the Commander of the 5th Bulgarian Army on 19 September 1944:

«In accordance with the directives received from the Main

Staff for Macedonia, we demand that your formations be withdrawn from Macedonia. Without our knowledge, no marches of any kind can proceed.»

After five days, on 24 September 1944, the main staff of the Titoites in Macedonia also addressed a similar letter to the commander of the 5th Bulgarian Army, saying:

«Until further orders, your troops are to withdraw behind the border at the village of Delčevo.»[1]

While the Soviet command gave the Bulgarian People's Army the task of moving as quickly as possible against the retreating German troops, the Tito command did not allow the Bulgarian troops to take up the fight so that the German divisions could move North and North-West unhindered.

At the request of the Soviet command, Tito was forced to sign an agreement on 5 October 1944 in which the Bulgarian People's Army was formally allowed to begin operations on Yugoslav territory — in accordance with Marshal Tolbukhin's orders. However, the ink of the signatures under this agreement had not yet dried when Tito telegraphed to Vukmanović-Tempo in Macedonia:

«Two days ago I gave you instructions to meet with the commander of the Bulgarian troops in Macedonia for negotiations on co-operation. You have not communicated anything about what you have done. Complete my earlier directive with the following: 1. tell me exactly and quickly what the attitude of the

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 16 October 1950; article by Colonel A. Getman.

people is towards the Bulgarian army after the surrender of Bulgaria and whether the co-operation with the Bulgarian units against the Germans does not cause discontent among the people... 2. we still think that the co-operation of our army with the former occupant army will do more harm than good — Tito.»[1]

Tempo correctly understood this new directive from Tito. On 7 October 1944, Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo wrote to the commander of the Bulgarian troops in the Kriva Palanka sector:

«Once again I draw your attention to the fact that you need the permission of Marshal Tito for your troops to enter Yugoslavia. Any entry without this permission of Marshal Tito we consider as a hostile act against the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army and will proceed accordingly.»[2]

But even after the Bulgarian People's Army was formally allowed to enter Yugoslav territory in actions, the Tito clique continued to place every conceivable obstacle in its way to prevent a successful military operation against the German fascist troops. For example, on 7 November 1944, the Tito staff of the Bregalnica-Strumica detachment wrote to the commander of the 4th Bulgarian People's Army. Bulgarian People's Army:

«Have in mind that in our free Macedonia, in democratic Tito-Yugoslavia, according to the laws of our state, other countries are not allowed to establish their telephone exchanges and

[1] *Narodnooswobodilaćkog rola u Makedoniji 1941-1944*, Belgrade 1950, p. 139.

[2] *Colonel P. Traikov*, «Nationalism and the Leaders in Skoplje», pp. 30-31.

lines.»[1]

And on November 11, 1944, the same staff wrote:

«The Bulgarian Army has two communications at its disposal for operations against the Germans: Gorna-Djumaja-Delčevo-Kočani-Štip-Veles-Skoplje and the line Kyustendil-Kriva Palanka-Kumanovo-Skoplje. The other lines of communication must remain completely free and Bulgarian troops may not use them.»

From all this it is evident that the Tito clique, which had formally permitted the Bulgarian People's Army to enter Yugoslav territory, practically obstructed in every conceivable way the correct and rapid unfolding of its combat operations, so as to impede the successful execution of the task set by the commander of the 3rd Ukrainian Front. In this, the Tito bandits went so far as to demand from the Bulgarian People's Army the cessation of the pursuit of the German troops and the Albanian fascist gangs fighting together with them. On 20 November 1944, on Vukmanović-Tempo's instructions, the following ultimatum was sent to the commander of the Bulgarian People's Army:

«The Bulgarian troops of the 1st and 4th armies are to withdraw immediately, whereby the withdrawal may only take place on the central roads, without going more than 2 kilometres into the depths. The movement of the troops may only take place until 6 o'clock in the evening, whereby they may not stop for the night in villages. Otherwise you will meet Macedonian machine guns, and those who do not carry out the order will be sentenced

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 16 October 1950

by the Macedonian court martial.»[1]

The Tito traitors even forced the 11th Division of the Bulgarian People's Army, which had crossed the Vardar River in pursuit of the withdrawing German troops and Albanian fascist gangs, to abandon the pursuit and withdraw. The result of this sabotage on the part of the Tito clique was that the Bulgarian People's Army remained in inactivity for a whole 15 days. Instead of 22 September 1944, it did not begin its operations until 8 October, and even after that the Tito traitors prevented the Bulgarian People's Army from successfully carrying out its operations against the German troops by all means. As a result, Hitler's command was able to withdraw a full 14 divisions unhindered and assign them to Army Group F and the newly formed Group «Serbia», which were used against the Soviet armies in Central Europe.

All these criminal machinations of the Tito clique, however, did not help either the Hitler army or the Tito taskmasters Churchill and Eisenhower. The Soviet army quickly crushed the resistance of Hitler's army and raised the victory flag on the Reichstag in Berlin.

The invasion of the Balkan countries by Soviet troops — including Yugoslavia — further inflamed the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people, who were increasingly energetic in removing the remnants of the former capitalist regime and establishing the people's democratic order from be-

[1] *Colonel P. Traikov*, «Nationalismt na ckopskite rukovoditeli» (Nationalism and the Leaders in Skoplje), pp. 30-31.

low. The demand of the masses for broad democratic freedoms, for liquidation of the exploiting classes and for socialist transformation of the national economy and the whole social life also shattered the intentions of the Anglo-American imperialists and their Tito agents to maintain or re-establish the old regime in Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

That is precisely why the Anglo-American imperialists considered it more expedient for their future plans to keep the Tito clique as their masked agency in Yugoslavia and as the fifth column in the camp of the People's Democratic countries. In order to paralyse the aspirations of the popular masses for the elimination of the capitalist order and the building of socialism, the Tito clique, on the instructions of its masters, donned a socialist mask and carried out a series of radical measures — agrarian reform, nationalization of industry, etc. — and at the same time it secretly and systematically prepared the ground for the socialist movement. At the same time, it secretly and systematically prepared the re-establishment of capitalism and the capitalist regime in Yugoslavia and the transformation of the country into a colony of the Anglo-American imperialists as an outpost of the imperialists in the struggle against the USSR and the countries of People's Democracy.

In this way, the Tito clique continued to play the role of a masked imperialist agency for some time after the war, until in 1948 the mask was torn off and the Titoites found themselves as traitors, spies and provocateurs in the service of the bitterest enemies of the peoples, democracy and socialism, in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Chapter II. Government Power in Yugoslavia in the Hands of Anti-People Elements

At the same time as seizing the leadership within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and transforming the party into a docile tool for carrying out its anti-people policy in the service of the imperialists, the Tito clique also laid its hand on the entire state apparatus. Even during the People's Liberation War against the German occupiers, it systematically and consistently placed anti-communist elements from among the bourgeois intelligentsia, kulaks and others in the newly created administrative organs of the state. In the organs of the OZNA (Department for the Protection of the People; today the Administration for State Security — UDB), created at the end of 1941, former agents of the Yugoslav police, collaborators of the Gestapo and the OVRA (Italian spy service) and other elements alien to the working class were placed. Officers from the former Royal Army, the fascist Draža Mihailović and Ante Pavelić forces crept into the army.

In this way, the Yugoslav state apparatus passed into the hands of the old royal politicians, officers and diplomats, headed by the Tito caste. This process of the transfer of power in Yugoslavia into the hands of the reactionary elements is most aptly expressed in the resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties of November 1949, which states:

«As a result of the counter-revolutionary policy of the Tito-Ranković clique, which has seized power in the party and the

state, the regime of an anti-communist police state of the fascist type has been established in Yugoslavia. The social basis of this regime is the rich peasantry in the village and the capitalist elements in the city. State power in Yugoslavia is effectively in the hands of anti-grassroot, reactionary elements. In the central and local authorities there are active representatives of the old bourgeois parties, rich peasants and other elements hostile to people's democracy. The ruling fascist upper class asserts itself thanks to an immensely bloated military and police apparatus, with the help of which it has oppressed the peoples of Yugoslavia, turned the country into a war camp, liquidated the democratic rights of the working people and suppressed any free expression of thought.»[1]

The Alliance between the Old Bourgeois Parties and the New Tito Caste

The decisive key positions in the central state apparatus in Yugoslavia are occupied by active bourgeois politicians who collaborate with the representatives of the new Tito caste. We list a few names:

Dr. Ivan Ribar is an old bourgeois politician, one of the leaders of the reactionary, so-called Democratic Party, whose leader and founder was Svetozar Pribičević in Serbia. In 1921, Ribar was President of the Royal Skupština (Parliament) in Belgrade and presided over its sessions, in which the well-known «Law for the Protection of the State» was adopted, on the basis of which the Communist Party was banned in Yugoslavia. He was Chairman of the AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) and has been Chairman of the Presidium of the

[1] «Advice of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties», Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1951, p. 20.

People's Skupština of Yugoslavia without interruption since the end of the war.

The Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Skupština of Yugoslavia is *Mile Peruničić*, an old bourgeois politician, former member of the Serbian Democratic Party of Ljubomir Davidović. He was a deputy of the Royal Skupština for many years.

The Presidium of the People's Skupština has seven deputy chairmen, among them the old bourgeois politicians *Marko Vujačić*, one of the leaders of the rich peasant Agrarian Party, whose leader was Jovan Jovanović-Pižon, *Ivan Rus*, an old bourgeois politician from Slovenia, *Dimiter Vlahov*, a well-known political chameleon, a servant of Tsars Ferdinand and Radoslavov, Tsars Boris and Tsankov in Bulgaria.

Members of the Presidium of the People's Skupština of Yugoslavia are the representatives of the old bourgeois parties *Frane Frol*, *Sava Kosanović*, *Josip Vidmar*, *Vlada Zečević*, *Siniša Slanković* and others.

The Chairman of the Council of Peoples (Vijeće Naroda) *is Josip Vidmar*, one of the leaders of the royal reactionary so-called Slovenian Democratic Party (party of Sharav and Kramer), which in the past stood on the position of a unified Yugoslavia, led by the Serbian royal family.

The chairman of the Union Council (Savezno Vijeće) is *Vladimir Simić*, who comes from a well-known upper middle-class family from Serbia, was chairman of the reactionary Serbian Republican Party of Jaša Prodanović. Since 1935, he has been Chairman of the Chamber of Advocates in Yugoslavia. Deputy Chairman of the Union Council is *Franjo Gadži*, bourgeois

politician, member of Maček's former reactionary Croatian Peasant Party.

Member of the Finance Commission in the Council of the Peoples of Yugoslavia is *Kosan Pavlović*, a rich peasant, one of the leaders of the reactionary Peasants' Party in Serbia, which in the past acted as the professional «representative» of the peasants under all regimes.

Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Skupština in Serbia is Professor *Siniša Slanković*, an old bourgeois politician. Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Skupština in Serbia and member of the Administrative Commission at the Council of the Peoples of Yugoslavia is the cleric *Milan Smiljanić*, a rich peasant and exploiter of the poor peasants. During the war he was a close collaborator of Draža Mihailović, later he went over to Tito's side.

Representatives of the former bourgeois parties and of the interests of the village and town bourgeoisie are also at the head of the Skupština of all six republics. The majority of the deputies in the People's Skupština in Serbia are composed of representatives of the bourgeoisie and the old reactionary parties and the intelligentsia connected with them. This shows everyone clearly in whose hands the parliamentary organs are in Yugoslavia.

Representatives of the old bourgeois parties also occupy important posts within the Yugoslav government. Here are some examples:

Frane Frol, a well-known leader of the former Croatian Peasant Party, for many years a member of parliament in the Royal Skupština, was a royal minister until the war. In 1945, he became Yugoslavia's Minis-

ter of Justice. He still holds the same post today.

Sava Kosanović, bourgeois politician, one of the leaders of the former so-called Democratic Party, emigrated with the royal government to Cairo and London and was a minister in the Yugoslav royal emigrant government in London at the beginning of 1943. He is the founder of the Association for the Federation of the Balkan and Danube Countries under the Protectorate of England and was its chairman. At Churchill's request, Sava Kosanović was included in the first Tito government in early 1945. Afterwards, Kosanović was Tito's diplomatic representative to Truman for many years. Now he is a minister without any assignment in the Tito government and a member of the Presidium of the Skupština of Yugoslavia.

Stanoje Simić is the brother of Vladimir Simić, a well-known royal diplomat; before and after the war he was several times the envoy of the Yugoslav government in different countries. Simić was Minister of Foreign Affairs after Šubašić and before Kardelj's appointment. In the present Tito government he is a minister without any assignment.

Vaso Čubrilović was one of the leaders of Jovan Jovanović-Pižon's Serbian Rich Peasants' Party. Čubrilović is Minister and Chairman of the Committee for Agriculture at the Yugoslav Government.

Vladislav Ribnikar is the owner of the reactionary newspaper *Politika*, which had the highest circulation in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia before the war. He was one of the richest people in Yugoslavia and collaborated with German fascist occupiers during the war. In 1941 he signed the well-known Gestapo manifesto of the «intelligentsia», which called on the people to

recognize Hitler as an ally. Before the end of the war, Ribnikar went over to Tito and became his personal secretary. Later Tito appointed him chairman of the film committee, delegate to the UN, head of propaganda, etc.

Vlada Zečević is a former clergyman, a well-known politician of the so-called Democratic Party of Ljubomir Davidović. He was a deputy in the Royal Skupština for many years. At the beginning of the war he was with Draža Mihailović and later went over to the side of the partisans. In 1945, Zečević was appointed Minister of the Interior in the first Tito government; now he is Minister of Construction.

There were and are also millionaires in the Tito government; former Finance Minister *Dobrivoje Radosavljević* and current Finance Minister *Milentije Popović*, who carry the Tito Party membership book in their pockets, are examples. Radosavljević and Popović were the most furious enemies of the communists during the People's Liberation War, they are today the most furious enemies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries and the most consistent implementers of the Tito policy of turning Yugoslavia into a colony of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The members of the governments of the individual republics are also anti-people and anti-people elements.

Miloš Carević was one of the most active members of Milan Grol's reactionary party, which proved to be a strong pillar of the monarchy in royal Yugoslavia. Carević is now Minister of Justice in Serbia.

Monsignor Svetozar Rittig is a well-known reactionary Catholic clergyman in Zagreb and Croatia, a great friend and collaborator of the Gestapo and the criminal Bishop Stepinac during the period of the Second World War. Rittig is a minister without assignment in the Tito fascist government in Croatia.

Lazar Koliševski was a disciple of the Serbian royalist association «Saint Sava», which prepared anti-Macedonian and anti-Bulgarian cadres for Macedonia until the Second World War. He was close to the royal police minister Žika Lazić in Belgrade, who wanted to make Macedonia Serbian. During the Second World War, Koliševski was an agent of the Bulgarian police. He is Prime Minister in Skoplje (Macedonia).

Slojko Ivanović-Planinski, a well-known rich peasant from the Veles district, was Minister of Forests until 1948, despite being a member of the ultra-chauvinist staff of the «Association against Bulgarian Bandits», which was created and led by the well-known royal agent Vasilje Trbić in Macedonia.

Boge Kuzmanović, the former Minister of Construction, is widely known in Stip and Skoplje to have been an agent of the fascist occupiers.

Todor Zografski was Deputy Minister of Municipal Economy until 1950 and is still Chairman of the National Front in Skoplje. Before the war, he embezzled party funds given to him for safekeeping, which he used to open a gold shop in Skoplje. During the German occupation he was a Gestapo spy.

The list of bourgeois politicians, former royal ministers and diplomats, rich bourgeois and rich peasants, agents of the Gestapo and the Secret Intelligence Ser-

vice and other anti-grassroots elements who today are at the top of the state together with the Titoite camarilla can be extended ad infinitum. The further we descend the hierarchical staircase of the state apparatus, the greater the number of anti-people elements. Even Ranković admitted that in the 1949 elections 1,285 rich peasants were elected as district people's councillors.

A few more examples showing the political composition of the leading cadres in the district measure:

Marko Nikolić is one of the richest people from Gušće-Gora. During the fascist occupation he was a delegate to the fascist Supreme Council of Croatia. Now he is a member of the Travnik District People's Council and was until recently the chairman of the District Planning Commission.

Mujo Hubijar went through the SS spy school in Germany and then served as an examining magistrate in a fascist regiment of Ante Pavelić. Now Hubijar is a member of the City People's Council and Chairman of the Arbitration Court in Travnik. He has been a member of the Tito Party since 1948.

Ibro Arnaulović is the richest rich peasant in Travnik. He is Chairman of the City People's Council and Secretary of the Tito Party City Committee in Travnik.

Voja Maksimović was an active member of the fascist Ljotić party and organized fascist sections to fight the partisans during the occupation. He is now the secretary of the Town People's Council in Zrenjanin.

Asim Hadžić served the fascist police and the German occupiers for over ten years. He is now head of department at the Ministry of the Interior in Sarajevo.

The names of leading figures from today's Yugoslavia are enough to convince anyone that the state apparatus in that country is in the grip of the counter-revolutionary alliance between the old bourgeois parties and the new Tito caste.

The Administration for State Security (UDB) — The Most Reliable Pillar of the Fascist Tito Regime

The main pillar on which Tito's fascist power in Yugoslavia rests is the widely ramified police apparatus, headed by the executioner of the Yugoslav peoples and imperialist spy, Aleksander Ranković. At the centre of Ranković's police apparatus is the Administration for State Security — UDB.

The UDB represents a continuation of the OZNA (Department for the Protection of the People). The OZNA was created during the People's Liberation War as a war intelligence and law enforcement organ. It is now known from numerous revelations that already at the time of the creation of the OZNA Tito, Ranković, Djilas, Vukmanović, Stambolić and others who were close to Tito saw in the OZNA the main support of their power within the party and in the country. Even then, they exploited the organs of the OZNA as the main instrument for carrying out their anti-people policies. Even then, the Titoites allowed only their loyal supporters — officers of the Draža Mihailović gangs and Croatian fascist troops who had been captured or who had gone over to the side of the insurgents — and other reactionary elements to work within the OZNA. Even then, the Titoites made the OZNA an organ that was independent of the com-

manders of the units, acted independently and carried out the direct orders of the Tito leadership.

In the beginning, the organs of the OZNA worked in the units of the People's Liberation Army and eliminated a lot of commanders and fighters who were inconvenient for the Tito leadership. Later, the power of the OZNA extended to the civilian population.

After the war, the OZNA was reorganized into the UDB. The activities of the UDB cover all areas of life in Yugoslavia. Moreover, the UDB is the starting point and the leading centre of the Tito clique's espionage and stirring-up work abroad, especially in the countries of the People's Democracy.

The Titoites have also given the UDB the important task of controlling the Communist Party, of observing the activities of Party organizations and individual Party members. This task was also given to the OZNA at the time, but it was given to the UDB on an even broader scale. The Titoites have no confidence in the party members, so they cannot seek support in the party organizations. On the contrary, they are afraid of the broad party membership and of the lower and middle cadres of the party. This attitude of the Titoites towards the Party was expressed rather openly by the present Minister of the Interior for Serbia, Slobodan Penezić, when he declared before a meeting of the officers of the OZNA in March 1945:

«We must be clear that the party is a collection of the most diverse enemies. It follows that the OZNA must control the work of both the Party and the other organizations. We must know that our highest leadership and Comrade Tito do not think of relying on the Party in every case. For the realization of their aims and measures they will rely above all on the OZNA.»

Even during the period of the OZNA, the Tito clique consciously and systematically carried out the policy of infiltrating agents of the OZNA into the party. With the help of these agents it carried out its decisions. After the creation of the UDB, this tendency intensified even more. The head of the UDB, Ranković, who is also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tito Party for Cadre Affairs, worked towards having UDB agents in all local party leaderships. The Titoites also created the «theory» of the «leading part» of the party consisting of members working in the organs of the UDB. After a short time, this «leading part» acted as the only authoritative factor in the inner-party life of the party organizations. Today, the UDB people dictate in the party organizations.

The Titoites consciously and systematically educate the UDB workers in the sense that they are the most reliable support of the state power and that everyone outside the UDB is an enemy or can become an enemy of the Tito regime. In this way, a wide chasm was opened between the UDB apparatus and the people; the UDB is opposed to the people.

The tasks of the Ranković police and specifically the UDB were particularly expanded after the Tito clique was exposed by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1948. The UDB was given the task of «cleansing» party organizations of supporters of the Information Bureau resolution and friends of the Soviet Union. For this purpose, special commissions were formed which expelled, arrested and murdered communist-internationalists from the party in all republics, districts and

cities.

In 1948, another thorough reorganization was carried out in the work of the UDB. Above all, special departments were created to «process» all Party members. On Ranković's instructions, personal files were created in the UDB for all Party members, in which one of the main headings is: «Relationship to the USSR.» One of the most common methods used by the UDB to «research» the political mood among the Party membership is to bring in anti-Titoite or pro-Soviet leaflets. Anyone who does not immediately report to the UDB after receiving these leaflets is expelled from the party and arrested. Incidentally, this provocative measure is now applied by the police to all citizens of Yugoslavia who are suspected of being opposed to the Tito system.

In 1948, a number of new departments were created in the UDB, such as for the control of mass organizations (trade unions, Popular Front, youth organizations, etc.), schools and universities, cultural organizations, authorities, etc. The UDB officials show special zeal in working among the national minorities. After the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1948, the UDB also intensified its espionage and root-and-seek work in the People's Democratic countries. Ranković organized a number of special schools for the training of spies and diversionists; these are then sent to the People's Democratic countries. In Varbas alone there are two such schools, one for a period of three years with 400 students and the other for a period of one and a half years with 150 students. Numerous trials in the People's Democratic

countries testify to the fact that the UDB organizes espionage, provocations and acts of diversion in the People's Democratic countries.

In the struggle against honest communist-internationalists and against Yugoslav patriots, as well as for diversionary and espionage work in the neighbouring People's Democratic countries, Ranković exploits the experience of such royal policemen and well-known enemies of the labourers as Žika Lazić and Dobrica Matković. The Titoites also kept the well-known head of the anti-communist department of the Belgrade police during the fascist occupation, Bećarević, as an adviser in the UDB. He was the organizer of the murder of many tens of thousands of militants during the period of the People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia.

After the transformation of Yugoslavia into a police state of fascist type, the power of the police terror apparatus of the UDB has expanded even more. Yugoslavia was included in the camp of aggressive warmongers and the country was transformed into a base of attack against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Democracy. The whole economic and political development of today's Yugoslavia is under the yoke of the preparation of the war of aggression within the framework of the war preparations of the Anglo-American imperialists against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. This requires the accelerated restoration of capitalism, the consolidation of the restored capitalism, the intensification of the exploitation of the labourers and the maximum increase of the all-sided preparation for war. This inevitably leads to the rapid and ever-increasing lowering of the standard of living of the Yu-

goslav toilers. The lowering of the standard of living, however, provokes the discontent of the masses, their resistance and active struggle against the fascist Tito regime. Now, in order to continue the policy of preparing for war, the Titoites must absolutely stifle the discontent of the people and paralyse the resistance and struggle of the toilers in Yugoslavia. This can only be realized through brutal terror in all areas of social and political life, realized through a corresponding state system — a state police system — in which, in fact, all power emanates from the police.

This is the path chosen by the fascist Tito upper class, which created and developed the police apparatus of the UDB as an omnipotent, omnipresent organ of the state, which serves not only as a support for the fascist regime, not only as an instrument for terrorizing the Yugoslav peoples, but at the same time as a powerful and reliable factor for the restoration of capitalism, for the strengthening of capitalist exploitation and for the preparation of a war of aggression.

Once the Belgrade fascist upper class entered this path, it placed above all the party as a whole under the power of the police minister. The appointment of Ranković as Minister of Police and at the same time as Organizing Secretary of the Titoite Central Committee meant, firstly, the subordination of the party under police control and, secondly, its transformation into an outright police apparatus. Once this was accomplished, the Tito upper class began the «cleansing» of the local People's Councils and Popular Front Committees of all real communists and honest patriots. Pro-fascist elements and UDB agents infiltrated the administration of the local People's Councils and

the Popular Front Committees. The secretaries of the administrations of all the municipal councils are directly appointed by the Minister of Police and the heads of the «personnel departments are UDB agents. Under the control of the Ranković police are also all mass organizations in Yugoslavia. The chairman of the so-called «Association of Fighters of the People's Liberation War» is Police Minister Ranković himself, and his colleagues, the police ministers in the federal republics, are the chairmen of the associations in the individual republics. UDB agents head the People's Youth Association, the Women's Federation and other social organizations in Yugoslavia.

Similar to Himmler's Gestapo, Ranković's UDB penetrates all branches of state and economic life. Ranković's deputy, Lieutenant General Maks Baće, previous head of UDB espionage, became Minister of the Navy; the organizer of Tito espionage in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and previous head of the «Cadre Department» in the UDB, Colonel Ivan Božović, became Head of Air Transport, and the head of the Fifth Department of the UDB, Colonel Apić, became Head of Tourism in Yugoslavia. The Chairman of the Supreme Court, Josip Hrnević, is a UDB colonel and was formerly an employee of the Royal Police; members of the court Josip Malović and Mihajlo Djordjević are also UDB colonels, and the third member of the court, Kalember, is a UDB employee. The Chairman of the Supreme Court in Serbia, Lasarević, is a UDB Lieutenant Colonel and was previously Deputy Minister of Police in Serbia; Ranko Šešić, UDB Major, Slobodan Urošević, Head

of Department at the Ministry of Interior, Ladoslav Kadelburg, UDB agent and former Gestapo employee, were appointed as members of the court. Branko Jevremović, who until then had been Deputy Minister of Police for Serbia, was appointed as Yugoslavia's Chief Prosecutor. A close associate of Ranković, Major General Bajković, became Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers in Montenegro, the head of the UDB Investigation Department, Colonel Djakonović, became Minister of Trade, UDB associate Savo Brković became Minister of Justice in Montenegro, etc.

Police Minister Ranković, through his friend General Jefto Šešić, also took the management of the military defence service into his hands, and everywhere the heads of the defence service in the army are UDB officers. Confidants of Ranković occupy the leading posts in the army in general; for example, the Commander of the Air Fleet, Lieutenant General Ulepić, the Commander of the Artillery, General Jovanović, the Commissioner of the 1st Military District in Belgrade, Lompar, the Chief Military Prosecutor, Colonel Ilija Kostić and others.

In this way, the UDB police apparatus — faithful to the example of the Gestapo in Hitler's Germany — has spun the whole of Yugoslavia into its terror and espionage network.

But who is at the head of the UDB, and what do the cadres look like?

It is not necessary to talk about Ranković, the Minister of the Interior and head of the UDB, because his person is sufficiently well-known. Let us look at

his closer associates.

Lieutenant General *Veljko Mićunović* is the son of a high royal civil servant. Until the Second World War and during the War of National Liberation, he was a member of Dragoljub Jovanović's Serbian Peasant Party and an agent of the Secret Intelligence Service. As Ranković's deputy in the UDB, he carried out the «purification» of the Tito Party from communist-internationalists. Later Mićunović was appointed Minister and Director General for Metallurgy in the Yugoslav government.

Lieutenant General *Bate Milić* is the son of a royal gendarme. Before the war he was expelled from the CPY as a Trotskyist. During the Spanish people's war of freedom against General Franco, he sneaked into the ranks of the Republican Army and worked within it as an agent provocateur. He continued this activity in the internment camp in France. Now Milić is Ranković's deputy.

Major General *Svetislav Stefanović* betrayed the entire Belgrade Communist Youth Organization to the police during the period of Royal Yugoslavia. A childhood friend of Ranković, Stefanović is now Deputy Minister of the Interior and one of the leading men of the UDB.

Lieutenant Colonel *Mihailo Javorski* was a member of Maček's Croatian Peasant Party and served as an officer in the Royal Police. During the war Javorski sneaked into the CPY and betrayed the entire organization of which he was a member to the Pavelić police. Javorski was sent to the Hungarian People's Democracy as head of espionage. When he returned,

he took a responsible post in the UDB and is now in «diplomatic» service in the Middle East.

Major *Radivoje Stanić* was formerly a member of three fascist parties and held responsible posts in them. Stanić is now in a senior position in the UDB and as such carried out the «cleansing» of the Tito Party in Serbia of communist-internationalists.

Major *Mika Bisić* is the son of a rich peasant in the Knjaževac area. During the war he stayed in Italy and was recruited there by the aforementioned Major Cliss-old for the English spy service. Bisić was put in charge of the espionage agency for People's Democratic Bulgaria in the Negotin-Bosilegrad sector.

The following examples suffice to characterize the middle cadres of the UDB:

lka Sojanović was formerly an agent of the French spy service, leader of the so-called Democratic Party of Ljubomir Davidović in Eastern Serbia. During the war he acted as a Gestapo agent.

Pero Vilanović, a rich peasant from Sajćarsko, was the leader of the so-called Radical Party in Eastern Serbia before the war and the head of the spy service of the Yugoslav General Staff for Bulgaria. During the war he was an active collaborator of Draža Mihailović. In 1948 he was given the task by the UDB to restore his old espionage relations with Bulgaria.

I. Delranćeski was an officer of the fascist Ustaše troops in the Sarajevo area until 1943 and was captured by the partisans. After the liberation of Yugoslavia, he became a UDB officer, working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the same time being an employee of the American espionage organization.

Spomenka Živanović has been an agent of the Secret Intelligence Service since before the war. She worked as a secretary for the Serbian quisling Milan Nedić. After the war, Velebit hired her at the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry; she almost constantly accompanied Edvard Kardelj on trips to international conferences.

Milivoje Ristović was a member of the Draža Mihailović group and a collaborator with the Gestapo. Now he is a UDB representative in Negotin.

This is the past of the cadres of the UDB, the most reliable support of the Tito fascist regime in Yugoslavia.

Imperialist Spies, Royal Officers and Fascists Command the Yugoslav Army

Like all fascist military and police states, Hitler's Germany, fascist Italy and Franco's Spain, today's Tito Yugoslavia relies not only on the UDB but also on the army. The Tito clique has turned and continues to turn great attention to purging the army — especially its high and middle command — of loyal sons of the working class, while flooding it with reactionary and anti-grassroots elements. In this way, the Tito clique consolidates the military support of its regime and transforms the Yugoslav army into an obedient tool of the Anglo-American imperialists for their planned armed aggression against the USSR and the countries of the People's Democracy.

The process of transformation of the Yugoslav army into an obedient instrument of the Tito clique and their Anglo-American masters began during the

first days of the People's Liberation War. In carrying out its policy of weakening and consequently liquidating the real people's liberation movement and transforming Yugoslavia into a base of the Anglo-American imperialists in the Balkans, the Tito clique even then began the gradual transformation of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army into a reactionary and anti-people army.

To this end, the Titoites eliminated a number of the most loyal communist commanders in the army and replaced them with former royalist officers and other elements alien to the people. In order to destroy the communist core in the People's Liberation Army while the war was still on, a wide variety of methods were used. For example, battles with the German occupiers were provoked under conditions that were unthinkably unfavourable for the troops of the People's Liberation Army, large units of troops were deliberately led into encirclement, long marches of large army units were ordered, during which the greater part of the fighters were destroyed or became prisoners, and other things.

We have already reported elsewhere the case of the encirclement of 25,000 men between the Tara and Piva rivers by the German occupiers, described by Major General Popivoda, and the terrible tragedy in the valley of the Sutjeska river. It has already been proved that these encirclements were the result of the negotiations which Tito, Ranković and Djilas had conducted with the German fascists through the spy

Vlatko Velebit (called «Dr. Petrović»[1] in the secret lists of the Gestapo). On the Tara, Piva and Sutjeska, many thousands of Yugoslav fighters and excellent members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League fell.

We also mentioned the case reported by Comrade Makelarski in which 8,000 armed fighters and 5,000 unarmed peasants were treacherously concentrated on a narrow terrain in Crna Trava on the orders of Vukmanović-Tempo and crushed by the German occupiers. In this case, too, the first victims were the communists and members of the Communist Youth League, who fought everywhere in the front positions. Let us cite another typical case, shared by Captain Čedomir Stojković:

«In October 1943, the first South Moravian brigade was formed, into which the best fighters and commanders of the Jablanica, Kukavica, Crno Trava and Jastrebac partisan detachments entered...

«Shortly after the formation of the brigade, (Blagoje — D.K.) Nešković sent us on our way via Šumadija and western Serbia and swindled us into helping the Bosnian units that had taken Užice. Since he had prescribed us the long route of march via Šumadija to Valjevo, we were left without ammunition, clothing and shoes as a result of the incessant fighting with fascist gangs and the German occupation troops. In western Serbia, he (Nešković) exposed us to the blows of the German units participating in the sixth offensive. Thus, after two months, out of 500 men that our brigade numbered, only 70 men remained. Today it is clear that this was a deliberate plan to destroy the very best

[1] Detailed information about Velebit's espionage activities can be found in the aforementioned book by the Gestapo leader in Yugoslavia, Dr. Hötel.

fighters and communists.»[1]

The Titoites also carried out individual murders of honest fighters and communists. On the orders of Tito, Ranković, Djilas, Vukmanović-Tempo and other Titoites, thousands of commanders, commissars and party members were murdered.

The case of the commander of the 8th Army Corps, Colonel General Vlatko Zetković, is well-known. During the time of the seventh offensive of the German occupiers, Randolph Churchill, who worked in the staff of the 8th Corps, demanded that Zetković defend the village of Tičevo at all costs. By doing so, Churchill wanted to give the fascist German army the opportunity to destroy the entire 8th Corps. Zetković resolutely refused to satisfy Churchill's demand and ordered his troops to withdraw. For failing to comply with Churchill's provocative order, Tito relieved Zetković of his post as commander of the 8th Corps and sent a plane to pick him up. The plane was shot down by British fighter pilots and Zetković was killed.

In the autumn of 1944, the Titoites murdered the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPY, General Ivan Milutinović. He was very popular among the people, loyal to communism and the USSR, which is why the Titoites hated him. To mask the murder, they organized an «accident» in which Milutinović drowned in the Danube.

In 1946, the Titoites murdered Lieutenant General Petar Drapšin, the commander of the tank units and motorized parts of the Yugoslav army. The reason for

[1] *Napred* of 20 October 1949, serb.

his murder was that Drapšin strongly opposed the flooding of the army with fascist officers. In order to conceal the murder, the Titoites spread the rumour that Drapšin had died unexpectedly.

A characteristic case is the murder of the commander of the South Moravian division Predrag Marković-Alimpija, a loyal communist and popular fighter.

«Badly wounded», recounts the above-mentioned Captain Stojković, «I stayed behind from the brigade and was an eyewitness when the brigade's chief of staff, Milenko, a confidant of Blagoje Nešković, called on Commander Alimpija to stop. When the soldiers had moved away, Milenko murdered Alimpija with a few revolver shots, after which he ran away to the Germans. This murderer Milenko now holds a high position in the Tito apparatus in Zagreb. When I heard about this after the liberation, I gave several written reports about it to the head of the KOC (counter-intelligence service) at the Ministry of People's Defence. However, no action was taken against the murderer. When I went in person to the head of the KOC in 1947, I met Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo there. He threw me out of the cabinet and shouted that I was attacking and slandering respected comrades.»[1]

After the war, the cleansing of the army of communists and honest democrats continued with even greater tenacity, albeit by other, «legal» means. On Tito's orders, mass dismissals of communist officers were carried out in 1945 and 1946. The propaganda apparatus of Milovan Djilas explained these dismissals with the hypocritical explanation that the communists, the most tried and tested cadres, were more necessary for work in the economy, in the administra-

[1] *Napred* of 20 October 1949, serb.

tive apparatus, etc., than in the army.

In 1946 Tito issued an order according to which officers were obliged to take examinations in a short period of time in the disciplines corresponding to their rank and the posts they held. Together with this order, Vukmanović-Tempo issued a secret instruction, the purpose of which was to be particularly strict with popular and loyal communist officers during the examinations and to do everything possible to make them fail the examinations.

In this way — with dismissal orders and «exams» — thousands of communist officers were removed from the army in that period, whom the Titoites did not trust.

This purification process intensified after the publication of the Information Bureau resolution in June 1948. In the course of two years, after the exposure of the Tito clique's treachery, more than 10,000 officers and even more non-commissioned officers were dismissed from the Yugoslav army. The majority of them were arrested and thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Thousands of communist officers languished in the Titoite dungeons, among them Lieutenant General Branko Poljanac, Major General Moša Djurić and other generals, colonels and officers. Major General Mirko Kodžić and other high Yugoslav state functionaries were murdered in prisons by the Tito-Ranković executioners. In their place, the Titoites took in reactionary royalist officers, former commanders of the Draža Mihailović and Ustaše gangs and other anti-people elements. The flooding process with reactionary officers began in the army already during the People's Liberation War. The way in which

these officers were recruited by the Titoites can be seen from the statements of Lieutenant Colonel Radomir Andrić-Kmet:

«In March 1944, Petar Stambolić and Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo arrived with us in southern Serbia. They gathered the officers of the former Royal Army and put them in place of the partisan leaders who had been fighting since 1941. Tempo brought from Macedonia the major of the former Yugoslav Army and Italian spy Blagoje Kamenović, whom he recruited into the service of the General Staff for Serbia. Later, our wounded partisans returning from Italy brought with them Kamenović's original declaration in which he undertook to work for the Italian spy service OWRA. This declaration was handed over to the Central Committee of the Party. Nevertheless, this spy is still in the service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army today.

«In 1944, we captured Major Djurić. Djurić was a well-known commander of the Draža Mihailović gangs for southern Serbia and Macedonia, on whose orders the terrorist 'Black Three' murdered hundreds of the best sons of Macedonia and Serbia. Instead of shooting this murderer, Vukmanović and Stambolić immediately took him and appointed him head of the main staff for Serbia... Now Djurić is head of the military school in Sarajevo.

«Stambolić also took Djurić's propaganda leader, the organizer of the 'Black Three', Jagoša Vukanović, to the Main Staff for Serbia. After the liberation of Belgrade, Vukanović was appointed Deputy Minister of Trade.

«Blagoje Nešković appointed as chief of staff for my brigade the gang leader Radovan Patrović, who was awarded the Karadjordjvić Star with the sword by Kosta Pećanac[1]... Now Patrović is head of the Novi Sad army group.»[2]

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[1] *Kosta Pećanac* was an employee of the German occupation forces in Yugoslavia.

[2] *Napred* of 20 October 1949, serb.

After the war, the infiltration of former royal officers into the Yugoslav army intensified even more. In the summer of 1945, the Tito government issued a broad amnesty for the royal and Pavelić officers who had committed serious crimes against the people and the People's Liberation Army. At one of the meetings chaired by Tito himself, the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army confirmed the order for the amnestied former fascist gang and royal officers to be admitted into the army, recognizing their old ranks.

After the publication of the Information Bureau resolution in June 1948, the former royalist and fascist officers were even more readily accepted into the army. A large number of them had already become members of the Tito Party, and the rest very soon did. In 1949, ten former royal generals were returned to army service, among them the well-known reactionaries and monarchists Dinić, Kostić, Drošić and Damnjanović.

The head of air defence in Yugoslavia is Major General Žarko Vidović, a former royal colonel; the chief inspector of air defence artillery is Colonel Srdžan Krmpotić, royal commander of Belgrade's defences at the time of the surrender of royal Yugoslavia; the head of the permanent air defence exercises is Lieutenant Colonel Bošković, a former royal officer. The royal officers, Lieutenant Colonel Mustafić, Lieutenant Colonel Lenić, Major Hodžić and others take up command posts in air defence.

Admiral of the Yugoslav Navy, Josip Černi, was an officer in the Royal Fleet before the war. After the surrender of Royal Yugoslavia to the German fascists, he fled to Alexandria to join the English. On the

instructions of the English spy organization, he returned to Yugoslavia in 1943 and put himself at the disposal of the Tito clique. In the autumn of 1947, written evidence was provided that Černi was in the service of the English. Černi, of course, was not harmed a hair, and today he is one of Tito's closest collaborators.

Franja Pirc is a former royal officer who served as a corps commander in the Croatian fascist army after the break-up of royal Yugoslavia. He was later sent to the Soviet-German front as commander of a Croatian aviation division. Pirc was awarded the Order of «Zvonomir» by the Croatian fascist Pavelić and the Iron Cross by Hitler. In 1944, Pirc held the rank of general in Tito's immediate entourage as commander of the air force. Pirc is still working in a high position in the Yugoslav army.

In the war against the Soviet Union, in the battles of the German fascist troops near Kerch, the Ustaše officer, the sea colonel lieutenant Bonač, played an important role. This fascist war criminal was arrested in 1947, but was released after the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau and appointed to a high post in the navy.

Vjekoslav Križanja, a colonel in the Royal Army who worked directly with Pavelić, also took part in the war against the Soviet Union. Today he holds a responsible post in the Yugoslav army.

Lieutenant Colonel Sulejman Filipović served in the fascist Croatian army, now a colonel in the Yugoslav army and an instructor.

Mirko Merić commanded Croatian fascist units that fought together with German fascist units at Sta-

lingrad. Now this fascist officer and war criminal is in a responsible position in the Yugoslav army.

Hitler had awarded the Croatian air force officer Ždal several times for «merits» in the war against the Soviet Union. Today he is one of the leading commanders of the Yugoslavian war air force.

Major General Vjekoslav Klišanić, a former lieutenant colonel with the General Staff of the Yugoslav Royal Army and chief of staff of one of Pavelić's army corps, was captured by the partisans during the war. With the support of Gošnjak, he was accepted into the Tito Party and given a leading position in the Yugoslav army.

In order to fully realize the fascization of the Yugoslav army, the Titoites hired former Hitlerite officers as instructors for the training and education of Yugoslav soldiers, non-commissioned officers and young officers. These Hitlerite officers are recruited by the Yugoslav military mission headed by the head of the mission of the UDB Colonel Momčilo Sibinović in the western sectors of Berlin. The Tito agents also recruited Hitler officers in a number of West German cities and retained a large number of German prisoners of war to work in the Yugoslav army.

To what has already been said it must be added that Ivan Gošnjak, Koča Popović and other Tito generals now at the head of the Yugoslav army have already been exposed as agents of the imperialist spy services.

The above facts clearly indicate that the Yugoslav army is in the hands of imperialist spies, royalist generals and fascist officers.

Fascists and Spies Run Propaganda and «Culture» in Yugoslavia

Considering the great importance of propaganda as an effective means of influencing the masses of the people in Yugoslavia itself and public opinion abroad, the Tito clique paid great attention to the selection of the leading cadres at the head of the most diverse propaganda agencies, newspapers, magazines and radio stations. And in this respect, too, the Titoites are followers of their counter-revolutionary policy: their propaganda apparatus consists of truly tried and tested spies and reactionaries who carry out the orders of the head of agitation and propaganda, Milovan Djilas, without contradiction. Carrying out ruthless anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda is their main task.

Which people are at the head of the Titoite propaganda media, radio, press, etc.?[1]

Vladimir Dedijer, Director of Information in the Yugoslav government, was already known as an English spy before the war. As a youth he was trained at the IMKA spy centre[2], which was run by the spies Ster and Tyrget. Even before the war, he was in contact as a correspondent with the well-known Secret Intelligence Service spy Harrison, director of the Reuter telegraph agency in the Balkans, and also with the spy Brown.

Before the war, Dedijer married Olga Popović, the

[1] According to the Polish magazine *Prosa Polska* of May 1950 and other sources.

[2] Camouflaged English spy organization that maintains schools in various states.

daughter of the well-known fascist and millionaire Svetislav Popović, who as a minister was one of the pillars of King Aleksander's dictatorship in Yugoslavia. Through this family, Dedijer also came into contact with the Gestapo during the war years. During the occupation, the Gestapo enabled Dedijer to travel to the Tito staff in Bosnia. When Tito's open collaboration with Churchill began, Tito sent Dedijer to Cairo and Bari, Italy. Dedijer took advantage of his previous connections, and soon he was working with the Secret Intelligence Service. Together with the English spy Velebit, Dedijer was one of the «inside» people in the so-called Psychological Warfare Bureau, which in reality was nothing more than the English centre of the Spy Service; it was under the direction of the Majors of the English Spy Service Clissold and Vane Ivanović (English subject of Yugoslav origin). As is now known, Dedijer subsequently sold himself to the American spy service as well.

Stevan Dedijer is the older brother of Vladimir Dedijer. The American spy Mabel Djurić, a lady-in-waiting to King Aleksander, whisked him off to Italy as a child and had him educated in an American college there. She then sent him to America to study physics and mathematics. During the war, the American spy bureau sent Stevan to the communists of Yugoslav origin in the USA. Stevan began working as a staff member of the small Yugoslav émigré newspaper Slobodna Riječ, published in Pittsburgh. After some time, the spy bureau delegated him to a course for parachutists, after which Stevan was assigned to Eisenhower's European army and shipped to Holland after the Second Front was formed. Shortly afterwards he

was sent to Tito's staff and Tito appointed him his personal interpreter in all confidential talks between him and the English and Americans.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia, Stevan Dedijer became the first editor of the foreign policy section of the Titoite central organ *Borba*, then editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Politika* and later director of TANJUG, the telegraph agency of Yugoslavia.

Dušan Timotijević, president of the Press Association in Yugoslavia and secretary of the Yugoslav Association for the Organization of United Peoples, is the illegitimate son of Milorad Drašković, the royal police minister known for his crimes, who banned the Communist Party in Yugoslavia in 1921, and the official son of Konstantin Timotijević, the prime minister of King Aleksander's fascist government. During the war, Dušan Timotijević was in Germany and in Nuremberg he signed the treason letter to Hitler's headquarters, asking Hitler for permission to go to Yugoslavia to put down the uprising there. After the liberation of Yugoslavia, Djilas and Dedijer appointed him editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Glas* and then deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Borba*. Now he is editor-in-chief of the anti-Soviet journal *International Politics* and dean of the School of Journalism and Diplomacy in Belgrade.

Živan Mitrović, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Politika*, is the brother of Djilas' wife, Mitra Mitrović. Before the war, as editor of the newspaper *Politika*, he was entertained by all the pro-fascist governments. It is also known that he was an agent of the court and of the former Minister of Police, Boša Maksimovic. Through his mediation, Djilas was con-

nected to the royal police even before the war. During the war, Mitrović was head of the officers of the fascist Mihailović gangs in a prison camp in Germany, who handed over communists and honest patriots to the Gestapo murderers inside the camp.

Predrag Milojević, editor of the magazine *Yugoslavia*, was the correspondent of the newspaper Politika in Germany before the war. Before Hitler came to power, he posed as a socialist and progressive journalist. When Hitler came to power, Milojević married the daughter of a German Hitlerite industrialist. After his marriage, he began openly propagating fascism. On the eve of the war, the fascist, Hitler-friendly Yugoslav government appointed him head of state propaganda in Yugoslavia. When the Hitler fascists occupied Yugoslavia, he became the editor-in-chief of the traitor newspaper *Novo Vreme*. Djilas and Dedijer had initially appointed Milojević as the foreign affairs editor of the newspaper Glas. Now he is the foreign propaganda specialist of Djilas' fascist propaganda apparatus.

Branko Drašković, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Politika*, also wrote in the same newspaper before the war. After the war, as a confidant of Djilas, he became deputy editor of the newspaper *Borba* and later editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Politika*. In 1946 he helped his girlfriend, the fascist Nita Timotijević (daughter of the well-known fascist Siniša Timotijević), to come to Trieste so that she could flee abroad. Djilas saved him from being sentenced.

Bogdan Pešić, editor of the foreign policy section of the newspaper *Borba*, was a «salon communist» before the war. As the owner of a villa, he moved exclu-

sively in «higher» circles. After Italy's capitulation, he contacted well-known fascist circles in Rome, as well as relatives of his wife and American spies living in Italy. He was best man at Djilas' wedding, and Pešić has been closely associated with Djilas ever since. Today Pešić is one of the leading people in anti-Soviet propaganda in Yugoslavia.

Ljubiša Manojlović, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Jesch*, reported to the Gestapo in the town of Kragujevac in 1941 with the request that he be sent to Germany for voluntary work. There he was an employee of the fascist magazine *Signal*, which was published by Goebbels in several languages, including Serbian. After the war, Djilas allowed Manoilović to write for the newspaper *Glas* without signing his name. When the open anti-Soviet course began in Yugoslavia, Djilas made him editor-in-chief of the anti-Soviet magazine *Jesch*.

Dušan Blagojević, commentator on foreign affairs for the newspaper *Borba*, served in the police for a small pay before the war and wrote for the pro-fascist newspapers of the royal government, especially for the newspaper *Jugoslavska Posla*. During the war he lived in Croatia and did not manage to get into Nedić Serbia. As a Nedić supporter, he had to flee from the Ustaše and thus sneaked in with the partisans. Throughout the war he wandered from one staff to another and did not fire a single shot in all four years. After the war, Djilas appointed him foreign affairs editor of the newspaper Borba, the central organ of the Tito Party.

Milorad Panić-Supre, secretary of the Writers' Union in Serbia and an influential member of the leader-

ship of the Journalists' Union in Yugoslavia, was an open enemy of the communists before the war, a paid writer of the Great-Serbian dictatorship and an informer for the police. During the People's Liberation War, Panić lived in Belgrade and collaborated with the German occupiers. During his stay in Belgrade, he was in contact with the oldest member of the royal family, Prince Djordje. A few weeks before the liberation of Belgrade, Panić-Supre appeared at the Serbian partisan headquarters and made the sensational statement that his «friend», Prince Djordje, wanted to join a partisan section. For these «merits» Supre was admitted to the Party; after the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau he became a well-known public figure and one of the most slanderous anti-Soviet writers.

Jovan Marinović-Mrnja, Chairman of the Committee for Radiofication of Yugoslavia, is an old renegade who, with the help of the English spy Gorkić, the former General Secretary of the CPY, scammed a capable cadre of a high Party post in Montenegro and — just like Gorkić — was exposed as a spy. Marinović had been unmasked as a Trotskyist and expelled from the Party before the war. Since he was hated within the party as a Trotskyist, Tito could not do anything for him at first. However, he kept him on his staff as a confidant without giving him any function. Only after the vile murder of Ivan Milutinović, a member of the Politburo and one of the most active Montenegrin communists, one who knew of Marinović's espionage activities, did Tito, Djilas and Vukmanović manage to rehabilitate Marinović. After Milutinović's assassination, Marinović, the sworn enemy of the working

class, was not only rehabilitated, but he immediately became director of Belgrade Radio and later chairman of the Committee for Radiofication of Yugoslavia.

The counter-revolutionary policy of the Titoites in the cultural life of Yugoslavia is also evidenced by the persons at the head of the individual branches of science and art. The president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences is *Aleksander Belić*, an old royalist scholar and ultra-chauvinist who foams at the mouth to prove that the Macedonians are Serbs. The president of the Writers' Union, *Ivo Andrić*, was the ambassador of monarcho-fascist Yugoslavia to Hitler's Germany and participated in the signing of the shameful pact with fascist Germany. The secretary of the same association is *Milorad Panić-Supre,* about whose activity as a royal court clerk and agent of the German occupiers we have already reported.

The open and dogged fascists Čedomir Minderović, Jovan Popović, Skender Kulenović, Branko Ćopić and others, as well as the bourgeois cosmopolitans Milan Bogdanović, Veljko Petrović, Aleksander Vučo and others are leading figures in the Writers' Union.

With these and similar cadres, the Belgrade rulers have organized the crusade against cultural creation in the USSR and the countries of the People's Democracy. The lackeys of Djilas deny the achievements of Soviet culture, the performing arts and literature, they insult and slander Soviet scholars, writers and artists, while on the other hand they take up the cause of the decline of individual Soviet writers, film directors and other persons of cultural life, which is condemned by the entire Soviet public (Anna Akhmatova, Mikhail

Zoshchenko, Trauberg, Schmalhausen, Dubinin, etc.). The Titoite literary journals are filled with anti-Soviet and anti-communist invective.

Simultaneously with the most shameless slander of Soviet culture and the attempt to compromise the generally accepted models of Soviet art before the Yugoslav peoples, the Titoites are transplanting American «culture» to Yugoslavia in the most impudent and persistent manner. While the works of Stalin and Soviet writers are banned, pro-fascist books of the cultural decline of decadent Western writers are being published today.

While fascists and bourgeois cosmopoliticians are running around in Yugoslav literature, the real writers and poets like Radovan Zogović, Marko Vranešević, Zlatko Klaćik, Miodrag Tomić, Veles Perić, Vuk Tyrnovski and Miodrag Popović, the recognized creators of a new, revolutionary art in Yugoslavia, popular among the masses, are languishing in prisons and concentration camps.

Yugoslav cinemas show American and other Western films of extremely dubious quality. American films and, to a lesser extent, English films enjoy monopoly status in Yugoslavia. In 1949, 3,825 cinema screenings of American films, 1,750 of English films and 1,350 of Yugoslav films were given in Belgrade. There are days when Belgrade cinemas play almost only American and English films. For example, on 7 April 1951, in the 14 Belgrade cinemas, 9 American, 3 English and 2 French films were shown, the content of which is best represented by some of their titles: «Song for the Dead Lover», «Love Tale», «The Tender Heart» (English films); «My Beloved Clementine»,

«The Black Gang», «War of the Wild Cats», «I Was a Soldier's Bride», «Night in Casablanca», «Eternal Eve», «The Fairest of New York», «Revenge of the Red Witch», «The Three Faces of a Woman», «The Adventures of Tarzan in New York» (American films); «Love Dream», «After Love» and similar (French films).

The film «Song for the Dead Lover» tells in mystical form of the love tragedy of some princess Sophia-Dorothea and Count Philipp Königsmarck at the royal court of Hanover during the 17th century. The film «The Eternal Eve» shows a «kind-hearted» and «noble» American millionaire who helps a poor girl to become rich and happy. The other films are also kept in this spirit of American «culture».

Many shocking cases speak for the effect of American gangster films on young people. For example, at the beginning of 1951, eleven-year-old Miroljub Perović was shot with a revolver because his friend — the murderer — wanted to imitate a cowboy from the American film «The Kid from Oklahoma».

After the Americans had rented the Yugoslav cinemas, they also invaded the film studios and took over the management of the, albeit insignificant, Yugoslav film production. It is enough to watch the Yugoslav films «Immortal Youth», «This People Will Live», «Slavitza» and others to understand immediately what ideas the Tito clique wants to instil in the people. In the film «Immortal Youth», bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements are shown as the organizers of the resistance movement against the occupiers. In the film «This People Will Live», the peasantry is shown not only as the main force but also as the leading force of

the liberation struggle, while the working class is degraded to the class of the lumpenproletariat, vagrants and thieves.

With such repulsive and reactionary films, the Tito gang wants to poison the consciousness of the Yugoslav peoples and especially of the Yugoslav youth in order to use them more easily as cannon fodder for the Anglo-American warmongers in a new war against the USSR and the countries of the People's Democracy.

During the last two or three years, hundreds of thousands of copies of the most varied and lowbrow tabloid literature, in the manner of American crime novels and bawdy revues, have been published and distributed in Yugoslavia under the protection of the Tito organs. In the ultra-Titoite newspaper *NIN* (Sunday News) everyone can read that in only a few months 100,000 copies of such books were distributed in Belgrade. The *NIN* writes about this:

«A few days ago a new newspaper appeared — of course a 'magazine' in pictures. By the way, in recent times such magazines have been growing like mushrooms after the rain.

«What can one say about the first number of this magazine with 'poetry in pictures, entertainment and humour'?

«This magazine with a weak technique and weak content, each issue of which is sold at 12 dinars and has only 8 pages in a small newspaper format, is published by the Middle School Youth Club.

«On the first page of this magazine a very poor drawing is published 'The valley of our dreams'. It is followed by a dubious spy novel under the title 'The Traitor's Passport' by the 'well-known master of the detective novel' Alan Hind, as the editors recommend this author... The Journal introduces its readers in the very first number to Sing-Sing (a whole page), the method of killing people by electric current of 2000 volts in 3 seconds and

by 500 volts in 75 seconds. The Journal also informs its young readers that the executioner is an electrical engineer and that he is paid 50 pounds sterling for each execution.

«It would be going too far to give an overview, albeit a cursory one, of the whole journal, which — we must not forget — is intended for secondary school pupils. Only one more example will be given of what constitutes 'humour'. We will quote a joke from this student journal and spare ourselves any comment:

«'Lady with university education of 24 horsepower, powered by charcoal, takes in quarters and feeds any kind of drudge with complete device for riding. Purchase not obligatory.'

«The magazine advertises its second number as follows: 'Photomontages and Narratives in Pictures: The Castle of the Countess Hiterot (The Mystery of the Red Island), Sherlock Holmes in London 1951, Jiu-Jitsu for Women and others. The second number will include: Japanese geishas, teahouses, opium dens, Japanese wise men.

«All records of unbridled sensationalism in text and stories in pictures have been beaten by the 'Entertainment Journal for the Young Forces' (which, by the way, is published with the permission of the Central Committee of the Association of the People's Youth in Serbia — D.K.). The first page of the seventh number of this 'entertainment sheet' contains the advertisement for a report on dervishes, which is to appear in the eleventh number of Young Forces. It is enough to read a few headlines: 'Ten minutes in a red-hot oven', 'With a knife in the throat', 'Wound without blood', 'The magic prayer', 'The galloping wall'. The same number of these 'amusements' contain the adventurous stories: 'In the Valley of Hell', 'The Law of the Desert', 'In the Wild Forests of the Congo' etc. In almost all the stories and 'poems' we meet Negroes, Bedouins and other 'coloureds'. Let us only look at how the relations between the heroes and the whites and black 'servants' of the same are portrayed. All the Negroes call the whites their masters. There are 'good' and 'bad' savages; those who serve their masters undauntedly and sacrifice their lives for them when the time comes, these are of course the 'good' ones. The 'bad' savages are those who steal and at the critical moment leave the master in shame, and these receive the punishment they deserve. Usually they fall by a never-missing shot from

the white master's rifle or pistol; for example, in the novel 'The Law of the Desert'. Ibrahim is the faithful servant of the French archaeologist Delton, while Hasan is a thief and robber who wants to hand over his master to some rapacious Bedouin tribe. In the story 'In the Wild Forests of the Congo', the Negroes are (necessarily) man-eaters. They cook their white captives and 'the whole village revels in the anticipation of a good bite'.

«This is how the opinion of our youngest readers about Negroes and other 'non-white' people is formed.

«The Sarajevo publishing house 'Polet' has also found a good market for its books of this kind in Belgrade. The first novel in pictures, 'Tunnel', was published in an edition of 8,000 copies at an incredibly high price of 35 dinars. 'Tunnel' is an ordinary, technically bad pre-war novel in pictures. The heroes are various lords and the beautiful daughters of financial magnates. At the same time, gangsters, pirates, sea wonders and polyps, maharajas and policemen are also mixed in, and all sorts of props of the very worst literature in pictures...

«In a very short time, Belgrade has swallowed almost 36,000 copies of the 'Little Novel in Pictures' (price 12 dinars). The Sarajevo publishing house 'Polet' received about 400,000 dinars just for this edition. And from this money, the Belgrade book market was enriched with novels such as 'The Adventures of Little Tarzan', 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves', 'Inventions from Hell', 'Two Twenties', 'Miki Rescues Mimi from Abyssinian Slavery' and others. What is the novel 'Inventions of Hell' like? Some professor creates a giant robot. Anarchists from Venezuela steal it. (The anarchists later turn into gangsters.) The robot is used to sink ships. The professor is forced to build another robot, and now a 'giant' fight begins. The older brother defeats the younger one, but the latter also explodes after a hard fight. At the end of this 'exciting' novel, the professor declares dejectedly that he will not make any more robots. End...

«'Polet' has also published the novel 'The Tsar's Shield Bearer', the two volumes of which cost 70 dinars. This novel is also from the pre-war period... The novel is really a Robin Hood epic, but with the heroes of our Middle Ages up to the Tsars Dušan, Balšić, Dejanović, etc.»

Comments are really superfluous. The effect of this contaminating tabloid literature on Yugoslav youth is illustrated by a case — and this is one of many — which the Titoite youth magazine *Horizont* in Zagreb cites to its readers as an entertaining sensation:

«One of the pupils (in a factory school), who had read many cowboy novels and Indian adventures, suddenly noticed his own fighting instinct, uttered a wild scream in class and started chasing one of his smaller classmates. The poor boy almost died of fright. When the 'hero' took him by the hair and started to 'scalp' him, he screamed 'Help, help... The teacher stopped the scalping. The attacker held a handful of hair in his hands in place of the scalp and his tormented classmate, despite the pain, was satisfied that his skin had remained intact.»

Chapter III: The Restoration of Capitalism in Yugoslavia

During the People's Liberation War, the Yugoslav toilers, under the leadership of the Communist Internationalists, fought not only against the foreign occupiers, but also against the rule of the rich peasants and urban capitalists, the reactionary parties and the monarchy. They fought for close friendship with the Soviet Union and the democratic peoples. The People's Liberation Movement in Yugoslavia was basically a revolutionary socialist movement led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Milutinović, Jovanović, Prica, Končar, Keršovani and a thousand other devoted leaders and militants.

For this very reason, in the course of the People's Liberation Movement, the old state structure was destroyed and the foundations of people's power — People's Front Committees and People's Councils — were established. For this reason, the People's Councils laid their hands on a number of industrial enterprises in the areas liberated by the partisans even during the struggle against the fascist occupiers.

After the end of the war and after the formation of the new Yugoslav state, the Yugoslav peoples openly demanded the final elimination of the capitalist system and the capitalist state. At the same time, they demanded the establishment of a real people's democratic power and the creation of a socialist economy, as well as the implementation of a consistent policy of eternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

The Titoites knew this mood of the working peo-

ple and knew very well that if they had opposed the aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples for people's power and socialism, for friendship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries, this would have meant even then their final exposure and they would have been swept away by the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. But this would not have corresponded to the further plans of the Anglo-American capitalists, who wanted to transform Yugoslavia into their base in South-Eastern Europe and into their starting position in the aggressive policy against the Soviet Union and the peoples of Eastern Europe liberated from the fascist-capitalist yoke. With a view to the easier and safer achievement of these plans, the Anglo-American capitalists had, after all, renounced King Peter and his reactionary government and placed all their hopes in Tito and his clique.

As a result of the impetuous striving of the Yugoslav working masses for people's democratic rule and socialism, the Tito clique — with the connivance of their Anglo-American masters, of course — made it appear that they, too, were in favour of people's democracy and socialism, and took some measures in this direction. This cunning game of the Titoites was vividly illustrated by one of the closest to Tito, Police Minister Ranković, when he met László Rajk, the traitor to the Hungarian people, in Kelebia, near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, in December 1947. He said to Rajk:

«Above all, I should be clear that neither Tito nor the other members of the Yugoslav government intended, after liberation, the introduction of the people's democratic system and through it the socialist construction in Yugoslavia. If they were neverthe-

less forced as a government to take such revolutionary measures, which in their essence and de facto began to lead to the liquidation of capitalism, this did not mean that they seriously wanted to carry out this program, but that they were forced to take these measures under the pressure of the labouring masses. On the other hand, the overall situation after the end of the Second World War in Central and South-Eastern Europe was such that Yugoslavia, or rather the Yugoslav government, Prime Minister Tito and comrades, had to take into account the Soviet Union and the new People's Democratic governments. These two factors forced them to take measures that ran in the direction of liquidating capitalism.»[1]

Further, Ranković said, clarifying the role of the Tito clique in the attempts to break the People's Democratic countries away from the USSR and lead them over to the camp of imperialism:

«Yugoslavia, however, in Tito's judgement, could not carry this out in such a way as to proclaim such a policy before all the public. This was not possible because Soviet friendship had strong and deep roots among the Yugoslav masses, as it did in the other People's Democratic countries, and the socialist camp had enormous forces. Consequently, Tito would have to carry out his policy in disguise, by the method of misdirection.»[2]

Ranković's admission shows the Tito clique's fear of the revolutionary strength of the Yugoslav peoples for people's power and socialism and the people's deep love for the Soviet Union. All this forced the Titoites after the war — but only apparently, hypocritically and with previously decided treachery — to take the road of establishing people's power, liquidating

[1] «László Rajk and accomplices before the People's Court», Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1950, p. 78.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

capitalism, building socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

Systematic Preparation for the Re-establishment of Capitalism during the Years of 1945-1948

While the Titoites, under the pressure of the popular masses, were forced to carry out some measures which subsequently lead to the liquidation of capitalism, immediately after the liberation of Yugoslavia they thought of how these measures could be reversed and in what way capitalism could be restored completely.

In the period from 1945 to 1948, when the attention and activity of the popular masses was directed towards the reconstruction of the country and the removal of the great destruction caused by the fascist occupiers, and also towards the creation of the economic and political conditions for the construction of socialism, the Tito clique was already secretly preparing the conditions for the open re-establishment of private capitalist relations in the country.

Thus, for example, in the nationalization of industry and other decisive branches of the national economy, the owners of these enterprises and the representatives of their class interests — the leaders of the old bourgeois parties — were not only left untouched by the Tito leadership, but were deliberately and systematically placed in leading positions in the country's state and economic life. Obviously, in carrying out this policy, the Titoites have carried out the instructions of their foreign capitalist masters and have proceeded from the premise that the former capitalists,

monarchists and leaders of the old bourgeois parties are the most reliable helpers in the future restoration of the capitalist regime in Yugoslavia.

We have already given a lot of examples to confirm that in the leadership of the state — from the Presidium of the People's Skupština to the People's Councils in the villages — the leaders of the old bourgeois parties, active monarchists, millionaires, rich peasants and other anti-people elements have taken their place next to the Titoites. The same elements have also taken over the leadership of the various branches of the national economy in Yugoslavia.

The economic «theorist» and originator of the Tito clique's «new» economic policy, *Boris Kidrić*, is a typical bourgeois economist who has always denied Marxist doctrine in practice and stubbornly applied and will apply capitalist theory. But it is also precisely for this reason that the Titoites drew Kidrić into the party and the party leadership and entrusted him with the management of the entire national economy in Yugoslavia.

Bourgeois economists, known capitalists and former owners of the nationalized enterprises and other exploiting elements were placed in all the leading positions in the economic offices. For example, heads of departments in the Main Directorate for the Coal Industry are: *Radomir Slatićanin*, the former owner of the «Vrška Čuka» mine on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border, a known enemy of the working class and the communists, collaborator of the fascist occupiers during the war period, and *Rajno Nešić*, the former owner of the «Resava-Bore» mine, a known leader of the fascist party in Lötić, a conspiratorial enemy of the

working class and all progressive people.

The whole commercial apparatus in Yugoslavia — from the very highest offices in the Ministry of Trade and Supply, down to the lower commercial enterprises — is without exception in the hands of the urban bourgeoisie. The Titoites developed the theory that the former capitalists and traders have the greatest experience in trade matters and are the most suitable leaders for trade enterprises. That is why the Titoites have left 80 per cent of all responsible positions in the trade apparatus to the former traders, suppliers, trade brokers and similar people.

The percentage of the urban bourgeoisie in the foreign trade apparatus is even larger. The Titoites claim that the former traders not only have great experience in import and export and business with foreign countries, but also maintain many connections with foreign capitalist trading firms and other enterprises and enjoy the confidence of foreign customers and suppliers.

The Titoites have given various capitalists the right to do business with foreign countries in their own name at the expense of the state. This practice means, in effect, the liquidation of the state monopoly of foreign trade and gives the capitalists the possibility of sucking uncontrollable profits out of the Yugoslav national economy.

The Titoites left one important capitalist institution untouched after the war: the «Yugoslav Import and Export Credit Bank» in Belgrade. Before the war, this bank was considered one of the largest private capitalist firms in Yugoslavia, with the most solid connections to foreign capital circles. The Titoites did not

expropriate this bank, they even granted it exclusively favourable, almost monopolistic conditions as the main clearing institution for trade transactions with foreign countries.

The old share owners and their representatives still sit on the administration and control board of the «Yugoslav Import and Export Credit Bank». The bank has branches in West Berlin, Vienna, Zurich, Trieste, London, Marseilles and other West European cities, which are run by capitalists and their old employees. The Titoites are trying to deceive the Yugoslav working people with the fairy tale that this bank is directly controlled by the Minister of Finance, Milentije Popović. It is known, however, that Popović — although he calls himself a «communist» — is a millionaire and that he has connections with American financial circles.

Among the preparatory measures taken by the Tito clique during the years 1945-1948 for the open re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia were the Titoite discrimination in trade relations with the USSR and the countries of the People's Democracy, the sabotage of the activity of the Soviet-Yugoslav Society, which was established to support socialist construction in Yugoslavia, etc.

The secret preparations of the Tito clique for the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia were also expressed in persistent searches and in the establishment of connections with the Anglo-American and other capitalist circles. In December 1947, the Titoites approached the so-called «International Bank for Reconstruction and Development» with a request to grant them a loan of 50 million dinars. They later re-

ceived this sum from the Washington «Export-Import Bank».

The Road to the Re-establishment of Capitalism in Yugoslavia

In 1948, after their dastardly game and services to the imperialists were exposed by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the Titoites openly took the road of re-establishing capitalism in Yugoslavia. This road has different «stages». The most decisive step in the initial phase of the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia is the seizure of power by the Tito hired upper class. By seizing power, it also seized — in alliance with the representatives of the old bourgeois parties — the state sector of the national economy and put it at the service of the predatory interests of foreign and local capitalists and the newly created Tito ruling caste. Immediately afterwards, still in the second half of 1948, the Tito clique opened the state funds, into which the profits from the state enterprises go, and channelled them in the most diverse ways into the bottomless funds of the foreign monopolists and their Yugoslav blood brothers.

The Tito government at that time recognized the claims for damages of the foreign capitalists and paid huge sums under the form of «compensation for nationalized enterprises», although these enterprises had long since been redeemed by the huge profits they had brought to the foreign capitalists in the past at the expense of the Yugoslav peoples. Foreign capital investments in royal Yugoslavia amounted to about 7.5 billion dinars. Approximately the same sum was paid out

by the Tito traitors in foreign currency to the capitalists of America, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries which owned factories in Yugoslavia. In the same period, the Titoites also recognized the royal debt to America, amounting to about 2 billion dinars. Later they recognized the royal debt to England, and recently it was announced that the Tito clique will also pay the debt to France, which exceeds the debt to America several times.

The Tito clique exploits the possession of the state sector of the national economy and all other sources of income of the state to waste huge sums annually on war preparations in the interest of the Anglo-American monopolists and fomenting a new war. In 1949, 1950 and 1951 alone, the Titoites spent a total of about 225 billion dinars on war preparations and armaments, a large part of it in foreign currency, because the main mass of arms and war materials is imported from abroad.

Another channel through which the profits of the toilsome work of the Yugoslav peoples flow into the hands of the foreign masters of the Belgrade gang is the export of strategic raw materials, agricultural products and other goods at extremely low prices. Yugoslav goods are being flogged off to the capitalist countries two to three times cheaper than the average prices of the international market. For example, in 1948, People's Democratic Czechoslovakia paid Yugoslavia 19 crowns for a kilogram of tin, while today, when international market prices have almost doubled, the USA pays only 15 crowns for the kilogram.

Thus, already in the initial phase of the re-estab-

lishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia, the Tito upper class squeezed hundreds of billions of dinars out of the Yugoslav peoples to squander in the form of indemnities, repayments of loans, rearmament and export of goods to their monopoly masters in Washington and London.

In this phase of capitalist exploitation, it is interesting that the Yugoslav toilers in the factories do not see the capitalist masters themselves, because the Tito gang, through the state apparatus, seizes the labour of the people and the goods of the country for the benefit of the «invisible» capitalists. It is because of this «invisibility» of the capitalists that the Titoites still dare to speak of some «socialism» in Yugoslavia and fraudulently mask the mean betrayal of the interests of the Yugoslav peoples with socialist phrases.

Now, however, the Titoites have already moved on to the «higher» phase of re-establishing capitalism in Yugoslavia: They began quite openly to return nationalized enterprises to private individuals, in many cases even to the old owners. In 1949, with the help of a decree of the Presidium of the People's Skupština (Parliament), the Titoites removed a number of large industrial objects from the list of nationalized enterprises, such as the mines in Bor, Tyrbovlje, Popovica, Kamnik, the shipyards in Split and Kraljevica, the electricity works in Gubavica, the works in Dugi Ryt, Senica and others, and secretly gave them to foreign companies, especially American ones, in concession. In this way, «visible» capitalists now appeared, namely as masters of the Yugoslav enterprises. Their headquarters are in the USA and in Belgrade, and from time to time they come to visit their factories.

In 1950, Tito confessed in one of his many statements to foreign journalists that the Yugoslav government had decided to return all the «small» enterprises that had been nationalized in the past to their old owners because of «unprofitability». As a result of this decision, the Yugoslav newspapers have long been filled with articles about the liquidation of hundreds and hundreds of state, municipal and co-operative enterprises in all areas of Yugoslavia. A large part of these enterprises are being returned to their former owners. In Belgrade alone, for example, 120 bread bakeries were returned to their former owners at the beginning of June 1951, according to the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* of 8 June 1951, and all were allowed to bake and sell bread.

Another part of the farms is handed over by auction to private persons who exploit the farm for their benefit in exchange for a certain rent. The Belgrade newspaper of *October 20* writes openly that the Belgrade City Council has already handed over 37 businesses to private entrepreneurs in this way and will hand over 31 more municipal businesses, because in this way «the entrepreneur will be spurred on to greater turnover, a better assortment and better service, which means a further strengthening of free competition». What is happening in Belgrade is happening to an even greater extent in other towns and villages in Yugoslavia. In Croatia, according to this method, at the end of 1950 there were already 20,774 private and only 1,250 co-operative workshops. In Belgrade the number of private locksmiths, stone-working and electro-technical workshops is 170 and that of the «socialized» only 7, the number of private chemical work-

shops is 221 and that of the «socialized» only 6, the number of private tailoring workshops 1,179 and that of the «socialized» only 27, and so on.[1]

The Titoites are taking the same path in agriculture, dissolving the state sector in the interests of the private capitalist elements, in the first place for the benefit of the rich peasants. On September 1, 1950, the Belgrade government liquidated the machinery lending stations, and on December 30, 1950, a decree of the Presidium of the Skupština amended the law on state farms, eliminating the latter from the list of state enterprises. An idea of the rapid liquidation of a number of state agricultural properties is given by the newspaper *Vjesnik* of 7 April 1951, which states that the number of covering stations in Croatia alone was reduced by 240 in 1950.

It is interesting to see where the assets of these farms are going from the former state sector of agriculture. The Titoites boast of having sold 2,500 tractors and many other machines to «farmers» and land co-operatives. It is clear that the poor and middle peasants did not get these tractors and machines because they cannot maintain them and do not have the land to use them, but that the rich peasants and the rich peasant co-operatives got them. The same rich peasants will also receive part of the fields and property of the dissolved state farms. A number of the former state farms are being transformed into large capitalist farms.

If we follow the process and forms of the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia, it also becomes

[1] *October 20* from 9 November 1951.

clear why the Titoites in 1950 — under the lying pretext of decentralization and democratization of the economy — detached the state enterprises from the state, why they gave the directors — again under the lying pretext of handing them over to the «workers» collectives — full freedom to manage the enterprises as they saw fit, and why they even forbade the state organs to interfere with the directors' instructions. Both the one and the other were dictated by the need to allow the new masters of the factories, the visible and «invisible» capitalists, to dispose of the factories themselves and to direct production according to their exploitative interests.

At the beginning of 1951, the Titoites went even further: they abolished the state regulation of prices and the circulation of goods and introduced the capitalist principle of free supply and free demand as the only regulator in the formation of prices and the development of the circulation of goods. This measure was also taken as a necessary and inevitable step to give the capitalists a free hand for the even greater exploitation of the Yugoslav toilers.

The Titoites in the Footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini's Economic Policies

Under the slogan «The factories to the workers», the Tito clique passed the so-called «Basic Law for the Management of State Economic Enterprises and Higher Economic Associations by the Workers' Collectives», which aims not only to separate the state from the working class and to oppose the workers to the state apparatus, but also to facilitate the rapid

transfer of state enterprises into the hands of the capitalists.

In order to mislead the Yugoslav toilers, the Titoites have concocted a new «theory» of the relationship between the socialist state and the working class, falsifying the teachings of Marx and Lenin in the most shameless way.

What is the fraud of the Titoites and what is the real content of the Titoite slogan «The factories to the workers»?

The socialist state is the state of the working class. The means of production are in the hands of the socialist state, which in turn is in the hands of the toilers and under the leadership of the working class. Under the conditions of a socialist state, the workers participate in the management of the economic enterprises in various ways: 1. Through the state power as the power of the working class, 2. Through the communist organizations in the enterprises, which have the right of control over the management of the enterprise, 3. Through the factory committees of the trade union organizations, which in the USSR also exercise the functions of state organs in the application of labour laws, social insurance, etc., 4. Through the administrative personnel of the enterprises, who come from among the working people, are members of the party or trade union organizations and carry out the orders of the socialist state. In this way, the economic enterprises of the socialist state are actually run by the working class, under the leadership of its vanguard, the Communist Party.

This is the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice for the relationship of the working class to the means

of production under the conditions of a socialist state. The slogan «The factories to the workers», about which the Titoites are now talking so much, has nothing at all in common with Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This slogan is anarcho-syndicalist; it is based on a reactionary, anti-socialist idea: each individual socialist factory does not belong to the whole socialist society, not to the whole working class, but only to those who work in that factory. This slogan springs from anarchist ideology, namely the negation of the state in general and the socialist state in particular.

In the first years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, a similar anarcho-syndicalist slogan was raised and defended in the Soviet Union by the so-called «Workers' Opposition» led by Shliapnikov, Medvedev and others who ended their political careers as spies and traitors.

«The 'Workers' Opposition' put forward the slogan of handing over the management of the entire national economy to an 'All-Russian Congress of Producers'. It wanted to reduce the role of the party to nothing, it denied the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in economic construction. The 'Workers' Opposition' opposed the trade unions to the Soviet state and the Communist Party... The 'Workers' Opposition' was essentially an anarcho-syndicalist anti-party group.»[1]

The resolution of the 10th Party Congress of the CPSU(B) «On the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in our Party», elaborated and proposed by V.I. Lenin, firmly condemns the hostile and counter-revolutionary position of the «workers' opposition» of

[1] «History of the CPSU(B), Short Course», Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 315.

Shliapnikov, Medvedev and others and declares that the propagation of their anarcho-syndicalist «ideas» is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party.

Tito and the Titoites raise the anarcho-syndicalist slogan «The factories to the workers» to justify their anti-grassroots policy of detaching the management of the national economy from the state as a whole and the economic enterprises individually (which they carried out on the instructions of the imperialists by returning the enterprises to the hands of the capitalists and fully re-establishing capitalism in Yugoslavia).

But even in this case, the Titoites have not thought up and carried out anything new, but they are following in the footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini.

After Mussolini seized power, he tried for several years in a row to put the Italian trade unions at the service of his anti-grassroots economic policy. Later he tried to create fascist trade unions for the same purpose, into which he wanted to draw the Italian workers. But all these attempts by Mussolini were shattered by the resistance of the Italian working class. Finally, in 1927, Mussolini fabricated his so-called «Law of Labour», which abolished the trade unions and created instead the well-known «corporations», including «workers' corporations», which were to participate in the «management» of the state and the national economy. In this way, Mussolini wanted to deprive the working class of its class organization in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and to abandon the workers to unrestricted exploitation by the capitalists. At that time Mussolini also declared that his reform had opened the way to «true socialism» in

Italy.

Hitler went almost the same way. After the activity of the National Socialist factory organizations had failed to produce the desired result and the trade union federations of the German workers, which were controlled by the Hitlerites, could not be harnessed for the Nazi policy, the Hitler government liquidated the workers' factory councils in 1934 and replaced them with the «councils of confidence», which consisted of people loyal to the fascist regime. Through these «councils of confidence», the Nazis abandoned the workers to the arbitrariness of the capitalists and deprived the working class of the possibility to fight against capitalist exploitation. Similarly, Dr. Ley, appointed by Hitler as leader of the German «Labour Front», declared at the time that with the application of the law of «councils of confidence» «real socialism» would be introduced in Germany.

In the «Basic Law» adopted by the Skupština, the Titoites talk, for demagogic reasons, of the management of economic enterprises by «workers' collectives». In reality, even according to the law, these «workers' collectives» have no managerial functions at all, but only consultative ones. According to this law, the management of the enterprise is left to the director:

> «The director organizes the production process in the enterprise and directly directs the fulfilment of the plan and the activity of the enterprise... The director is directly responsible for nonfulfilment of the law... The director of the enterprise hires workers and appoints employees... determines their employment in the enterprise. The director of the enterprise shall dismiss workers and employees.» (Article 38.)

But the consultative functions that the law grants to the «workers' collectives» are also only demagogy. The basic aim of the law is to leave the management of economic enterprises to the directors and the «collective» surrounding them, the representatives of the capitalists. The Anglo-American capitalists, who have already laid their hands on a number of large enterprises and are penetrating more and more into the Yugoslav economy, as well as the new Titoite bourgeoisie, which is gradually establishing itself in the enterprises and dominating them, are demanding full right over the economic enterprises from the Tito clique. This demand of the capitalists is fulfilled by the Tito clique under the mask of handing over the leading functions from the state to the «collectives», that is, to the capitalists.

The second phase of the basic law is the same as Mussolini once tried to achieve with his «labour law» and Hitler with the law of «councils of confidence». After the open defection of the Tito clique into the camp of the imperialists, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia turned into a police apparatus for espionage and repression. After the leading functions of the trade union federations were filled with Titoites, the Yugoslav trade unions also ceased to be class organizations of the workers for the struggle against exploitation. The cruel fascist regime introduced by the Titoites has put the Yugoslav workers in the same position as the workers of fascist Italy and fascist Germany were in before the war. However, the Yugoslav workers have already started the struggle against the exploiters and the terror in the form of passive resistance, strikes, running away from the workplace,

etc., against the will of the trade union leaders.

The Titoites are trying to find a way out of this situation in Mussolini's and Hitler's way. With their new law they want to disarm the working class in the struggle against exploitation and terror, to interest it in the fulfilment of production tasks, to burden it with the responsibility for production in the factories and thus deprive it of the possibility and the right to fight for the protection of its class interests. This is Mussolini's and Hitler's recipe for the «liquidation» of class antagonisms and class struggle and the complete subjugation of the workers under the power of the capitalists.

But this recipe also does not at all fulfil the expectations of the Titoites. The struggle of the labouring people of Yugoslavia, and in the first place of the workers in the mines, in the factories and in construction, both against the Tito fascist regime and against the Titoite economic policy of colonial exploitation, is intensifying more and more. The one-year experience of the existence of the «workers» councils, which in most cases are only on paper, has proved the total collapse of the Titoite manoeuvre of «handing over» the factories under the management of the «workers' collectives». According to a statement made by the Titoite Vladimir Bakarić to the Belgrade correspondent of the *United Press* on 26 December 1951, the Titoites now want to dissolve the «workers» councils and «leave the workers and peasants free to defend their interests and to worry about improving their living conditions in other ways».[1]

[1] *Akropolis* of 27 December 1951.

In this way, the capitalists will be freed from the already superfluous and useless appendage, the «workers'» councils, and will now be able to rule the enterprises on their own, according to their interests and their wishes.

The Elimination of the Planned Economy in Yugoslavia

One of the most valuable achievements of the Yugoslav peoples after the war was the introduction of the planned economy as an indispensable condition for the socialist transformation of the national economy. The Tito clique was forced at that time to place itself on the basis of the planned economy and to concentrate the management of the economy in the hands of the state.

As the enemy of the working class and socialism, the Tito clique has sought from the very beginning to compromise the planned economy and the state, socialist management of the economy. This effort can be clearly seen in the five-year national economic plan drawn up by the Titoites in 1946. For example, despite an economy that was extremely backward and badly damaged by the war, and despite the lack of the most necessary technical conditions, they planned to increase coal and coke production threefold in order to ensure the production of their own coke. The production of iron ore was planned to be two and a half times higher, of cast iron five and a half times higher, of steel three times higher and that of naphtha four hundred and fifty times(!) higher. These inflated figures and the setting of tasks which are unachievable in the condi-

tions existing in Yugoslavia show that the Titoites, in drawing up their five-year plan, were intent on compromising the idea of a planned economy and thus preparing the political and psychological conditions for the transition to haphazard capitalist management in the near future.

The Tito clique believes that now is the moment for the determined and final extermination of the remnants of the planned economy. This is expressed in the abolition of the state centralized management of the national economy, in the abolition of the state's monopoly right over the basic branches of the national economy. But the Titoites are afraid of the working masses, and for this reason they cover up every betrayal with pompous phrases about «socialist» development on the Tito-Kardelj-Djilas road. And so it is now. While they are carrying out the so-called «decentralization of the management of the national economy», which in reality is a huge step on the road to the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia, they are circulating quotations from Engels and Lenin, developing «theories» about the «withering away» of the state in Yugoslavia, etc., with the clear aim of masking before the popular masses at home and progressive public opinion abroad their betrayal of the interests of the Yugoslav toilers and their service to the capitalist exploiters.

Immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution, in April 1918, V.I. Lenin set the task of «resolute centralization of economic life on a nationwide scale»[1] as the first precondition for the recon-

[1] *V.I. Lenin*, *Works*, 4th edition, vol. 27, p. 287, Russian.

struction of the destroyed economy and the creation of the new, socialist state. Here he expressly emphasized: the construction as well as the reconstruction of the national economy on a socialist basis can only take place on the basis of centralized, state planning. Lenin said:

«All the plans of the various branches of production must be strictly coordinated and must together constitute an economic plan, which we need so much, which we lack so much.»

The Marxist-Leninist principle of the planned economy is the basis of the construction of socialism in the USSR, and victorious socialism is the very best confirmation of the correctness and expediency of this principle. This tried and tested path has also been followed by the People's Democratic countries. This was also the path followed by the Yugoslav peoples after the liberation of the country in 1945, against the wishes of the Tito clique.

After the Tito traitors had openly defected to the camp of the imperialists, they tried in every possible way to compromise this Marxist-Leninist principle of the centrally planned economy, in order to finally officially renounce the planned economy. Boris Kidrić, Chairman of the Economic Council in the Yugoslav government, declared in the Skupština on 27 June 1950 that «the reorganization measures in our state economic administration will also fundamentally change the method of planning itself» by rejecting the «completely outdated and erroneous Soviet recipes» and switching to «state planning only in the general proportions and some key details».

Lest any doubt arise about the real nature of this

Titoite «planning», Kidrić explained:

> «Our method of planning will in future give more space to the free activity of those objective economic laws which are still indispensable... In our economy, business initiative will be allowed, and this will ensure the quality and assortment of production and the speed of distribution.»[1]

It is known that such «state planning» also prevailed in Hitler's Germany 15 years ago, and such planning is readily accepted today by Truman and Churchill because it means the complete negation of Lenin's doctrine of socialist planning and corresponds to the haphazard, chaotic, capitalist economy in which the free, spontaneous economic laws of capitalism and the personal initiative of the profit-hungry monopolists are actually operative. The Tito clique is adopting this «planning» of Hitler and Churchill, and for this purpose it dissolved the State Planning Commission.

V.I. Lenin, in his speech at the 1st Congress of People's Economic Councils on May 26, 1918, underlined that besides the many and varied functions that a state must fulfil, in the socialist state especially the functions of economic management will develop. This Marxist-Leninist principle is also expressed in the Program of the CPSU(B), where it is stated that «in the epoch in which the socialization of the means of production expropriated from the capitalists begins, state power ceases to be a parasitic apparatus standing above the process of production and is transformed into an organization of the direct management of the

[1] *Borba* of 28 June 1950.

country's economy». The more completely and correctly the plans are worked out, the better the necessary materials and labour are secured, the more concretely and objectively the fulfilment of the plans is directed and controlled, the greater the guarantee for the successful completion of socialist construction. That is why the leading functions of the socialist state in the economic development of the country are of decisive importance not only for the fulfilment of the plans worked out, but also for the existence and further development of the socialist state in general. And that is why a socialist state without a centrally planned economy is unthinkable.

Starting from this Marxist-Leninist axiom and Lenin's well-known directions that the plan is a state task of the proletariat, J.V. Stalin stated in his speech at the 15th Party Congress of the CPSU(B):

> «Our plans are not forecasts, not conjectures, but directives which are binding on the leading organs and determine the direction of our economic development in the future for the whole country.»[1]

According to Kidrić, the chairman of the Economic Council of the Yugoslav Tito government, the economic enterprises of Yugoslavia will in future be managed by those who are at the head of the enterprises. Kidrić is trying to conceal an important question here, namely, on whose directives the economic enterprises will be managed if the state loses its leading

[1] *J. Stalin*, «Political Report of the Central Committee to the XV. Party Congress of the CPSU(B)», Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 55.

functions in this regard. It is known from practice that the Anglo-American imperialists have so far directed the economy of Yugoslavia through the Titoite state apparatus. In the future — according to the laws passed in the Skupština — the capitalists will address their instructions directly to the directors of the associations and enterprises.

The ABC of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism is that the basis of the socialist social order is the expropriation of the capitalist means of production, their transformation into social property and then their further development. The socialist state, which is a state of workers, peasants and co-operative organizations, which by their very nature are an inseparable part of social life and the socialist economy, has an exclusive monopoly not only over the means of production in the country, but also over external and internal wholesale trade and, to a large extent, internal retail trade. This monopoly of the socialist state and the co-operatives excludes any possibility of creating private means of production and thus constitutes a barrier against attempts to re-establish capitalism in the country.

The Titoites also liquidated this basic principle of socialism. Kidrić openly declared in the Skupština:

> «Decentralization in the management of the economy... creates the organizational conditions for the ever more decisive elimination of the sad and harmful phenomenon of monopolism in our economy.»

The elimination of this so-called monopolism in Yugoslavia has been going on for several years. For example, the Anglo-American capitalists own a num-

ber of large enterprises in Yugoslavia, such as copper and lead mines, shipyards, electric power stations and others, and in Belgrade there is a private capitalist export-import credit bank through whose hands a large part of the foreign trade operations of the Titoites pass. In 1951, all enterprises were granted the right to import and export goods at their own discretion.

The open and official elimination of so-called monopolism, decided by the Skupština in 1950, is obviously aimed at removing the last formal barriers to the placement of foreign capital (which is done in league with the Yugoslav capitalists) in the Yugoslav economy. There can be no doubt that this elimination of «monopolism» of which Kidrić speaks means the full surrender of the Yugoslav economy to the claws of the greedy monopoly capitalists.

Clear the Road for Capitalist Trade and Speculation in Yugoslavia!

In mid-January 1951, a «new» system of supplying the population with industrial goods and, at the same time, a «new» system of commodity circulation, i.e., trade in industrial goods, was introduced in Yugoslavia. The essence of these systems of supply and circulation of goods is that the Titoites also officially eliminated the guaranteed supply of industrial goods (clothes, shoes and other textile goods) to the working people. A little later, the Titoites also abolished the guaranteed supply of foodstuffs to the urban population. All industrial goods and foodstuffs were handed over to free sale at free market prices, which are formed exclusively according to the principle of sup-

ply and demand. At the same time, the prices of monopoly goods, such as tobacco, cigarettes, salt, paraffin and matches, were increased several times.

The Titoites cannot hide from the people the fact that this «new» system of supply and circulation of goods has made the situation of the labouring masses in Yugoslavia even worse. Therefore, they try to excuse their anti-people measures with lies and distortions.

The Chairman of the Council for Circulation of Goods at the Yugoslav government, Karabegović, said in his remarks which appeared in the Belgrade newspapers of 15 January 1951:

> «These measures must be considered in relation to the circumstances into which our country has fallen not only because of the hostile blockade(?) of the Information Bureau, but also because of the well-known consequences of the drought, which has affected our entire economy and caused many difficulties.»

These measures, according to Karabegović, also represented the government's effort to «distribute the burden uniformly among all citizens».

Thus Karabegović himself admits that the «new» system of supply and circulation of goods is the result of many difficulties and imposes new burdens on the masses. But this Tito grandee has only told a small part of the truth, a small part of the real content of the Tito clique's last measures.

In his statement, Karabegović continued:

> «In the previous system, the producer of industrial goods was not sufficiently spurred on either in terms of quality or in terms of richness of assortment, because he produced and sold the basic qualities of consumer goods at fixed prices and accord-

ing to the so-called distribution plan.»

Of course, Karabegović does not decide to draw conclusions from this thesis. In this respect, the newspaper *Borba* of 16 January 1951 went a step further, writing, while denying the planned distribution of goods and fixed state prices:

«The free fixing of prices has so far yielded great results, although there have not been sufficient commodity funds. Take local industry, for example. Its development, the increase in assortment and the improvement in quality are the result of the initiative of the producers. They (the producers) were constantly spurred on by the prices that could be freely determined and the financial effect achieved... The price level of industrial goods will depend a lot on the prices of agricultural products on the free market.»

But even the *Borba* newspaper does not go to the end with its remarks. In reality, the Titoite «new» system already formally eliminates even the regularity in production and the planned distribution of industrial goods; moreover, it abolishes the fixed state prices for these goods and gives the industrial enterprises the right to determine for themselves the prices of the goods they hand over to the commercial enterprises for sale to the population.

Karabegović stated:

«The measures that the federal government has taken with regard to organizing the circulation of goods are aimed at improving the circulation of goods as much as possible and developing it more successfully and eliminating everything that hinders the correct application of the principle of supply and demand...»

However, since Karabegović does not speak out to the end on this question either, we turn again to the newspaper *Borba*. It writes:

«In the new trade, the free determination of the prices of industrial goods has a special significance. This is the essential difference between the new and the previous system. The free determination of prices on the basis of supply and demand is nothing new in our country. This type of pricing has been in existence for two years.»

In the following, the newspaper *Borba* explains that «the trading companies will freely set the sales prices in retail trade, according to supply and demand for the individual articles...»

The «new» in the Titoite measures smells of mustiness. More than 100 years ago, Karl Marx wrote the following in «Wage Labour and Capital» about the way prices are formed under capitalism:

«By what is the price of a commodity determined? By the competition between buyers and sellers, by the relation of demand... to the supply.»[1]

Who will benefit most from the re-establishment of the capitalist system of price determination and commodity circulation in Yugoslavia? Indisputably, those in whose hands the industrial and commercial enterprises are or into whose hands they will pass. In Yugoslavia, the counter-revolutionary alliance of the Anglo-American capitalists, the old Yugoslav bourgeoisie and the fascist Tito clique already rules. This

[1] *Karl Marx*, Wage Labour and Capital, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 22.

counter-revolutionary alliance holds the entire Yugoslav economy in its hands, and it is there that the huge profit flows through the capitalist free fixing of prices and through trade according to the principle of free supply and free demand.

The re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia and the transformation of the Yugoslav economy into the domain of the Anglo-American monopolists and instigators of a new war in the world has inevitably resulted in the formation in Yugoslavia of a very broad and constantly strengthening group of exploiters consisting of the most diverse private entrepreneurs, commission agents, suppliers, intermediaries and other speculative elements. These particularly parasitic elements in the new capitalist class in Yugoslavia operate as greedy and insatiable exploiters in the economic life of the country; they penetrate all branches of the national economy and rob producers and consumers with equal ruthlessness.

On 8 June 1951, the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* described, probably as an entertaining sensation, the «romantic» conditions under which these speculators carry out their «work»:

«If you go to one of the big cafes in the centre of Belgrade, such as 'Moskva', 'Alina' or 'Zagreb', no matter what time of day it is, you always see the same picture: two or three men sit at the tables with a glass of beer in front of them and talk to each other. Confidentially, one bows his head to the other. There are many such groups. The uninitiated will think that empty conversations are being held at these tables. But he is mistaken. They are all capable people. They act! They also have an official name: 'buyers'. They buy all kinds of goods for all kinds of trading companies in the country. The atmosphere in which they work is a little unusual, but the business is entertaining. This is a real

storm, which is weakly controlled... Who are these people? Mostly former traders; but there are students among them, even former generals... It has simply become fashionable for every business to have a person who, though not working within it, supplies it with goods.»

The Belgrade journalists call the rebirth of one of the most parasitic groups of exploiters, who, with the support of the Tito fascist government and in association with other local and foreign capitalists, are robbing the Yugoslav labourers, «fashion». The extent of this capitalist ulcer is indicated by those facts which one can learn from time to time from the Yugoslav newspapers. Under the official name of «buyer» are hidden all kinds of suppliers, intermediaries, commission agents, etc., who receive certain percentages of the goods bought up. Companies in Kragujevac, for example, pay 2 per cent, 3 per cent and more. Other businesses, on the other hand, pay certain percentages on expenses. For example, a trading company in Rijeka pays its permanent buyer from Ljubljana 10 per cent and its buyers in Zagreb and Belgrade 15 per cent on their expenses. Other companies pay the buyers according to the number of goods delivered (e.g. the «Smederevka» company in Sombor).

How much do these percentages bring in for the countless buyers, suppliers and intermediaries? Let us cite one of the many examples:

Ljubomir Marinković, a former wood material trader, is the owner of a «procurement» account in Belgrade. A whole network of buyers in Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, Macedonia and Vojvodina work for him. For October, November and December 1950 he received 62,896 dinars in «commission» from the

«Izvor» company in Pijeka alone. The district trading company in Tuzla, for which he bought cattle, owes Marinković 80,000 dinars for the same period. However, Marinković also «worked» for the locksmith supply organization in Doboj, from which he was paid 22,563 dinars. He also received tens of thousands more from other companies for which he «worked». Marinković's assistant, some Jaroslav Mihailović from Belgrade, earned 48,036 dinars in February and 44,654 dinars in the first half of March.

Other clever buyers have «invented» another method to fill their pockets. They look for and find all kinds of goods, which they then sell at the «stock exchange» — in the well-known cafes — to other buyers, earning hundreds of thousands. For example, the official buyer of the trading company in Lasarevac bought up a large quantity of blue musts at 105 dinars per kilogram and sold them to a supplier from Svrljig for 150 dinars per kilogram. Some Voja Vejnović, «buyer» of the «Venac» farm, according to him, bought 30,000 kilograms of wheat for the farm at 80 dinars per kilogram and immediately sold it to another farm at 92 dinars per kilogram. In this way he «earned» the sum of 360,000 dinars. The same Vejnović, according to the newspaper *Borba* of 11 October 1951, also «brokered» for the district co-operative association «Zadrugar» in Novi Sad and scammed an additional 740,000 dinars.

This double system of exploitation of various intermediaries, suppliers, commission agents and others, introduced by the Titoites at the same time as the re-establishment of capitalism, has also penetrated into the labour relationship between employers and

workers, that is, into the factories and enterprises. The Tito fascist newspaper *Borba* of 5 June 1951 is forced to admit that in the «May 1st» factory in Nikšić and in the «Velimir Jakić» factory in Pljevlja, work is given to «pieceworkers» who form workers' groups. The «pieceworkers», who direct the work, pay the wages to the workers, etc., are — according to the *Borba* newspaper — independent of the factory management. They extend the working day at their own discretion, do not pay overtime work and the like. In this way, these «pieceworkers» «earn» 50,000 to 60,000 dinars a month and more, while the workers receive at most 3,000 dinars. In the wood processing combine «Vrbas» in Banja Luka, the «pieceworkers» keep back 5 dinars for themselves from every cubic metre of wood processed and in this way earn 2,000 dinars a day, while the workers receive 100 to 200 dinars a day for strenuous work.

This crooked «pieceworker» system is already widely used on construction sites, in the timber extraction and wood processing industries, in agriculture and even in the mines and factories of Yugoslavia. Such is the «fashion» of suppliers, pieceworkers, commission agents and the like, such is the system of the innumerable and insatiable packs of capitalist speculators which the Tito gang has loaded onto the backs of the Yugoslav toilers at the same time as the unbearable burden of all-round capitalist exploitation.

Chapter IV. The Yugoslav Economy in the Hands of the Western Monopolists

Deliberately and intentionally, the Tito clique destroyed the bond of friendship between Yugoslavia on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries on the other. Just as deliberately and consciously, the Tito clique also made economic relations with the camp of socialism impossible. In this way it created the most important precondition for the Yugoslav national economy to be handed over to the claws of the Western robbers. The re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia and the ever stronger link between the Yugoslav national economy and the Western capitalists made the economic life of the country once again accessible to the American and British trusts. Through the conclusion of subjugating pacts and «agreements» with the American imperialists, the subordination of the Yugoslav national economy to the power of American and other monopolists was completed.

This surrender of the Yugoslav national economy to the Western monopolists is characterized above all by the return of the key industries of the Yugoslav economy to foreign capitalists, by the transformation of Yugoslavia into a raw material base of the American and English monopolists and, finally, by the complete «Marshallization» of the country and its transformation into a war base of the NATO aggression bloc.

The Return of Key Industries to Foreign Capital

After the Tito clique seized power in the state and thus in the state sector of the national economy, it set about restoring the rights of foreign capitalists to their pre-war capital investments in Yugoslavia and handing over key enterprises to foreign capitalists.

Until the outbreak of the war, Yugoslavia was one of the countries where a lot of foreign capital was invested. On the eve of the Second World War, more than half of all capital invested in Yugoslavia belonged to American, British, French and other foreign circles. Of about 14.5 billion dinars of total capital invested in industry and mining, 7.5 billion was foreign-owned, or about 52 per cent. In the metalworking industry, foreign capital was 77.55 per cent, in engineering 81.69 per cent, in the chemical industry 78.48 per cent, in the textile industry 61.4 per cent, etc. Out of twenty Yugoslav banks, only three of the very smallest operated with Yugoslav capital, the remaining seventeen were in the hands of foreign capitalists.

After the war, the foreign capitalists, who had dominated the Yugoslav economy before the outbreak of the war, raised their predatory claims; the Tito clique hastened to recognize them. First of all, it obediently fulfilled the instructions of the Western imperialists and paid the foreign debts of the old royal government and also the «compensations» for the nationalized enterprises. To the American capitalists $38.5 million was paid for debts from the royal period and $17 million for the nationalized electricity plant in Novi Sad, to the English capitalists £4.5 million sterling for the mines in Trepça, Slatovo, Atin, Drin and elsewhere, to the Swiss capitalists 95 million Swiss francs for electricity stations and textile factories, to

the Swedish capitalists 30 million Swedish crowns for the match factory «Kreuger», to the Belgian capitalists 365 million Belgian francs for the «Solvej» factory and other enterprises. The Titoites also paid huge sums to French, Dutch and even Turkish capitalists for a number of other enterprises.

At first sight, it seems strange that the American and English capitalists renounced the return of the enterprises to their former owners, to the foreign capitalists. However, the Anglo-American masters are not interested in having them returned to the old owners, because they want them for themselves. If they were returned to the old owners, then the copper mine in Bor, for example, would revert to the French capitalists. The American capitalists, however, want to swallow this mine themselves, because they know that it not only brings in huge profits in copper, but that its ores are also very rich in gold.

If this mine and other enterprises are now in the hands of the state, i.e. the Tito clique, the Anglo-American capitalists have the possibility of making them their own in the near future.

This possibility has already become a reality. When Tito renewed his request for an American loan in 1948, the gentlemen on the other side of the ocean demanded a number of enterprises in Yugoslavia in return, either in the form of concessions or in exchange for the assumption of the old obligations of the royal government. The Tito government agreed to this proposal. The correspondent of the French newspaper *Tribune des Nations* reported on 23 September 1949: «The agreement on the granting of a loan of 20 million dollars by the Export-Import Bank was con-

cluded under conditions which are becoming increasingly clear. As has become known, one of these conditions is the granting of large concessions over zinc and lead deposits in Slovenia. Even more, the U.S. envoy in Belgrade is currently seeking to have the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. granted mining concessions in Kamnik.»

As a result of this «agreement», the Titoites declared a number of large state enterprises «unprofitable» and removed them from the list of state enterprises (for example, the large non-ferrous metal mines in Bor, Tyrbovlje, Popvica, the shipyards in Split and Kraljevica, a large enterprise in Dugi Rat and the electricity works in Gubavica), which effectively meant their handover to the American capitalists.

The Titoites are carefully concealing from the Yugoslav peoples and from abroad their increasingly intertwined connections with the Anglo-American capitalists, but the truth is coming out. It is already known that Pan-American Airways has taken over the passenger airlines in Yugoslavia, that the American steel trust Bethlehem Steel has obtained important concessions, that American petroleum companies have obtained the right to prospect and exploit oil, that the London firm McKenzie Engineering Co. is to build a large metal works, and much more. As early as 1949, it was reported that American capitalists wanted to build a giant plant in Yugoslavia for the processing of naphtha, which is apparently to be imported from the Middle East.

Today, the American trusts General Motors, Siemens & Halske, Bethlehem Steel, Anaconda Copper Mining Co., Foster Wheeler Corp., Continental Sup-

ply Inc. and others, the English firms Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd, BSA, «Rolls Royce», Dunlop and others have already brought a large part of Yugoslav mining and industrial production under their absolute control. The American General Motors Corp. has the monopoly in the Yugoslav automobile trade and the American firm Siemens & Halske has the trade monopoly in electrical products.

The Western capitalists are also taking over the key positions in Yugoslav industry by setting up so-called «joint enterprises». Such companies already exist in England and Belgium; in France, West Germany and other countries their formation is imminent.

In order to make it easier for foreign firms to dominate the Yugoslav market, the Titoites are giving them the opportunity to open representative offices in the most important Yugoslav cities (Zagreb, Rijeka, Belgrade, Sarajevo, etc.). Foreign goods are also loudly advertised in the Yugoslav newspapers. «Buy Mercedes-Benz automobiles!», «The selection of typewriters at the Wertheim agency in Zagreb is getting bigger and bigger», «Car service guarantees fast and safe transport — agencies of Italian and foreign companies!» Such advertisements can be found daily in the Tito fascist newspapers.

Since Yugoslavia is a favourable ground for big profits, the foreign capitalist firms fight bitterly among themselves for this market. American monopoly capital pockets most of the profits and dictates in the Yugoslav economy. The other capitalist countries, England, France and West Germany, must recognize these «sovereign» rights of the American monopolists, whether they like it or not, and are waging bitter strug-

gles among themselves for the domination of the «part» of the Yugoslav economy left to them. The British financial circles were decidedly opposed to the establishment of close economic relations between Yugoslavia and West Germany and (in order to be able to squeeze all the more profits out of Yugoslavia themselves) opposed the Bonn government granting a loan to the Tito fascists. American circles, however, protected the West German firms, so that the British imperialists had to submit. Nevertheless, competition on the Yugoslav market is getting fiercer. Between the English trust Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. and the West German trust IG Farbenindustrie AG, for example, a fierce competition is raging for Yugoslav chemical raw materials and control over the country's chemical industry.

The Anglo-American capitalists, however, are not yet satisfied with the scope and form of their domination over Yugoslav economic life. After the war, under pressure from the labourers, a series of laws on the management of enterprises had been passed. Today, these laws hinder the complete domination of the enterprises by the American capitalists and the unrestricted exploitation of the workers. The capitalists are trying to run the factories themselves because they can no longer fully rely on Tito's state leadership.

The Transformation of Yugoslavia into a Commodity Base of the Anglo-American Capitalists

It was not by chance that the Tito clique received the first dollar bonds from the Washington Export-Import Bank. This very bank serves as an instrument

for the American monopolists in transforming other countries into raw material bases, in conquering markets to house American goods and in making profitable capital investments. The bourgeois French journal Revue *d'économie politique* wrote in 1949:

«In the political plan, the Export-Import Bank is an indirect tool of the American State Department for carrying out the following policy: a) incorporation into the American sphere of economic and political influence of those peoples which have come under the influence of communist governments; b) suppression of those countries which show an effort to withdraw from the American sphere of influence and to subordinate themselves to the influence of the USSR. In doing so, the Bank even operates at considerable risk to its bonds.»

This characteristic of the Washington Export-Import Bank is also confirmed by the fact that it granted the bonds to Yugoslavia at the instigation of the American State Department, especially Acheson. It must be pointed out here that the bonds granted by the Washington Export-Import Bank can, according to its statutes, only be issued on the territory of the USA, i.e. only American goods can be purchased with them.

Another bond condition of the Export-Import Bank is that the funds may be spent under the direct control of a representative of the Bank. One of the representatives of the Export-Import Bank in Yugoslavia is Hoare; he declared at a conference in Belgrade that the loans granted must be used only for the development of agriculture, mining and transport.

All this seals the transformation of Yugoslavia into a raw material appendage of the Anglo-American imperialists, whose task is to produce and supply ag-

ricultural products, ores and ore concentrates in order to receive machinery for the processing industry for them from abroad. This is the way of «development» of all colonial countries that have fallen into the clutches of Anglo-American imperialism.

The Tito clique is in complete agreement with this «development» of the Yugoslav national economy envisaged by the Anglo-American bankers. In its memorandum to the Economic and Social Commission of the UN on 15 September 1949, it says: «Yugoslavia must develop as an agro-industrial country producing agricultural and industrial goods.» The memorandum particularly emphasizes that the Yugoslav economy led by the Tito government «does not aim at the economic independence of the country».

Hoare, the representative of the Washington Export-Import Bank in Belgrade, also works in exactly this direction. In order to guarantee this development of the Yugoslav economy into a raw material appendage of the Anglo-American capitalists, the Titoites are directing their main attention to the production and export of raw materials, primarily strategically important raw materials. As a result, the annual export of ores, ore concentrates and metals (except iron ores) in 1948 roughly tripled in comparison with pre-war exports, and the export of timber even quadrupled. In the last two years, the Titoites made the greatest efforts to increase the export of these strategically important raw materials even more. In the agreement with England alone, they undertook to export 32,000 tonnes of copper, lead, zinc and chrome for 1950, and in the agreement with America they undertook to export copper, molybdenum, bauxite, etc., worth 35 mil-

lion dollars. In addition, Yugoslavia is obliged to export to England annually 35,000 tons of starch, 36,000 tons of meat, 18,000 tons of ham (bacon), 11,000 tons of eggs, 10,000 tons of fats and other agricultural products.

The list of export items cited shows that Yugoslavia has become a supplier of strategic raw materials and foodstuffs to the Anglo-American imperialists. In return for its exports, it received from the USA in 1949, among other things, petroleum products, milk powder, paraffin, jewellery, silk fabrics, sewing machines and sewing machine spare parts. Under the agreement, Yugoslavia receives from England, for example, wool and cotton yarns, petroleum products, telephone and telegraph equipment. The USA and England also supply war material.

The list of goods imported into Yugoslavia clearly shows that they are mainly consumer goods, which represent a significant burden on the Yugoslav trade balance. The Titoites received coke, crude petroleum, machine oil, cotton, rawhide, newsprint, synthetic fibres, cotton yarns, wool, raw jute, coconut oil, raw phosphates, aniline dyes, medicines, porcelain tableware, etc., but not a single piece of machinery or other capital goods in return for the $50 million loans granted by the USA, England and France.

It is also worth mentioning that the American and English capitalists are making good use of the monopoly position they have occupied since the severance of Yugoslavia's economic relations with the USSR and the People's Democratic countries, and are paying extremely minimal prices for goods purchased in Yugoslavia. For example, while Czechoslovakia paid 19

crowns for a kilogram of Yugoslav potassium, England pays only 12.6 crowns; the USA paid only 15 crowns for it in 1948, when the prices of potassium on the world market had risen very much.

The real value of the prices paid to Yugoslavia for agricultural products exported to capitalist countries is even lower. The prices are far below what the Yugoslav labourers have to pay in their own country. For example, the Titoites sell sugar abroad at 5.5 dinars per kilogram, while in Yugoslavia it cost 40 dinars on cards and 500 dinars and more on the free market. Corn is sold at 4 dinars per kilogram, while it is paid 100 to 150 dinars on the free market in Yugoslavia. Eggs are sold at 0.60 dinars a piece, while in Yugoslavia you have to pay 40 to 50 dinars for an egg, etc.

According to the agreement, the Titoites must export 10,000 tons of fats to England, while at the same time Boris Kidrić writes in the newspaper *Borba* of 15 July 1950 that Yugoslavia is forced to import fats. It is also known that Yugoslavia has sold sugar to Italy; according to Kidrić, sugar is also a scarce commodity in Yugoslavia. So this is the dark business of the Titoites, the consequences of which are felt daily by the Yugoslav peoples.

Until the summer of 1950, the Titoites exported food and other agricultural products abroad indiscriminately and completely for several years in a row, thus bringing terrible famine to the Yugoslav labourers. To hide the truth, they invented the legend of the «terrible» drought. They forgot that they had told during the harvest time:

«Almost everywhere the yields are higher than last year. In

Tikveško the durens yielded 150 to 300 kilograms of wheat, in Titovo-Veleško 200 to 300 kilograms, in St. Nikolska 30 per cent more than last year. In the Zemun district, the decare yields for barley are 20 kilograms higher than last year, in Subotica even 40 to 60 kilograms. Higher yields than last year are also expected in other areas of the country.»[1]

The Tito gang has come so far through its policy of plunder and fraud that, in order to save itself, it has to call on its Washington masters for «help», thereby bringing the Yugoslav national economy into even greater dependence on the American monopolists. Perfectly correct, Comrade Valko Chervenkov stated in his lecture on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria from the fascist and imperialist yoke:

«Yugoslavia is today a prey of the American billionaires, and the Yugoslav peoples are condemned to perish miserably and to serve as cannon fodder for the masterminds of a new predatory war. The American imperialists have long since ceased to hide the fact that the Titoites are their obedient puppets and servants. Harriman could not boast by chance that there was perfect agreement between him and Tito.»

The Complete «Marshallization» of Yugoslavia

The Tito clique has been swimming in the wake of the «Marshall Plan» for a long time. All the loans and «aid» which the Titoites have received from the U.S. government in the last 2-3 years have been on account of the «Marshall Plan» and have been made under the conditions laid down in the so-called mutual «model» agreement for the use of the «Marshall Plan funds».

[1] *Borba* of 13 June 1950.

Despite this clear situation, the Titoites stubbornly assured that they were not part of the «Marshall Plan». This legend has finally come to an end.

On 8 January 1952, another disgraceful document was signed in Belgrade, which further strengthens the yoke of colonial oppression of the Yugoslav peoples and signifies the final transformation of Yugoslavia into the forward deployment area of the American aggressors — the so-called «Agreement on Economic Co-operation between the USA and Yugoslavia».

This new agreement is not only a continuation and perfection of the well-known enslaving Tito agreements with the American monopolists — a continuation of the «Agreement» on the provision of American aid of December 1950 and the agreement on military «co-operation» of November 1951 — but also the completion of the official and formal Marshallization of the economy of Yugoslavia and its inclusion in the plans of the American war divestment machine. On the day of the signing of this new «Agreement» between Truman and Tito, BBC-London noted with satisfaction that the Belgrade government, which had hitherto always refused to join the countries embraced by the Americans' «European aid program», had now joined this program after all through the new «agreement». In other words, the Titoites have officially joined the Marshall Plan, which continues its activity under the name of «Office of Mutual Security» for the ever-increasing economic, political and military enslavement of Western Europe by the American monopolists and warmongers.

The «Agreement» between Truman's people and the Titoites of 8 January 1952, like the treaties con-

cluded earlier, is only the official confirmation and contractual sealing of an already existing situation. This is also clear from the «Agreement» itself, which states that «the United States Government will continue to supply goods and render other services and assistance, provided the Yugoslav Government so requests and the American Government so approves».

The very fact of Yugoslavia's official inclusion in the economic and military plans of the American monopolists and militarists, and the contents of the «agreement» signed in Belgrade, show vividly where the strings are pulling and who is pulling them, who is directing the political and economic life of Yugoslavia under Tito fascist slavery.

On 17 December 1947, in his message to the American Congress on the «Marshall Plan» for the so-called reconstruction of Europe, Truman said:

> «Our very deepest interest in the reconstruction of Europe lies in the fact that it is indispensable to the salvation of civilization as it is founded in the American way of life.»

In order to be included in the American program of «reconstructing» Europe, the Titoites have long sought to introduce into Yugoslavia this famous American way of life, expressed in ruthless capitalist exploitation, savage war preparation and rampant fascist terror. At the end of January 1948, Colder, the representative of the American Industrialists' Organization on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that American Marshall Aid could not be given to countries which offered «no adequate guarantee of equitable relations with capital investments by American private firms in those countries». The Titoites

hastened to rebut these American concerns by not only recognizing all the pre-war assets of American and other capitalists, but also paying huge sums for nationalized enterprises of foreign capitalists, and then playing these and other key enterprises into the hands of the American trusts as quickly as possible.

Former Secretary of Defence Forrestal stated on 15 January 1948 in the debate on the Marshall Plan that «Marshall intended to require the European nations to provide military bases for American forces as compensation for American aid» and that his department was charged with «coordinating the armed forces of the sixteen countries covered by the Marshall Plan». And indeed! General Eisenhower, the representative of the American War Department, has already «coordinated» the military forces of the Marshallized countries, the members of the aggressive NATO bloc. The Tito gang has also fulfilled this condition: it put Yugoslavia, together with its army, its strategic raw materials and its riches, at the disposal of General Eisenhower and thus of the American imperialists in return for American «aid».

The American law of 3 April 1948, which lays down the nature and conditions for the use of Marshall Plan funds, expressly stipulates that the governments participating in the Marshall Plan are obliged to carry out the financial and monetary measures necessary to stabilize the circulation of money, to create or support the normal rate of exchange.

In implementation of this provision, all the Marshallized countries carried out the devaluation of their currency and a series of financial measures which burdened the masses with new heavy taxes. The Titoites

also carried out this American order by introducing the «new» capitalist financial system in Yugoslavia and reducing the value of the dinar to one-sixth, thus plundering the labouring masses even more cruelly.

Moreover, the law of 3 April 1948 obliges the countries participating in the Marshall Plan to jointly «stimulate and facilitate the increase of the exchange of goods and services among themselves» and, on the other hand, prohibits them from trading with countries not participating in the Marshall Plan. These are the reasons why Yugoslavia sabotaged trade relations with the USSR and the People's Democratic Countries, only to break them off completely and turn exclusively to the Western capitalist world.

These few of the most essential conditions for the granting of American «aid» already show that the so-called «Agreement for Economic Co-operation» of January 8, 1952 is a unilateral dictate of the American masters and differs in nothing from the dictates also imposed on Italy, Turkey, Greece and other Marshallized countries. From the text of the «agreement» itself it can be seen that the government of the USA does not assume any obligations, but merely declares that it would give to the Titoites what it considers right to give. On the other hand, the Titoites assume a whole series of binding obligations: to use the funds provided for the purposes directed by the USA, to export to the USA materials of Yugoslav origin which are necessary for the USA, to develop those branches of the economy which are of interest to the USA, to use the dinar sums accumulated through the «donated» goods and borrowed dollars exclusively as directed by the American government and primarily for military

purposes. The Tito government further undertakes to give diplomatic immunity to hundreds of American employees who are to control the fulfilment of the obligations assumed, that is, to supervise and command the economic and political life of Yugoslavia.

The American monopolists do not hide the fact that the Marshall Plan — now the «Office of Mutual Security» — is only one type of American expansion and war policy. «The plan for the reconstruction of Europe and the defence plan(!) must be considered together,» says Truman's Economic Council report for the 1st quarter of 1948, «because they entail the same economic consequences.» These «same consequences» mean economic enslavement and preparation for war, intensified capitalist exploitation and bloody fascist terror. The «same consequences» are for the Yugoslav peoples of the new «agreement» between the USA and the Tito clique, signed in Belgrade on 8 January 1952. After this new act of shame by the Tito gang, the words of the leader of our Party and State, Valko Chervenkov, thunder even more unbearably in the ears of the traitors:

«Everyone can now vividly see into what a dark and ominous abyss the Titoites, that fascist gang of old Gestapo agents and Anglo-American spies, have plunged the Yugoslav peoples and their country.»

Chapter V. The Tito Clique in League with the Kulaks against the Poor and Middle Peasants

In the previous chapters we have dealt with the Tito clique's policy aimed at the complete restoration of capitalism. We paid particular attention to the «urban» branches of the Yugoslav economy, mainly industry and commerce.

With regard to agriculture, it is impossible to speak of a restoration of capitalism in the village, since the Titoites had not carried out a single measure which even showed a tendency to eliminate capitalism in agriculture.

Under the revolutionary pressure of the poor peasants, the Titoites did carry out a land reform after the war, but this did not mean the liquidation of capitalism, but only a certain restriction of large landholdings and the handing over of land to landless and land-poor peasants. This land reform was carried out by the Titoites in such a way that it did not affect the interests of the rich peasants. The law on this reform was very general and only contained a number of restrictions. The land reform was carried out somewhat more radically only in Vojvodina and some other areas, but against the German and Hungarian big landowners who had run away with the German occupiers.

Against the other big landowners and kulaks the law was applied very elastically, so that the decisive part of the cultivated land remained in the hands of rich peasants.

The Titoites carefully conceal all statistical data, and if they publish anything, the figures are fudged. However, the fact that 6.26 per cent of farmers hold

40 per cent of Yugoslavia's total grain production in their hands (out of about 4.5 million tonnes of the 1949 grain harvest, 1.9 million) shows that a large part of the land (no less than 32 to 35 per cent) is in the hands of those same 6.26 per cent rich peasants. Even after the land reform, individual rich peasants retained 500 to 1000 or more decares of land.

Similarly, the Titoites did not touch the machinery holdings of the rich peasants either. The rich peasants own tractors, threshing machines and other large agricultural implements. The Titoites spared the kulak property after the war, did not touch the capitalist relations in the village and allowed the kulaks to exploit the village poor.

Therefore, when looking at Yugoslav agriculture, one cannot speak of a restoration of capitalism, but rather of a further intensification of capitalist development and exploitation with all the resulting consequences for the Yugoslav village, namely impoverishment and ruin of the middle peasants and poor peasants on the one hand, and on the other hand enrichment of the kulaks through appropriation of the land of the poor peasants and enlargement of the kulak farms.

Here, too, Tito adhered perfectly to the words Churchill told him at the meeting in Naples in 1944, according to the notes of General MacLean: «I hope, Marshal, that you will think twice before you take up the fight against your strong Serbian peasants.»

The Behaviour of the Tito Clique Towards the Peasants

V.I. Lenin distinguishes three periods in the relations of the working class with the peasants: 1. The period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, 2. The period of the proletarian revolution and 3. The period of the construction of socialism. Only in the first period — the bourgeois-democratic revolution — does the working class stand in alliance with the peasantry as a whole against monarchy and the big landowners, with neutralization of the bourgeoisie. In this period, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry as a whole has the aim of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution, that is, to eliminate the power of the monarchy and the big landowners and to establish a democratic power with extensive freedoms and rights for all toilers.

In the second period — the proletarian revolution — the working class stands in alliance with the poor peasants against the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants, with neutralization of the middle peasants. In this period, the aim of the alliance of the working class with the poor peasants is to eliminate the power of the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as the basis of the socialist transformation of the country.

In the third period — in the building of socialism — the working class, supported by the village poor, is in alliance with the middle peasants. In this period, the alliance of the working class with the middle peasants has the aim of eliminating the remnants of capitalism, especially kulakism as a class, and building socialism in town and country.

It is to this third period, as is well-known, that Lenin's famous slogan refers:

«a) *lean on* the village poor, b) reach an understanding with the middle peasants, c) do not stop the *struggle* against the kulaks for a minute.»[1]

J.V. Stalin underlined the indivisible unity of this Lenin's slogan with the following words:

«Try to pick out one part of this formula for rural work at the present moment, forgetting the other two, and you will inevitably come to a dead end.»[2]

With brilliant success, J.V. Stalin practically applied this Leninist slogan in the socialist transformation of agriculture in the USSR on the basis of the agrarian artel. In this way he has proved conspicuously and indisputably that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the relations of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, to the peasants in the period of the construction of socialism is correct.

Our experience so far in the socialist construction of agriculture in Bulgaria on the basis of agricultural labour co-operatives (peasant collective farms) has convinced us that Lenin's principle of the relations of the working class to the peasants is valid even when — as in Bulgaria or with similar conditions in the Balkan countries — small-scale agricultural enterprises are involved.

Even if only in broad outlines, we deliberately stick with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of relations with the peasants in order to make the bourgeois relationship of the Tito clique to the Yugoslav peasants

[1] Quoted in *J. Stalin*, «Questions of Leninism», Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1951, p. 239.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 239-240.

all the more clear on this basis, in order to make the anti-communist and reactionary policy of Tito and his entourage towards the village all the more visible.

Above all, of course, the Titoites reject the Marxist-Leninist differentiation of the peasants according to their class and the historical situation in which the struggle unfolds. Always and everywhere the Titoites speak of the peasantry as something homogeneous and unified, and in words they declare that for them the peasantry constitutes a unified whole. In a letter from the CC of the CPSU(B) to the CPY of May 4, 1948, it is said:

«It is no accident that the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party evade the question of the class struggle and the restriction of the capitalist elements in the village. On the contrary, in the speeches of the Yugoslav leaders the question of class differentiation in the village is concealed, the peasantry is regarded as a unified whole and the party is not mobilized to eliminate the difficulties arising from the growth of the capitalist elements in the village.»

Tito declared in a speech in Zagreb on the occasion of the 1946 elections:

«We do not tell the peasants that they are the strongest pillar of the state because we want to win their votes, but because we know that they really are, and so that they understand that they are.»[1]

Apart from the other nonsense contained in this sentence of Tito's, the view of the peasants as a unified whole is striking, as all bourgeois politicians are in the habit of doing. Lest there be any doubt about the anti-

[1] *Borba* of 2 November 1946.

Marxist and bourgeois attitude of the Titoites, we quote the remarks which Tito made before the workers of the Litostroj factory on September 3, 1947:

> «In our country there is only one collective: the collective of workers, durations, labouring citizens and the people's intelligentsia. The differences that once existed and were conceptions of a bourgeois power no longer exist.»[1]

These remarks also confirm that for the Titoites there are formally no class differences among the peasants.

Although the Titoites formally hold that the peasantry is a class unit, they do not show any unified behaviour towards it. On the contrary, their policy follows the line of a peculiar differentiation, depending on the attitude of the peasants towards the Tito regime. In a speech to the Macedonian peasant co-operatives in Skoplje, Tito explained that the yardstick for judging a peasant was whether he was for or against the Tito regime, for or against the «new» Yugoslavia, regardless of his wealth and class.[2]

This means, then, that if the poor peasant is not satisfied with Tito's policy — and he has no reason whatsoever to be satisfied with it — he is treated as an enemy of the «new» Yugoslavia, and vice versa; if the kulak is satisfied with Tito's policy — and he has every reason to be — he is a friend of the «new» Yugoslavia for the Titoites.

Despite the fact that the peasantry is treated *pro forma* as a unified whole, in reality the Tito govern-

[1] *Borba* of 4 September 1947.
[2] See *Borba* of 6 August 1949.

ment has a class attitude towards the peasants, namely, the class attitude that every capitalist regime has.

The Relationship of the Tito Clique to the Kulaks

V.I. Lenin said of the kulaks:

«The kulaks are the most degenerate, the crudest, the most brutal exploiters, who in the history of other countries have more than once restored the power of the landlords, the kings, the priests and the capitalists... These bloodsuckers enriched themselves during the war on the misery of the people, they raked in thousands and hundreds of thousands of rubles by jacking up the prices of grain and other products. These spiders fattened themselves at the expense of the peasants ruined by the war, at the expense of the starving workers. These leeches sucked the blood of the labourers and became richer the more the worker starved in the cities and factories. These vampires brought and are bringing the landlords' soil to themselves, forcing the poor peasants into debt bondage over and over again.»[1]

Lenin's characterization of the kulaks is a sharp but just judgment on the rich peasantry as the most bitter and irreconcilable enemy of the working class, the poor peasants and middle peasants, and of socialism.

«Therefore the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class must be carried out with all the persistence and consistency of which Bolsheviks are only capable.»[2]

This means, then, that socialism and kulakism are incompatible with each other and that the victory of

[1] Quoted in *J. Stalin*, «Questions of Leninism», pp. 387-388.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 388.

socialism in the village is possible only when the kulaks as a class are eliminated once and for all.

Our experience so far in the socialist transformation of the village by way of the agricultural labour co-operatives (the peasant collective farms) completely confirms Lenin and Stalin's attitude towards the kulaks. In our country (Bulgaria), as in the neighbouring countries, the kulaks have shown themselves to be greedy exploiters of the poor and middle peasants, bitter enemies of the agricultural labour co-operatives (the peasant collective farms), of people's power and of socialist construction, and they continue to show themselves as such.

In the light of Lenin and Stalin's assessment of kulakism, the reactionary and anti-grassroots «theory» and practice of the Tito clique in its relationship to the kulaks becomes particularly clear. This «theory» consists in denying the existence of kulaks in Yugoslavia. Tito told Churchill as early as 1944 in Naples: «With us there is no kulak class.»[1] This theory was later repeated by all the Titoite chiefs. «The invention of some kind of class struggle in the village need not be exaggerated,» Nešković declared on 28 February 1949 at a meeting in Belgrade, «Our kulaks helped us in the war, so they must be considered as labouring peasants.»

Edvard Kardelj, the specialist in the «theoretical» justification of every betrayal of the Tito clique, explained and «justified» the treatment of the kulaks as labouring peasants from the standpoint of the «spe-

[1] *Stephan Clissold*, «Whirlwind — History of the Rise of Marshal Tito», London, p. 195.

cific» conditions in Yugoslavia:

«It is also undoubted that the resistance of the capitalist elements in our country was and is relatively weaker than that in the Soviet Union because, on the one hand, these elements found weaker support among the people and, on the other hand, a section of the capitalists understood the necessity of liquidating capitalism in our country... They took up arms and joined the work, following the example of other citizens in the country.»[1]

In Kardelj's view, then, the kulaks «laid down their arms» and joined «general labour», and of course they are not enemies of the Titoite system. A. Bebler said in a Foreign Ministry meeting in Belgrade on 29 April 1949:

«We have no such kulaks as existed in the Soviet Union. Our rich peasants have participated en masse in the People's Liberation War, so that they have matured politically. They have also read a lot about the fate of the kulaks in the USSR. This has made them wiser and they have capitulated. Do we have to destroy them now just to satisfy fossilized, dogmatic theory? Is it a mistake, then, if we succeed in getting the kulaks to go over to socialism without class struggle?»

Even more revealing and categorical are the remarks of Vladimir Bakarić, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Croatian Communist Party, who in 1947, at the 2nd Congress of the National Front, in the presence of Tito and with his approval, said:

«Our political system allows the possibility — and we have it in our hands to realize it — for the kulak to be incorporated into our system, because he can do so without prejudice to his

[1] *Kommunist*, 1948, issue 4, p. 34-35.

interests and thereby even improve his personal situation.»[1]

Earlier it was Bukharin who advocated the counter-revolutionary theory of the kulaks «growing peacefully» into socialism. This «peaceful growing into» was exposed by J.V. Stalin as the road to the restoration of capitalism, which the Bukharin opposition had taken at the time. In 1947, it was the Titoites who proposed to the kulaks to join Titoite «socialism» and to do so without surrendering their interests, even with personal betterment. In 1948, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties described the policy of the Tito clique as anti-Marxist and anti-people. Today it is clear to see that this policy is being carried out for the benefit of the kulaks and against the interests of the poor and middle peasants.

The pro-kulak policy of the Titoites is expressed not only in the mass inclusion of the kulaks in the state apparatus and in the Tito Party, but also in the whole peasant policy of the Tito regime, in the way the co-operatives are organized, the way grain and other agricultural products are brought in, the way taxes are levied, and so on.

The Kulak Co-operatives (Collective Farms) in Yugoslavia

In the period from 1945 to 1948, the Titoites neither thought nor spoke of reorganizing agriculture on the basis of mechanized large-scale farms. Towards the co-operative movement in the village, the Titoites

[1] *Popular Front of Yugoslavia*, Belgrade 1947, p. 122.

carried out the policy of favouring co-operatives of the general type, as it had been before the war.

Kardelj wrote in September 1947:

«In any case, it is most favourable and useful if a unified type of peasant co-operative develops in our village, uniting all branches of village economic life, that is, the usual functions of supply and sales co-operatives, credit and processing-production co-operatives, as well as all other forms of co-operative activity, as they arise from the general economic and geographical conditions under which each individual co-operative must operate... A village and co-operative which gradually develops its activity in all directions.»[1]

Kardelj and the other leaders in Belgrade knew very well, of course, that these co-operatives of a general type were in the hands of the village rich and the speculators, who exploited them for their personal enrichment and to rob the poor and middle peasants.

In view of this basic attitude, the Titoites did not envisage the establishment and development of peasant collective farms in their five-year plan. They made a lot of fuss about the «socialist» transformation of the Yugoslav national economy, but had «forgotten» agriculture altogether. The agricultural labour co-operatives (peasant collective farms) were dismissed in the Five-Year Plan with a single dry paragraph, which reads:

«The agricultural production co-operatives are to be assisted in their organizational consolidation. Production and financial plans must be drawn up, the organization of work must be improved and all other necessary measures must be taken so that the agricultural production co-operatives become model

[1] *Kommunist*, 1947, issue 3, p. 76-77.

farms.»[1]

The Yugoslav Five-Year Plan did not provide the slightest funds for investments and other assistance to the agricultural production co-operatives. It was only planned that the number of machine and tractor stations[2] would increase to 100 in 1951 with a total of 4,500 tractors (15 HP tractors), only 1000 tractor ploughs and 4,000 threshing machines.[3]

These plan figures show that the Titoites's Five-Year Plan did not envisage the collectivization or mechanization of agriculture. On the contrary, the plan clearly shows the tendency to leave Yugoslav agriculture in the state of fragmented, unproductive small-scale farming. This can also be seen from the fact that the number of horse-drawn ploughs, the typical inventory of small-scale agriculture, was to increase ninefold. A total of 250,000 were planned for 1951.

This was the attitude of the Titoites towards the development of agriculture until 1948. Suddenly, at the beginning of 1949, the Plenum of the Titoite Central Committee took the decision to accelerate the formation of agricultural production co-operatives (peasant collective farms). Immediately Djilas set his

[1] «Five-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia», Belgrade 1947, p. 106.

[2] Later, the Belgrade government issued a decree for the liquidation of the MTS, with the machinery inventory being distributed to the individual co-operatives (*Borba*, 4. 9. 1950).

[3] «Five-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia», p. 148.

propaganda apparatus in motion and announced the news that all the necessary conditions for the creation of production co-operatives in the countryside were already in place. At the same time, Yugoslavia was flooded with a flood of speeches; in countless meetings and conferences, through radio and press, the Yugoslav peoples were to be made to believe that the Titoites were treading the path of the «socialist» transformation of the village.

In the course of six months, according to the claims of Yugoslav newspapers and broadcasters, the number of production co-operatives had tripled, allegedly reaching 6,970 out of more than 415,000 individual farms with over 21,000,000 decares of land.

What changes had occurred in Yugoslavia from 1948 to 1949 that the leaders in Belgrade suddenly set course for the forced acceleration of the creation of agricultural labour co-operatives?

Nothing else had happened than the open transition of the Tito clique into the camp of imperialism; it had embarked on the path of completely rebuilding capitalism in Yugoslavia and transforming the country into a commodity appendage of the Anglo-American imperialists. These changes imposed a series of obligations on the Tito clique: (a) the production of agricultural products, especially technical crops, necessary for the Western imperialists, had to be increased to the maximum; (b) the mining and production of certain ores and ore concentrates, iron ores and iron and other strategically important raw materials, necessary for the Western imperialists, had to be increased to the utmost; (c) the construction of roads, airfields, new mines and other militarily important ob-

jects, also necessary for the imperialist warmongers, had to be accelerated by all means.

The fulfilment of these obligations demands: a) a significant increase in the production and quality of agricultural products, which can only be achieved by eliminating the primitive and unproductive small farms of the small and middle peasants and by establishing as many large agricultural farms as possible; b) that the number of workers for industry, mining and strategic constructions be increased, which is only possible if the small and middle peasants are torn away from agriculture and transformed into permanent industrial workers.

Let us hear Tito himself explain the concentration of agriculture in Yugoslavia:

> «What did England do in the 18th century,» he asked the members of the press gathered in Zagreb on 31 October 1951, «when the fields and meadows were taken from the peasants and turned into sheep pastures to ensure the supply of wool to industry, and the peasants had to go to the factories?... And what did America do in the 19th and 20th centuries when the big capitalist companies collectivized(?!) the lands, taking the land from the peasants to work it in other ways? In other words, the creation of large-scale farms was also necessary for the English and the Americans because industry was developing rapidly and needed more agricultural products. In this way it was achieved that the entire land was worked on with modern means and large yields could be achieved. And we will do the same, in our own way, in a different way.»[1]

The capitalist development in the USA, in Canada, in Germany, etc., shows how this process takes place in the capitalist social order: the small and mid-

[1] *Borba* of 1 November 1951.

dle peasants perish as a result of the exploitation and economic pressure of the capitalists, big landowners and kulaks. The capitalist hyenas appropriate their land and establish large estates on which a part of the plundered peasants are allowed to work as farmhands, while the other part, i.e. the majority, must seek their livelihood in industry, in mines and on building sites.

This development, however, is relatively slow; decades are necessary for the final transformation of the small farms into large farms and large estates and for the transformation of the peasants into farmhands and industrial workers. But the Anglo-American capitalists cannot wait decades, they need the raw materials for their armament as quickly as possible, because they are preparing for war; they need roads, airfields and other war objects in Yugoslavia, so that they can finally begin the long prepared invasion of the USSR and the People's Democratic countries.

These are the reasons why the Anglo-American imperialists demand from the Titoites the forced acceleration of development in Yugoslavia; they demand it and the Tito clique carries it out «in their own way, in a different way», as Tito expresses himself. In doing so, it chooses what it considers the shortest and easiest way to solve the tasks set, the way of the forced and coercive creation of agricultural production co-operatives (peasant collective farms). In reality, this is a purely capitalist concentration of agriculture, which uses only as a pretence the form of co-operatives popular among the Yugoslav peasants, which under other conditions — those of the people's democratic state, the dictatorship of the proletariat — is the socialist

form of concentration of agriculture.

In this connection it is necessary to recall J.V. Stalin's remarks made on 11 January 1933 at the united plenum of the CC and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B):

> «From the standpoint of Leninism, the collective economies, as well as the soviets, taken as a form of organization, are a weapon and only a weapon. This weapon can be turned against the revolution under certain conditions. It can be directed against the counter-revolution. It can serve the working class and peasantry. It can serve the enemies of the working class and peasantry under certain conditions. Everything depends on in whose hands this weapon is and against whom it is directed.»[1]

The Tito clique has seized the agricultural labour co-operatives and turned them against the working class and the peasantry. It uses the agricultural labour co-operatives as a peculiar form to concentrate Yugoslav agriculture in a purely capitalist way. The composition and activity of the labour co-operatives forcibly created by the Titoites conspicuously confirms their capitalist, kulak character and exposes the hostile attitude of the Tito clique towards the labouring peasants.

Above all, the Titoites developed a lively propaganda that poor peasants should not be admitted to the co-operatives, while the kulaks, on the other hand, were encouraged by all means to join them. In the model statutes for the co-operatives (peasant collective farms) and in all the statements of the Belgrade leaders, the necessity for the kulaks to be members of them is underlined. The Minister of Finance, Do-

[1] *J. Stalin*, «Questions of Leninism», p. 491.

brivoje Radosavljević, a millionaire and a kulak himself, gave the cynical instruction:

«We do not need to form co-operatives of poor people. They must be forced by various measures to go to the mines, then the lack of labour will also cease. The co-operatives must be formed mainly of middle and rich peasants, because only such co-operatives are economically strong.»

So the Titoites do not want agricultural production co-operatives of poor peasants and without kulaks. The newspaper *Borba*, the central organ of the Tito Party, in its issue of 26 December 1949, sharply railed against the formation of co-operatives of poor peasants because such co-operatives were «a burden» on the state and «stop the flow of workers from the village to industry and mining». These aspirations are also expressed in the Tito CC's April 1949 instructions to local party organizations, which state:

«Poor peasants and part of the middle peasants are not to be admitted to the agricultural production co-operatives, but are to be forced to go with their families to production, mining and construction sites.»

True to this instruction, three times as many poor, four times as many middle and five times as many rich peasants (kulaks) were admitted to the production co-operatives in Macedonia in the first half of 1949 than in 1948. If one takes into account that even before that poor peasants were rarely admitted to the co-operatives — they were simply mobilized and forcibly sent to mines or construction sites — then it becomes clear what the social composition of the Macedonian pro-

duction co-operatives is.[1]

The official figures on the membership of the Yugoslav production co-operatives and their social composition also show the consistency with which the Titoites pursued the policy of pushing the poor peasants out of agriculture and forcibly transferring them to industry and mining. In Slovenia, an average of 47 decares of land is allotted to an individual farm, but 70 decares to a member farm in the co-operatives. In Macedonia the figures are: 39 and 53.5 decares respectively; in Serbia: 41 and 53.5 decares respectively; in Croatia: 40 and 46.5 decares respectively, and so on. On average, 40 decares of land are allotted to a Yugoslav peasant farm, while 55 decares are allotted to a member farm in the production co-operatives. In Macedonia, at the end of June 1949, 30 per cent of all peasant farms were united in co-operatives; altogether they cultivated 43.51 per cent of the total cultivated area of the country. These figures clearly show that mainly rich peasants are admitted to the production co-operatives, as a result of which the average cultivated area of the farms joining the co-operatives is about 24 per cent larger than would correspond to the national average of individual farms. In Macedonia, this difference in size is even more than 40 per cent.

In Bulgaria the picture is quite different. The average size of a peasant farm in Bulgaria is 44 decares; for the farms that have joined the Bulgarian agricultural labour co-operatives it is around 39 decares. In September 1951, about 52 per cent of all peasant farms in

[1] See «Five Years of the People's Republic of Macedonia», Skoplje 1949.

Bulgaria were united in the co-operatives. They worked 47 per cent of the total cultivated area of the country. This shows that no kulaks are admitted to the co-operatives in Bulgaria, only poor and middle peasants.

Moreover, due to the kulak-friendly policy of the Tito clique, the kulaks in the co-operatives are favoured in the distribution of profits. This preferential treatment of profits is also explicitly stated in the statutes of the co-operatives. According to Article 21 of the Model Statute of Type I Production Co-operatives, members receive an annual remuneration (pension) for the land they contribute, amounting to 30 per cent of the gross income of the co-operative (after 10 per cent has been paid to the funds), whereas in Bulgaria, on the other hand, the pension can reach a maximum of 30 per cent of the net income. A simple calculation shows that the pension for the land contributed in an economy with 10 million leva in gross income is 2.7 million leva in the Titoite co-operatives, but 1.8 million leva in the Bulgarian ones (after 40 per cent has been deducted for production expenses). In addition, the members of the Titoite co-operatives still receive remuneration for the living and dead inventory brought in, which is not the case in the Bulgarian agricultural labour co-operatives.

According to the statutes of the Type II co-operatives, the land, living and dead inventory brought in are valued and, depending on the valuation, an annual interest of 8 to 10 per cent is paid. As can often be read in the Yugoslav newspapers, the land and inventory of the kulaks are usually valued extraordinarily high, which artificially inflates their remuneration and in-

terest.

Naturally, the kulaks who bring in the most and best land and the best and most expensive dead and living inventory receive the lion's share of pension and interest.

But that's not all. The Titoites have also left the management of the production co-operatives to the kulaks. They justify this by saying that the kulaks have great economic experience and valuable practice in management, possess great connections, know the production process best, and so on. It has become the general rule in Yugoslavia that the kulaks are the chairmen and economic managers of the co-operatives or hold other leading positions in them. For example, Vlajko Šiljegović, the head of the co-operative of Knešpolje, «Bosanska Krajina», is a kulak with over 1,000 decares of land. In royal Yugoslavia he was a deputy of the reactionary Radical Party in the Skupština. In the village of Velika Kikinda there are three co-operatives. Their leaders are: Milorad Šibul, owner of 1800 decares of land, Emil Budinin, owner of 2,800 decares, and Lale Budinin, owner of 4480 decares of land. The chairman of the co-operative in the village of Sumrakovac in the Zaječarska district is the kulak Manojlije Mirković; in 1948, out of 10,936 working days worked in total by the co-operative members, he wrote off 1,183 working days for the members of his family. The list of kulak chairmen of the Titoite co-operatives could be extended ad infinitum. But even where there are no kulaks in the management, they steer the co-operatives, because the administrative boards are in bondage to them.

What is the situation of the labouring peasants

who are forced into the co-operatives? Suffice it to cite an official confession of the Titoites, which they made recently in a meeting of the so-called Main Directorate for Co-operative Agriculture in Skoplje:

> «In many co-operatives, living conditions are worse than those of individual farmers. Production has declined and the co-operative members have lost any further perspective...»

Given this situation, it is very natural that Yugoslav co-operatives today are in full decomposition, abandoned by the peasants and even dissolved. In the past year, the poor and middle peasants have begun a broad struggle against the Titoite co-operatives, which is taking on ever greater proportions. On 28 November 1951, the Titoite newspaper *Vjesnik* noted that the slogan «Better without co-operatives — better every man for himself!» was gaining wide acceptance.

In all areas of Yugoslavia, peasants are leaving the kulak co-operatives en masse. For example, the «Leškopolje» co-operative in the Podgorica district was abandoned by all its members. In the «Niko Maraš» co-operative, 50 per cent of the members submitted resignation applications. The same was done by 50 per cent of the members of the «May 1st» co-operative in Betšerac-Šumadija. In a co-operative in the Virovitica district, the co-operative members first prepared the return of the land, livestock, inventory and seeds and then forced the chairman of the co-operative to call a general meeting of the co-operative members, which then decided to dissolve the co-operative. On this occasion the Zagreb newspaper *Vjesnik* wrote that the meeting took place amid deafening

noise and shouts were heard: «We don't want a co-operative!», «Give us back our cattle!», «Each to his own field!». In the village of Orešković (Bačka Topola district), the co-operators put up stakes on the old field boundaries and took back their land. In this district, 850 farmers have signed the application to leave the Tito-Kulak co-operatives. «We work and yet we lack the necessities of life!» begins a request for withdrawal from the co-operative signed by 205 farmers in the Požerška district.

According to a report in the newspaper *Under the Banner of Internationalism*, 350 co-operatives in Vojvodina have already been dissolved or are about to be dissolved. Many of the farmers have already taken back their land and livestock. Last autumn, the movement to dissolve the Tito co-operatives developed especially in Montenegro, where an open campaign against the co-operatives began after the dissolution of the «Nevesinjska Puška» co-operative. Among the population of the whole region the slogan has become: «In Nevesinjska Puška (Puška means gun) the gun has banged, soon it will bang with us too!»

In those co-operatives where the peasants do not yet dare to openly demand dissolution because of the Tito fascist terror, they are sabotaging work en masse. In the co-operatives «Edinenije» in Bil, «Obnova» and «Bratstvo» in Beli Manastir, «Sloboda» in Darda and in many others, 80 per cent of the labouring peasants boycott the work. In the «Posavina» co-operative in the Kostajnica district, one third of the arable land remained uncultivated and more than 50 hectares of meadows were not mown. In the «Rade Končar» co-operative in Barana, out of 267 able-bodied farmers,

only 40 showed up for work. In the «Mikica Vujasinović» co-operative in the Novo Gradiška district, 70 labouring peasants declared that they no longer wanted to work in the kulak co-operatives at all.

All the efforts of the Titoites to stop the disintegration of the kulak co-operatives with fraud and terror were fruitless. The determined resistance of the peasants was stronger than the manoeuvres of the Tito clique and the bloody terror of the UDB (Administration for State Security). On the other hand, the failed attempts of the Tito clique to bring about a rapid capitalist concentration of agriculture through the kulak co-operatives caused the greatest chaos in agriculture: agricultural production decreased visibly and the peasants went over en masse to resistance against the Tito fascist regime. The Tito chiefs themselves have to admit this. The American newspaper *Christian's Science Monitor* reported on 19 December 1951 that Vladimir Bakarić, the Croatian Prime Minister, had declared that many agricultural co-operatives had collapsed and that the peasants' resistance to the co-operatives had been very great in that year (1951).

The confusion in agriculture and the stubborn resistance of the peasants to the Tito regime and its anti-people measures brought unrest and agitation to both the Tito upper class and their American masters. Well-known American senators and politicians and authoritative American newspapers came out openly against the Tito «experiments» in agriculture. The representatives of the American government demanded several times that Tito and his clique revise their peasant policy.

The American imperialists are looking at the situation in the Yugoslav countryside from the point of view of forced preparations for war, in which the Tito clique plays an extremely important role. For the war, armies are needed, and it is the peasants who supply the bulk of the recruits. But what will be the reliability of the 42 Tito divisions if the peasants — who constitute the main mass of the divisions — look at the regime of the Tito clique with bitterness? This is the reason why the American imperialists induced the Tito clique to change its peasant policy. The Tito CC responded to this demand by issuing a special instruction on 24 November, 1951, setting out the further «ways» for development in the village.[1] This instruction is the official confirmation of the complete collapse of Tito's previous efforts to forcibly establish kulak co-operatives; at the same time, however, it is a new attempt to entrench exploitative kulak rule and colonial robbery of the labouring peasants.

According to an instruction of November 24, 1951, the Titoites renounce the creation of the so-called production co-operatives and place the co-operatives of the general type, i.e. the consumer co-operatives, in first place as the basic form of their policy in the village. As far as production co-operatives still exist — a large part of them have been transformed into general type co-operatives due to «unprofitability» or have been completely dissolved — they will be reorganized on the basis of «profitability» (the Titoites say «economic accounting»). In the future, the directors, agronomists, brigade leaders and other similar work-

[1] See *Pravda* of 25 November 1951.

ers are to be appointed and the co-operative members are to be paid for their work in money, for which they can then buy food from the co-operative against cash payment at free prices. This instruction testifies to the Tito clique's attempt to squeeze the labouring peasants in a different way after the fiasco with the «production co-operatives». Now they are exploiting the capitalist co-operatives of the general type and the kulak production co-operatives have been «reorganized» according to the example of the American farms for their aims.

The Plundering of the Labouring Yugoslav Peasants

All the measures of the Tito-Ranković clique, in whatever demagogic cloak they are wrapped, favour the kulak elements at the expense of the poor and middle peasants. Not only the profit of the capitalists, but also all the burdens arising from the maintenance of the bloated state apparatus, from the expenditure on rearmament and from the construction of military objects are borne by the poor and middle peasants and the workers in the cities.

Particularly characteristic in this context is the Tito government's decree on grain purchase for 1951-1952, which orders farmers with 20 to 30 decares of land (of which no more than 10 to 15 decares can be cultivated with grain) to deliver to the state up to 45 kilograms of grain for each decare of their total arable land. Farmers with 30 to 50 decares of land (of which a maximum of 15 to 20 decares can be cultivated with cereals) have to deliver 85 kilograms per decare of total tillage area.

A simple calculation proves that with such levies (they are four times as high as the levy for Bulgarian farmers in the same category), after the compulsory levy has been paid and the necessary seed has been set aside, the poor and middle farmers cannot even feed their families with the remaining grain; of course, there is no question of selling it on the free market.

In return, however, the decree spares the kulaks affectionately: the grain levies of the kulaks with 200 decares of land, of which at least 80 decares can be cultivated with grain, begin with the ridiculously low levy of 25 kilograms per decare (this is one third of what the Bulgarian kulaks of this category have to deliver). If we take into account that the village councils and the leaderships of the Popular Front Committees in the villages are in the hands of the kulaks or under their direct influence, it becomes clear that the kulaks' deliveries will hardly exceed the minimum set by the Tito government's decree. But since the fulfilment of the total target of deliveries for the area in question is now necessary, the target of deliveries of the poor and middle peasants must necessarily reach the maximum figures. Again, a simple calculation proves that even if a kulak has exceeded his delivery target and has set aside the necessary seed, he can still sell 30 to 40 per cent of his grain on the free market at speculator prices.

Tito's system of grain collection means that the kulaks, who produce about 40 per cent of the country's grain, supply only 10 to 15 per cent of the state's grain collection, while the remaining 85 to 90 per cent must be raised by the poor and middle peasants, even though they account for only 60 per cent of the total

grain harvest.

In determining the amount to be delivered and in collecting the compulsory levies, the Titoite state organs do not observe any norms, but take away from the poor and middle peasants what they consider necessary. For example, in 1950 the Titoites took all the goats, 26 sheep out of a total of 40, and 6 cattle out of 8 from the farmer Stojlko Ilijev Khristov in the village of Novo Konare-Strumica. The farmer Petar Andonov Georgiev in the same village was also deprived of all his goats, 29 sheep out of a total of 40, and 4 head of cattle out of a total of 6. The farmer Lazar Manev Donev, who has no cattle at all, was forced by the officials of the Titoite state organs to buy an ox and then hand it over to the state.

In case of non-fulfilment of deliveries, peasants are arrested without consideration of the reasons and sentenced to forced labour in concentration camps. For example, UDB agents arrested poor farmer Marko Maraš in the village of Belo Polje in Montenegro and the court sentenced him to one year of forced labour because he could not raise the amount of wool stipulated in the Tito order. The same case is also with the poor farmer Andrija Vukadinović. He owned two hectares of land and one cow. Last year, the state authorities taxed him 20,000 dinars. However, he «could only» raise 15,000 dinars with difficulty, so they took away his only cow. When Vukadinović protested against this, he was arrested.

How the Tito clique cheats the poor peasants and favours the kulaks is also proven by the system of «tied trade» they have used so far. This system consisted of the labouring peasants receiving their indus-

trial goods (clothing, shoes, household goods, building materials, etc.) not within the card system in force, but by barter; for their deliveries to the state they received ration coupons for industrial goods.

Now, since the poor and middle peasant has no surplus of grain and other agricultural products to exchange for ration coupons, the ration coupons accumulated in the hands of the kulaks. They then sold them on the black market at speculative prices, 10 to 20 times more expensive. So here, too, the Titoites give the kulaks the opportunity to rob the poor peasants, workers and employees several times over.

But that is not enough of the fraud! As a result of the lack of industrial goods, a large part of the ration coupons, which were bought at speculative prices, remained uncovered. Boris Kidrić, the chairman of the State Planning Commission, admitted that the sum of unredeemed coupons in 1949 had a total value of more than 1.5 billion dinars. The labouring peasants and workers are still losing many millions through the bought-up ration coupons, which cannot be redeemed for lack of industrial goods and expire. The introduction of the «new» commodity circulation and price formation system and the abolition of ration coupons worsen the situation of the poor and middle peasants even more, because now they are completely at the mercy of the capitalists and all kinds of speculators.

The Titoites often boasted that they had a progressive tax system which placed the main tax burden on the propertied classes. Is this really true? The kulaks, who should therefore pay high taxes, join production co-operatives en masse — most of which exist only on paper — and are thus taxed as «co-operative mem-

bers» according to the tax code applicable to poor and middle peasants. In addition, with circular no. 17 of 18 March 1949, the Ministry of Finance for Serbia now also gave instructions to reduce the taxes of the kulaks, regardless of whether they are members of the co-operatives or not.

As a result of this circular, the kulaks' taxes were reduced from 200 to 100 million dinars in the Pančarevo district, from 112 to 65 million dinars in the Negotin district and from 110 to 70 million dinars in the Požarevac district.

In 1949 the plan for raising taxes was not fulfilled, and the budget for 1950 adopted by the People's Skupština provided for a reduction in tax raising from about 25 to 20 billion dinars. From this it can be concluded that the Tito clique waived taxes amounting to about 5 billion dinars for the kulaks.

The official French newspaper *Le Monde* wrote on this subject in October 1949:

> «The kulaks are not bothered in Yugoslavia, but the poor peasants graze with such high taxes that the majority of small farmers face starvation.»

Chapter VI. The Tito Clique — The Most Furious Enemy of the Soviet Union and Peace

After the Soviet army had crushed Hitler's troops and liberated the Balkans, it reached the borders of Yugoslavia in autumn 1944. After some hard fighting, it forced the Hitler divisions standing there to flee to the North and North-West. The advance of the Soviet troops on Belgrade and further west caused the German troop units in the south of the Balkan Peninsula to withdraw northwards in haste, leaving behind ammunition and war material in many places.

After the well-known battles on the Drava (Drave), in which the Soviet army, with the active participation of the People's Army of the new People's Democratic Bulgaria, had dealt the final crushing blows to Hitler's troops in the Balkans, Yugoslavia was almost completely liberated from the hated German occupiers and their agents (Nedić in Belgrade and Pavelić in Zagreb).

The liberation of Yugoslavia by the Soviet army was received by the Yugoslav peoples with indescribable joy and enthusiasm. They had written Stalin's name on their banner in the struggle for their liberation, and hundreds of thousands had fallen with his name on their lips. When the Soviet army entered, the Yugoslav peoples enthusiastically demonstrated their great gratitude and intimate attachment to the bold Soviet soldiers, the fraternal Soviet peoples and the great Stalin.

However, as unfortunately only became apparent later, the current Belgrade rulers thought differently.

Tito and his confidants were already in league with the imperialists before the Second World War. They had also worked closely with them during the People's Liberation War and were even under their direct leadership. We have already proved that the Titoites were carrying out the plans of the Anglo-American imperialists in the Balkans at that time (taking into account the probable development of Europe and the world after the war). We also pointed out that after the end of the war and the creation of a new Yugoslav state, the Tito clique carried out the policy dictated by the Anglo-American imperialists, which was aimed at hindering and compromising the socialist construction and restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia. This anti-people and counter-revolutionary domestic policy of the Tito clique is closely and inseparably linked to its anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist foreign policy.

The basis of the Tito government's foreign policy is the imperialists' ambition to make Yugoslavia the front line of deployment in South-Eastern Europe against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. The inspirers and leaders of this policy are and were the foreign ministries of Washington and London. The aim of this policy in its first stage was not to allow Yugoslavia and the other South-East European countries to break away from the Western imperialist bloc and move closer to the Soviet Union. In this context, it is interesting to recall the remarks Traicho Kostov made before the Bulgarian examining magistrates about his meeting in December 1944 with Edvard Kardelj, the present Yugoslav foreign minister:

«Kardelj told me confidentially that the English and the Americans had supplied the Yugoslav partisans with arms and ammunition during the war on condition that Tito would keep Yugoslavia away from the USSR after the end of the war and would not allow the Soviet Union to assert its influence in Yugoslavia, indeed in the Balkans in general.

«The Americans and the British,» Kardelj said, «were determined not to allow under any circumstances that the countries which might be liberated by the Soviet army should break away from the bloc of Western forces. On this basis, he said, a certain agreement had already been reached during the war between Tito on the one hand and the Americans and the British on the other. In execution of this agreement, Kardelj continued, the Yugoslav government, convinced that this agreement corresponded to the national interests of Yugoslavia, as the Yugoslav government understood them, considered it right that now that the war was already coming to an end, Yugoslavia must not be definitively linked with the USSR, but must pursue its own independent policy and maintain and develop relations with the Western States, taking into account their important interests in the Balkans, and take advantage of their help for the economic restoration of its own country... the Soviet troops must also leave Bulgaria, because the Americans and the British are extremely interested in ensuring that Soviet influence does not prevail south of the Danube.»[1]

The second stage of this policy is outlined in the conversation that Aleksander Ranković, Tito's current Minister of the Interior, had with László Rajk in 1947 at the Kelebia railway station, near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. Rajk stated in this regard before the People's Court in Budapest:

«If I summarize the political part of what Ranković told me, I can put forward the following: We must work to bring down the people's democratic system of government in the People's

[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», pp. 97-99.

Democratic countries that emerged after liberation, to hinder their socialist development... In all these countries, i.e. in all People's Democracies, a bourgeois-democratic system must be established instead of the people's democratic system of government, i.e. capitalism must be restored instead of development in the direction of socialism. These bourgeois-democratic governments would orient themselves towards the United States instead of the Soviet Union, in such a way that they would rally around Yugoslavia and form an interstate federation under the leadership of Yugoslavia and Tito, becoming a federation of states would then base itself on the United States. This federation of states would at the same time form a military bloc on the side of the United States against the Soviet Union.»[1]

The entire foreign policy of the Tito government, from its inception to the present day, has been precisely within the framework of these tasks set out by Kardelj and Ranković and reflects the political objectives pursued by the Anglo-American imperialists.

The Anti-Soviet Machinations of the Tito Clique Until 1948

Georgi Dimitrov, our leader and teacher, stated in his speech at the 5th Party Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists):

«*The people's democratic state will be created in co-operation and friendship with the Soviet Union.*

«Just as the liberation of our country from the shackles of imperialism and the creation of the People's Democratic State were made possible thanks to the help and liberation mission of the Soviet Union in the struggle against fascist Germany and its allies, so too the further development of our People's Democracy

[1] «László Rajk and accomplices before the People's Court», p. 77.

presupposes the maintenance and consolidation of both close relations and sincere co-operation, mutual assistance and friendship between our country and the great Soviet state. Any tendency to weaken co-operation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundations of the existence of people's democracy in our country.»[1]

These sincere words of Georgi Dimitrov show the relationship of the People's Democratic countries to the Soviet Union. The basis of Tito's policy, however, is a maliciously hostile relationship with the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, the strongest pillar of the international revolutionary workers' movement and the oppressed peoples. The well-known Trotskyist hatred of Bolshevism, the class hostility of the imperialists to the working class and the communist movement, and a certain lackey servility of spies and traitors to their masters, these are the driving forces of the anti-Soviet Tito policy. Even before the war, Tito and his confidants were anti-Soviet. During the People's Liberation War, this anti-Soviet attitude became more and more open hostility towards the USSR, the CPSU(B) and the other communist parties. This is also reflected in the party documents from that period. Circular No. 6 of the District Committee of Serbia[2] of 1 February 1943 states:

«The powerful and unstoppable advance of the Red Army, driving the crushed fascist hordes before it, confronts our supporters in Serbia with a special and urgent task — to prepare the

[1] *Georgi Dimitrov*, «The Role and Meaning of People's Democracy». Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 63.

[2] The circular was found by the police after the collapse of the party organization in Niš in February 1943.

revolution before the arrival of the Red Army. Failure to complete the revolution may have disastrous consequences for our successes.»

The words of this official Tito document give a clear idea of the hostile attitude of the Titoites towards the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army and of the shameful betrayal of the freedom and independence of the Yugoslav peoples. And this happened in those days when the Red Army was fighting the very hardest battles against fascist Germany.

On the other hand, the hostility towards the Soviet Union was accompanied by open declarations of sympathy towards England. Blagoj H. Panzov, one of the defendants in the Traicho Kostov trial, testified before the People's Court in Sofia:

«In the spring of 1943, Tito's chief representative and plenipotentiary, Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, arrived in Skoplje; earlier, at the end of 1942, Dobrivoje Radosavljević, the present Minister of Finance of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, had also come to Skoplje. After their arrival, the pro-English sentiment among the official figures only became more evident, especially after the arrival of Tempo, a well-known radical Anglophile. These people who surrounded Tempo began to openly profess a pro-English policy. They stressed that England was the exemplary country of Western European culture, that it embodied Western culture and democracy.»[1]

As the pro-England sentiment among the Titoites grew, so did the undisguised hostility towards the USSR. It intensified especially after the arrival of hundreds of English and American officers from the military missions and other imperialist agents. The Tito

[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», pp. 300-301.

staffs were swarming with English officers, while no representatives of the Soviet army arrived at all. This did not go unnoticed by the soldiers, and often the question was asked:

«'Why is there no Russian, Soviet mission?'... Tempo tried to get out of the affair by saying: 'What do we need a Russian mission for? We need those who can send us food, weapons, ammunition, etc., but the Russians have nothing themselves, because they receive help from the Americans and the English.»[1]

Despite their anti-Soviet attitude and their hatred of the Soviet Union, however, the Titoites did not dare to show this openly during the People's Liberation War. The sympathy of the Yugoslav peoples was entirely on the side of the USSR, and any attempt by the Titoites to carry out an open anti-Soviet policy would have meant their immediate exposure and isolation. But this did not fit into the plans of the Anglo-American imperialists, and this was the reason why Churchill, MacLean, Hamilton and Co. ordered the Titoites not yet to appear openly and officially as enemies of the USSR.

Even after the war, the Titoites avoided openly opposing the USSR. On the contrary! They even officially affirmed their sympathy with the Soviet Union and insidiously concealed their anti-Soviet plans behind this outward, formal friendship. Ranković laid out these plans to the Hungarian traitor László Rajk as follows:

«First of all, Yugoslavia, as a result of the war, or more correctly, the peoples of Yugoslavia, as a result of the heroic great

[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», p. 303-304.

partisan struggles, exert a great attraction on the other People's Democratic countries. Tito therefore thought of exploiting and promoting this attraction, this popularity, by outwardly emphasizing and underlining Soviet friendship and friendship with the People's Democratic countries, so that alliances of various kinds could be formed between Yugoslavia and the other countries, with Yugoslavia as the centre. Tito also wanted to carry out the unification around Yugoslavia in a socialist, pro-Soviet, pro-people's democracy mask by misleading them in such a way that he would have invoked the fact that Yugoslavia, because of its geographical position, had an important strategic role to play against the attack policy of the United States and the Anglo-Saxons in general. For this reason, it was in the interest of both the Soviet Union and all the People's Democratic countries to support Yugoslavia, so that Yugoslavia could at the same time defend the interests of the other People's Democratic countries against the attacks of the Anglo-Saxons. This would have been the main argument on the basis of which, taking advantage of Yugoslavia's popularity and appeal, economic motivation would have been given... But Tito stressed that at the same time as such treaties or negotiations for the conclusion of such treaties — disguised in an equally Soviet-friendly, pro-people's-democracy way — steps had to be taken to withdraw the democratic forces in the People's Democratic countries from Soviet influence and to organize them under Tito's influence.»[1]

This was the reality of the Tito clique's «friendship» with the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries from 1945 to 1948. But despite all its attempts, even then it did not manage to control itself completely, and on various occasions its hatred of the CPSU(B) and the Soviet Union broke through. This prompted the CC of the CPSU(B) to write the following in its letter to the CC of the CPY of 27 March

[1] «László Rajk and accomplices before the People's Court», pp. 80-81.

«We know that among the leading comrades in Yugoslavia anti-Soviet statements are increasing, such as that the CPSU(B) is 'degenerate', that 'great power chauvinism prevails in the USSR', that 'the USSR is striving to dominate Yugoslavia economically', that 'the Cominform Bureau is a means for the enslavement of the other parties by the CPSU(B)' and the like. These anti-Soviet statements are usually covered up with the Left phrase that 'socialism in the USSR has ceased to be revolutionary', that only Yugoslavia is the real bearer of 'revolutionary socialism' and the like. While it is ridiculous to hear such words about the CPSU(B) from such dubious Marxists of the type of Djilas, Vukmanović, Kidrić, Ranković and others, what is important is that such statements have long circulated among many leading functionaries in Yugoslavia, that they are circulating now too, and that they naturally create an anti-Soviet atmosphere which worsens relations between the CPSU(B) and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.»[1]

The same letter also cites the hostile attitude of the Titoites towards the Soviet specialists, military instructors in Yugoslavia and the Soviet army, as well as the scurrilous statement made by Djilas at a meeting of the CC of the CPY, namely, that

«the Soviet officers are morally inferior to the officers of the British army. This anti-Soviet statement by Djilas found no opposition among the other members of the CC of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.»[2]

The anti-Soviet policy of the Titoites led the CC of the CPSU(B) in May 1948 to expose the hypocritical

[1] «Letters from the CC of the CPSU(B) to the CC of the CPY», Partisdat 1947, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

statements of the Belgrade leaders about «friendship with the Soviet Union». The letter of the CC of the CPSU(B) to the Tito CC goes on to say:

«Comrades Tito and Kardelj assert in words that they would prove by deed their loyalty to the Soviet Union and to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. After all that has happened, we have no reason to believe these assurances. Comrades Tito and Kardelj have often made promises to the CC of the CPSU(B) which they then failed to fulfil... The Politburo of the CC of the CPY, and especially Comrade Tito, must be clear that with their anti-Soviet and anti-Russian policy, which they have recently been carrying out in their daily practice, they have done everything to undermine the confidence of the Communist Party and the government of the USSR...»[1]

At that time, the Tito clique was also already conducting secret negotiations behind the Soviet Union's back with the Anglo-American imperialists on Slovene Carinthia, on the granting of loans and credits and on other matters, thus preparing the open transition to the anti-Soviet Western bloc camp.

The Anti-Soviet Policy of the Tito Clique after the Publication of the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1948

After the Titoites were exposed before the whole world as the most furious and disgraceful enemies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries, their anti-Soviet policy became more and more

[1] «Letters from the CC of the CPSU(B) to the CC of the CPY», Partisdat 1947, p. 51.

undisguised.

«The resolution of the Information Bureau,» Ranković told Rajk, «does not change the ultimate goal... to create bourgeois democracies by overthrowing the People's Democratic governments, to form a confederation with Yugoslavia at its centre, and to rely on the USA against the Soviet Union for this purpose.»[1]

To achieve this ultimate goal, Ranković set the following main tasks:

«The first task, which falls to Yugoslavia itself, is to mobilize the peoples of Yugoslavia against the Soviet Union. The second task was to consolidate and organize the anti-Soviet forces in the People's Democratic countries, to make the reactionary forces available. The third task, however, was to use the great power antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union to bring down the People's Democratic regime in Hungary by force of arms, by violent means, at the appropriate time.»[2]

Ranković also gave up the last task to Traicho Kostov for Bulgaria.

The anti-Soviet propaganda of the Titoites has in recent years turned into a veritable anti-Soviet hysteria, far surpassing the well-known «achievements» of the German fascists in the past and of the American detractors in the present. In the last three years, the Titoite newspapers and magazines, the numerous radio stations, hundreds of pamphlets and other printed matter have served exclusively to praise and defend imperialism, to belittle the struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries and to launch all kinds

[1] «László Rajk and accomplices before the People's Court», p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

of slanders and provocations against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. All the speeches of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Pijade and other Belgrade leaders are full of slander and attacks against the Soviet Union and the CPSU(B), against the People's Democratic countries, the communist parties and the world peace movement.

The Titoite hawkers persist in telling the Yugoslav peoples lies about some «Soviet imperialism», about some dangers threatening Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union, about non-existent troop concentrations of the Soviet army on the North-Eastern borders of Yugoslavia and about everything else. They persist in trying to persuade the Yugoslav peoples that the difficult economic situation prevailing in the country is a consequence of the policy of the Soviet Union towards Yugoslavia. By spreading the common lie that the USSR and the People's Democratic countries are preparing a military invasion of Yugoslavia, the Belgrade leaders are creating a war psychosis in the country.

What the Titoites are capable of in their smear campaign against the USSR is also shown by their scurrilous manoeuvres on the question of Slovene Carinthia (Koruška). As is well-known, until 1949 the Soviet government strongly defended the original demand of the Yugoslav government for the unification of Slovene Carinthia with Yugoslavia. It continued to defend this demand even when, at the beginning of 1947, the Yugoslav government proposed on its own initiative to drop its claims to Slovene Carinthia and to be satisfied with the electricity plants in Schwabeck and Labod on Austrian territory. Edvard Kardelj sent a special message to this effect to Vyshinsky, the

USSR Foreign Minister.

Instead of officially announcing its new position to the Yugoslav peoples and to foreign countries, the Tito government stubbornly refused to do so and tried for a long time to persuade the Soviet representatives to present the new position to the Yugoslav government. The ulterior motive here was to lay all responsibility for the non-annexation of Slovene Carinthia to Yugoslavia on the shoulders of the Soviet government. Naturally, the Soviet Union firmly rejected this manoeuvre.

Later it was established that the Tito government had already held negotiations on this question with representatives of England and the USA in 1947, which it concealed from the Soviet Union. In the negotiations an agreement was reached that Yugoslavia would give up Slovene Carinthia.

In 1949, after the duplicity of the Titoites had been exposed and they themselves had dropped their claims to Slovene Carinthia (about which the representatives of England, the USA and France were well informed), the Soviet Union also stopped defending a position which had already been abandoned by Tito himself. Although it was undeniable that the Titoites had betrayed the Carinthian Slovenes behind the back of the Soviet government, the propaganda apparatus of Djilas made a great noise about the fact that the Soviet government(!) had betrayed the principles of the protection of small peoples and the interests of Slovene Carinthia.

The comedy performed on 17 July 1950 in the so-called Commission for External Affairs of the People's Skupština in Belgrade gives an idea of the nature

of the anti-Soviet policy of the Tito clique. The Convention on the Prosecution and Punishment of Racial Discrimination adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization in 1948 was dealt with there. The Titoites now exploited this convention specifically to spout their anti-Soviet malice.

If the Titoites wanted to deal with the question of racial discrimination, they should have talked about the mass slaughter of Indonesians by Dutch conquerors, about the extermination of the Malays by English imperialists, about the barbaric bombing raids by American pirates on unprotected Korean towns and villages, on schools and hospitals, on women and children. But they did not even need to go far afield. They could have talked about the physical extermination of Macedonians in Agaean Macedonia or of Albanians in Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, right on the Yugoslav-Albanian border. But the deputy foreign minister Mates, who gave the lecture, did not say a word about this at the meeting. All the more abundant were the slanders against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries, which allegedly had «committed things condemned in the Convention against Racial Discrimination».

Another Titoite fascist, Veljko Vlahović, drew attention to the fact that the forced resettlement of people also violated the Convention.

There would be much to say on this question as well. In the so-called resettlement camps in Austria, West Germany and Italy, people are being held under Anglo-American control. These are thousands of Soviet citizens, Poles, Czechs and other victims of Hitler's violence. They had been forced to leave their

homes and families by the fascist executioners. The Anglo-American imperialists are now preventing these people from returning home and, by means of fraud and violence, are moving them to South and North America to be slavishly exploited in the plantations and large-scale factories there.

In Yugoslavia there are also thousands of Bulgarian citizens and Aegean refugees who have been applying for years to be let into Bulgaria. Now, instead of fulfilling these legal and just demands, the Tito fascists are arresting these people and keeping them in camps and prisons, moving them from one place to another and terrorizing them in every possible way.

Veljko Vlahović kept silent about all this. Instead, he shed crocodile tears about the fact that after the war in the Soviet Union, the Autonomous Crimean Republic and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic ceased to exist and asked the insidious question of what happened to the population of these republics. Vlahović knows, of course, that the population of these republics is doing well with all the other peoples of the USSR. After all, he only wants to slander the Soviet Union, as if there were any «persecution of peoples» there at all!

In the Anglo-American resettlement camps there are tens of thousands of Soviet children who have been sought by their parents for years. The Soviet government is making the greatest efforts to free these children and return them to their parents. The American and British organs of power, however, are preventing their return and sending them by force and fraud to the most diverse American states. Recently it was reported that 1,700 Ukrainian children were de-

ported by ship to foreign countries. 7 of them died on the way, and many fell seriously ill. And how many such ships have already left?

The whole world also knows that there are close to 10,000 Greek children in Yugoslavia. The parents of most of these children were murdered by the monarcho-fascists, are in Greek prisons and camps or have emigrated to the People's Democratic countries. The Titoites refuse to hand over their children to the parents or relatives in the People's Democratic countries and instead hand them over to the Greek monarcho-fascists.

These are crimes that are indeed condemned by the Convention against Racial Discrimination. But Ljiljana Horčić did not say a word about this, but repeated the well-known lie that «Yugoslav children» were being held in the USSR and the People's Democratic countries. The fairy tale of the «Yugoslav children» has long been disproved; nevertheless, the Titoite criminals keep repeating it.

The Anti-Soviet Manoeuvres of the Titoites at the 6th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization

The furious anti-Soviet hysteria of the Titoites inside Yugoslavia is accompanied by an extremely active anti-Soviet policy in the international arena. It found its most odious expression in the so-called complaint of the Titoites before the 6th Session of the UN General Assembly against any «hostile acts against Yugoslavia by the governments of the USSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania, and also by the

governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia».

What prompted the Titoites to this shameless diversion in the UN? The reason is to be found in the international situation and America's war policy. The consistent peace policy of the USSR and the huge world peace movement confuse the war plans of the Anglo-American imperialists. The nonsensical rearmament carried out in the capitalist Western states on the orders of the monopolists and warmongers of Washington is causing shocks and confusion in the economic life of even such great countries as England and France. The danger of a new war, in which only the American bankers and arms manufacturers are interested, is causing unrest not only among the broad masses of the people of all countries, but also in various bourgeois circles in the Western states. The forces of peace are growing and consolidating. The authority of the Soviet Union is growing. With its peace policy, it won the sympathy and support of all progressive people of the world.

The clear and convincing speech delivered by A.Y. Vyshinsky at the 6th Session of the UN General Assembly was a brilliant expression of the forces of peace, the strength of the Soviet Union and its unchanging will for peace and peaceful co-operation among peoples.

All this worries the criminal war organizers of Washington and the military staffs of the NATO Aggression Pact. That is why the Truman and Acheson are seeking ways and means to frighten the peoples and the insufficiently active statesmen in the Western states with some imminent danger of war allegedly threatening from the side of the Soviet Union and the

People's Democratic countries. For this purpose, sham attacks are necessary which, wrapped in assurances of peace, are intended to make the masses doubt. They should drive the doubters into the camp of the aggressors and induce the West European satellites of the USA to intensify their preparations for war.

Truman and Acheson had no difficulty in finding suitable people for these diversions, which were so necessary to them. They found them, of course, in the shape of Tito, Ranković, Kardelj, Djilas, since they had experience and long working practice in this field. The Belgrade bandits were also the most suitable because after their ignominious expulsion from the camp of peace and democracy they proved to be the very most furious enemies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries, and because they artificially and deliberately created a tense situation with their provocative diversionary work against their People's Democratic neighbouring states in South-Eastern Europe.

Of course, the Titoites willingly accepted the role of political gangsters assigned to them by Truman and Acheson. The Belgrade government fabricated a slanderous diatribe, called it a memorandum and presented it to the President of the UN General Assembly with the demand that it be included in the agenda of the 6th session. The diatribe contained a multitude of lies and slanders against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries, with which the Titoites (on the orders of their masters, of course) wanted to make the delegates of the UN General Assembly and the world public believe that the Soviet Union and

the neighbouring People's Democratic countries(!) were preparing an invasion of Yugoslavia.

These machinations of the Tito gang are aimed at distracting world public opinion from the real organizers of the war of aggression — the American monopolists and militarists. They are to slander the Soviet Union and support the attempts of the imperialists to wrap the peoples in a web of lies in order to be able to draw them more easily into the planned war.

The Tito gang is also forced to resort to this diversion for internal political reasons. The Yugoslav peoples are today in an indescribably difficult situation. The re-establishment of capitalism and the transformation of the country into a semi-colonial war base of the Western monopolists has plunged it into a veritable economic chaos, where inflation and speculation reign. The labourers groan under the police regime, starve and perish. In addition to this, the Titoites have nevertheless continued the intensified preparations for war and have directed all branches of the national economy towards it. High American and British military figures, among them General Collins and Admiral Edelstone, criss-cross Yugoslavia and inspect the Tito army as they are used to inspecting their own army at home. On 14 November 1951, an agreement was signed between Yugoslavia and the USA on the supply of arms to the Titoites, on the establishment of an American military mission in Yugoslavia, on American instructors, etc. This meant that America was also giving its support to the Tito army. Yugoslavia has thus also formally placed itself under the control of the American General Staff.

The Yugoslav peoples see all this. They are out-

raged and are fighting against this criminal conduct of the Tito gang. They want to divert the attention of the Yugoslav peoples from economic chaos, hunger and war preparations under American direction, from the struggle to regain their freedom and independence. For this purpose, they need lies and slander about alleged intentions of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries to attack Yugoslavia. The Tito gang hopes that this scurrilous lie, supported by organized border provocations, will induce the Yugoslav peoples to resign themselves to hunger and hardship, to war preparations and American instructors, and to provide docile cannon fodder for a new imperialist war.

In their memorandum, the Titoites meanly blame the latter for all the hostile acts they themselves have been undertaking for several years against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, against the camp of peace and democracy. The shameless writers of this diatribe talk about organizing «acts of espionage, subversion and terror against Yugoslavia». They seem to be speculating on the fact that the peoples have a bad memory and that the history of espionage conspiracies, subversion and terror of Koçi Xoxe in Albania, László Rajk in Hungary and Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria have been forgotten, organized by Tito, Ranković, Kardelj and other Belgrade criminals on order and in the interest of the Anglo-American imperialists. The Bulgarian people will never forget the diversionary and terrorist gangs of Zvijerac and Sibirac, who — according to the confessions of the gang leaders before the People's Court in Sofia — had been given the task by their Belgrade masters for an

assassination at the Dimitrov Mausoleum in Sofia on 9 September 1949, on the occasion of the anniversary of liberation, in order to murder the Bulgarian party and government leaders, the Soviet and foreign guests. They will also never forget the heinous crime committed by the Belgrade bandits in the «Geo Milev» factory, to which eleven Bulgarian workers fell victim. These and later trials have proved once again that the Titoite spies are connected with the spy services of America, England, France and Turkey.

The provocative memorandum speaks of «Yugoslav diplomats» against whom any discriminatory measures would have been applied. Which «diplomats» are they talking about? Perhaps Djerdja and Cicmil? They were the direct organizers of the conspiracies to overthrow the freedom and independence of the Albanian, Hungarian and Bulgarian peoples. Or are they perhaps Brankov and Hadji Panzov? The Bulgarian and Hungarian labourers know from the own confessions of these «diplomats» that their main activity was to undermine the freedom and independence of Hungary and Bulgaria. Or is it about Savić and Ugrica? The People's Court in Sofia has established that Savić gave the order to organize the attack on the Dimitrov Mausoleum and that Ugrica was the direct organizer of the attack in the «Geo Milev» factory.

The Belgrade lackeys of the Anglo-American warmongers dare to speak cynically and impudently in their memorandum of «hatred against Yugoslavia», of «war psychosis» and «threat to peace» on the part of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. The Titoite slanders are of the same spirit

as those which their masters in Washington and London have been spreading for years, the same masters who are waging wars of aggression in Korea and Malaya, shooting at Egyptian workers and peasants, building war bases against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Countries and threatening daily with the atomic bomb.

But what is it like in reality? The speeches of Tito, Kardelj, Ranković, Djilas and their satellites, the Titoite newspapers and broadcasters teem with slander and incitement against the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Romanian and Albanian people. The scribal souls of Tito are digging around in hundred-year-old dusty archives to «prove» that the «Russians» were always enemies of the Yugoslav peoples. The Belgrade imperialist soldier-servants have converted their whole economy to a war basis and are feverishly preparing for war. They are continuously carrying out manoeuvres in the presence of American officers, organizing large-scale «air raids» against cities and economic objects and using the entire population for the «protection» of these objects.

All this is done with shameless slander and open agitation against the «East», from where the danger threatens; it is impudently claimed that the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries are preparing to invade Yugoslavia. Systematically, the Tito bandits organize border incidents and provocations only to create hatred and bitterness among the Yugoslav peoples and in the army against the neighbouring People's Democratic countries. This is also the purpose of Tito's recent boast that he would «cope» with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, and of the insolent

statements of Peko Dapčević, who asked for atomic bombs from his American masters to use against the People's Democratic countries from a «favourable position».

There can be no doubt that the criminal conduct of the Belgrade mercenaries is a real danger to peace in the Balkans and to Europe. Did not the bourgeois newspaper *Tribune de Genève* write for the Titoites their words that «the tacit agreement between the Atlantic forces and Yugoslavia is today a guarantee for Washington, London and Paris that they can set fire to the powder in the Balkans when they consider the time is right»?

Vyshinsky put the masters of Washington and London in an awkward position with his clear and factual proposals for the preservation of peace and the elimination of the danger of war. The Titoites wanted to help their masters get out of this embarrassment with their diversion. Acheson and Eden were of course very pleased with the Titoite diversion, for it served their policy directed against the peace efforts of the Soviet Union, it served the preparation of a new war of aggression against the democratic camp. Naturally, they set their well-known voting machine in motion and forced the General Committee to include the Titoite diversion in the agenda of the UN General Assembly.

The anti-Soviet domestic and foreign policy of the Titoites forced the Soviet government to declare as early as 1949:

«...the Yugoslav government is violating its alliance obligations against the USSR, it is not behaving like an ally but like an

enemy of the USSR, it is maintaining or the main persons in it are maintaining strong obligations to foreign capitalists, it is joining more and more with imperialist circles against the USSR and forming a bloc with the same, so that therefore the Soviet government can no longer consider the Yugoslav government as its ally.»[1]

The Tito Clique and the Independence of Yugoslavia

The Tito clique is demagogically exploiting the question of the independence and equality of Yugoslavia in its struggle against the USSR and the People's Democratic countries. In order to incite the Yugoslav peoples against the USSR, it claims every day that the country of socialism threatens the independence of Yugoslavia. Similarly, it dishonestly exploits the discontent of hundreds of millions of oppressed people in the world by concealing the brutal behaviour of the Anglo-American imperialists towards numerous peoples of the world whom they deprive of freedom, independence and equality. For this, the Titoites unashamedly accuse none other than the USSR of violating the equal rights of peoples.

What about the independence of peoples, especially Yugoslav peoples? What is the attitude of the USSR towards the independence of the peoples and what is the attitude of the imperialists towards it?

The slogans of «independence» and «equal rights» were raised by the young capitalist classes in the period of the bourgeois revolution. Of course, they wanted independence and equal rights only for them-

[1] «The mask is torn off»; the response of the USSR government to the Yugoslav government, Sofia, p. 13.

selves and not at all for the proletariat as well. Under these slogans, the young capitalist class conquered for itself the right to lead the nation, to trade and to get rich at the expense of the working class.

However, as soon as the capitalist class had formed its «national» state in a country, it forgot the slogan of independence and equality of nations, and its relations with other peoples already showed the following aspirations:

«...the extension of the territory of one's own nation by annexing foreign national territories; suspicion and hatred of foreign nations; the suppression of national minorities; the united front with imperialism...»[1]

As is well-known, economic development in the individual countries was not uniform. Some countries had taken the path of capitalist development relatively early, others later. As a result, some capitalist states were ahead in their development and others lagged behind. However, the relations of these states with each other are now not regulated according to the principle of independence and equality, but according to the principle of dependence and oppression.

«The dependence of peoples on each other and the economic unification of territories asserted themselves in the course of capitalist development not in the form of co-operation of peoples as equal units, but in the form of subjugation of some peoples by others, in the form of oppression and exploitation of the less de-

[1] *J. Stalin*, «Marxism and the National and Colonial Question», Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 327.

veloped by the more developed peoples.»[1]

Before the First World War, the world was ruled by a number of so-called great powers (England, Germany, Tsarist Russia, France, etc.), which competed with each other, creating groupings and alliances. The consequence of the two world wars was that most of these great states collapsed or lost much of their former importance. After the Second World War, the USA imposed its unrestricted economic and political domination on the capitalist world and shamelessly declared publicly that national sovereignty had already outlived its time and that the states had to renounce it. It is absolutely clear to every thinking person that the American monopolists today brutally rule the capitalist camp and subordinate the small and great peoples to the American policy of robbery.

By handing Yugoslavia over to the imperialists, the Tito clique deprived the Yugoslav peoples themselves of their independence and equal rights, which had been won with the help of the Soviet Union and for which 1,700,000 Yugoslav workers, peasants and intellectuals had laid down their lives. This is what independence and equality look like in the imperialist camp.

The question is completely different in the democratic camp led by the Soviet Union. In the USSR, the basis on which the aspiration of subjugating other peoples grows and flourishes has been finally destroyed! The capitalist system of production and the

[1] *J.V. Stalin*, *Works*, vol. 5, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 159-160.

capitalist state have been eliminated. Socialism has been built in the USSR and the Soviet peoples have begun to build communism. In the People's Democratic countries, too, the building of socialism is proceeding rapidly. Through the elimination of capitalism and the building of socialism, the once bourgeois nations, consisting of exploiters and exploited, are transforming themselves into socialist nations without class distinctions. Thus, for these peoples, the stage has begun

«in which the formerly oppressed nations and national languages will grow and flourish, the stage in which the equality of nations will be asserted, the stage in which mutual national distrust will disappear, the stage in which international ties between nations will develop and strengthen.»[1]

The interrelations between the People's Democratic states are:

«...the elimination of the remnants of national oppression in the name of equality and free development of nations and national minorities; the destruction of the remnants of nationalism in the name of friendship among nations and the victory of internationalism; the united front with all oppressed and non-entitled nations in the struggle against the policy of conquests and wars of conquest, in the struggle against imperialism...»[2]

Relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries are also developing on this basis. All treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance concluded between the Soviet Union

[1] *J. Stalin*, «Marxism and the National and Colonial Question», p. 337.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 320-329.

and the People's Democratic countries, all trade and cultural agreements are based on the recognition of full equality between the contracting parties. In his remarks to the Finnish government delegation, Comrade Stalin expressly emphasized that the USSR also regards the small peoples as equal partners. Even in its relations with countries outside the democratic system, the Soviet Union stands on the principle of respect for the independence and equal rights of peoples. For the People's Democratic countries, the consolidation of friendship and the promotion of mutual fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the entire democratic camp is an elementary necessity for their self-preservation and existence.

«We are in complete agreement,» said Georgi Dimitrov on July 17, 1948, «that there can be no people's democracy capable of developing, building and opening the road to socialism if it does not participate with its forces in the world united front for peace, democracy and socialism, and if it does not base itself on this growing united front.»[1]

It must also be emphasized that the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries are based not only on the formal recognition of independence and equality, but also on the active and all-round help which the USSR gives to the People's Democratic countries. For example, it is known that in 1944, during the most difficult period of the war, it supplied the Yugoslav peoples with 500,000 quintals of wheat. It also helped Czechoslovakia with grain and — as Clement Gottwald, the President of

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 18 July 1948.

the Czechoslovak People's Republic said — saved the Czechoslovak people from hunger. In the difficult post-war years, with persistent drought, the Bulgarian people received millions of hundredweights in grain from the USSR. In addition, the Soviet Union supplied and continues to supply the People's Democratic countries with large quantities of cotton, petroleum products, metals, metal products, etc., without which these countries could not have existed until now. The socialist construction and the creation of a heavy industry of their own in the People's Democratic countries are only possible through the generous help of the Soviet Union.

«It must be said with full justification that «only thanks to the Soviet Union could the working people in the People's Democratic countries, under the leadership of the working class, successfully eliminate internal reaction and be given the opportunity to proceed on a broad scale to the reconstruction and development of their economy... The existence of the USSR saved the People's Democratic countries not only from political isolation but also from economic blockade. From the moment of their foundation, these countries could rely not only on the political but also on the economic aid of the USSR. Without this help, they would not have preserved their economic and political sovereignty and would have fallen once again under the yoke of the imperialist robbers.»[1]

From 1945 until the unmasking of the Tito clique, the Yugoslav peoples also saw the effect of economic relations with the Soviet Union and enjoyed its help. In April 1945, June 1946 and July 1947, trade agreements were concluded between Yugoslavia and the

[1] *Bolshevik*, 1950, issue 6, p. 10.

Soviet Union, according to which the Soviet Union supplied Yugoslavia with machinery, equipment and goods worth 541,600,000 rubles. At the same time, it provided Yugoslavia with long-term commodity credits totalling 795,000,000 rubles. On these credits, Yugoslavia received from the USSR, among other things, ferrous metals, wool, rubber, 85 locomotives and 5,700 railway carriages. In addition, in July 1947, the Soviet government undertook to supply Yugoslavia in credit: machinery and equipment for an iron-works combine with an annual capacity of 400,000 tons of cast iron, 500,000 tons of steel, 300,000 tons of rolled iron, 600,000 tons of coke, equipment for a petroleum processing plant with an annual capacity of 300,000 tons, and equipment for a number of mining, petroleum, non-ferrous metal and sulphuric acid plants.

These are the relations between the peoples of the democratic camp. They are based on the principle of independence and equality of nations, with the most active political, economic and cultural support from the USSR.

The Belgrade traitors have torn the Yugoslav peoples away from the democratic camp. They have thus deprived Yugoslavia of the independence, equality and fraternal help that the peoples of the democratic camp enjoy. They have not made it equal, but subordinate to the American capitalists. The Tito traitors are trying to make the Yugoslav peoples believe that they have preserved their independence vis-à-vis the «West». But lies have short legs.

Georgi Dimitrov, in his speech at the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in De-

cember 1948, stressed that the Soviet Union was a powerful pillar of peace and security for the peoples, for their free development on the road to progress and true democracy.

«The Soviet Union is the leader of the united anti-imperialist front of the whole world. It constitutes the insurmountable obstacle against the sinister intentions of international reaction to plunge the peoples into a new world war... American imperialism is striving to enslave the small and temporarily weakened peoples and to create an imperialist bloc against the USSR, the countries of People's Democracy and the revolutionary movements of the toilers and the colonial peoples of the world struggling for their freedom.» And Georgi Dimitrov goes on to stress: «The relationship with the Soviet Union is at present the decisive dividing line between the camp of democracy and that of reaction in the international arena, between the warmongers and the supporters of a lasting democratic peace.»[1]

For every Marxist and progressive person it is clear that today no class, no party and no state can stand in the middle, between these two camps: either the camp of peace and socialism or the camp of war and reaction. There is no middle ground. A few years ago, when Leon Blum, Bevin and other leaders of the right-wing socialists were in power in Western Europe, they talked a lot about the «third force» which should counterbalance the «West» and the «East». As is well-known, this «third force» is today a support of the American monopolists in Western Europe and the war they are planning against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

Three years ago, the Titoites were still hoping to

[1] *Georgi Dimitrov*, «The Role and Meaning of People's Democracy», pp. 68-69.

play the role of the fifth column of the imperialists in the democratic camp, and therefore they posed as opponents of their present position. On 5 July 1948, the central organ of the Tito Party, *Borba*, wrote a reply to the Budapest newspaper *Sabad Nep*, saying:

«It is absurd to assert that it is possible to stand between the imperialists and the USSR... The intention is being foisted on us that we want to stand between the imperialists and the USSR. 'Between' means to fall under the pressure of the imperialists, that means to perish.»

Such and similar statements of the Titoites at that time served the purpose of deceiving the Yugoslav peoples and the world public opinion about their role as agents provocateurs and tools of the imperialists. Later, they adopted the same position that they had denied in 1948. They spoke of independence vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, relying on the imperialists and lying quite boldly that they were «between» the USSR and the imperialists. Today, the Belgrade mercenaries are already not hiding their full dependence on the American monopolists. Tito cynically declared on 31 October 1951 that «in case of war, the USA can count on a friendly country which will stand by its side». By this country he meant Yugoslavia.

The Tito Clique against the Peoples' Struggle for Peace

«Today, under Stalin's wise leadership, the USSR is the centre around which all freedom-loving peoples, all peace-loving and progressive forces of the world are united for the preservation of peace and the safeguarding of democracy and progress

throughout the world.»[1]

With these words, our unforgettable Vasil Kolarov aptly explained the enormous importance of the Soviet Union in the world movement for peace.

The hostile attitude of the Titoites towards the struggle of millions of people against the preparation of a new imperialist war and for lasting democratic peace between the peoples constitutes an inseparable part of their anti-Soviet and anti-communist policy. In the beginning, the Titoites had crept into the world peace movement. They wanted to disintegrate and undermine it from within. However, their intentions were soon recognized and they were thrown out of the World Peace Council and exposed as enemies of the struggle for democratic world peace.

After the Titoites were expelled from the international peace movement, they began a furious and vicious campaign against the world peace bodies and against respected personalities of them.

The peace movement of the Yugoslav peoples was completely stifled by the Belgrade fascists and the peace committees formed by the labourers were effectively dissolved. The Titoite propaganda apparatus carefully hides the powerful world peace movement against the new war of aggression planned by the Anglo-American imperialists from the Yugoslav peoples, and when it is forced to say something about it, it is only unconscionable slander and insults. The Stockholm Appeal for the prohibition of nuclear weapons was concealed from the Yugoslav peoples by the Tito

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 21 December 1949.

clique just as the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Spanish fascists and the Turkish reactionaries concealed it from their peoples. Of course, they also did not allow the collection of signatures on this important document of the world peace movement.

In 1950, the Titoites convened a so-called «Congress for the Protection of Peace» in Belgrade, where Djilas and other Titoite traitors once again insulted the world peace movement in the most cynical manner and spread countless dirty slanders against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. The resolution of this «congress» is filled with the most shameful slanders against the camp of democracy and peace and undisguisedly takes sides with the warmongers who at that time had gone from preparing for war to directly attacking Korea and the People's Republic of China.

In the autumn of 1951, the Titoites — on the orders of their masters in Washington and London — convened a new «peace congress» in which all kinds of reactionaries and shady figures from abroad took part. This congress of the imperialist agents also took place in the atmosphere of lies, slander and agitation against the world peace movement, against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

The Tito delegates in the UN, in the Security Council and in other international institutions and organizations take a hostile position to the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries at every possible opportunity and support the Anglo-American machinations against the camp of peace and democracy at every opportunity. Well-known are the remarks of Kardelj, Djilas, Bebler and

other Tito representatives in the meetings of the UN in the autumn of 1949, in which they tried to discredit the peace policy of the Soviet Union by the shameless assertion that «the actions of the Soviet Union did not coincide with its words of peace». This shameless slander was also repeated by Kardelj at the 5th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1950. Bebler's fight against the Soviet proposals in the Security Council «to secure a democratic peace in the world», which he led together with the American and British representatives, is also well-known.

The Belgrade enemies of peace and mercenaries of the aggressors were particularly prominent at the 6th Session of the UN General Assembly. In this context, two significant political events at the 6th Session must be pointed out. The first event is the brilliant and convincing speeches of A.Y. Vyshinsky, with which he exposed the clumsy manoeuvres of the USA, England and France concerning the alleged disarmament, but in reality the further preparation of the war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. Vyshinsky's speeches convincingly denounced the warmongering policy of the aggression nucleus of the UN, which is led by the USA, and at the same time showed the right way to prevent a new war, to secure peace and peaceful co-operation among the peoples.

The second significant event was that day after day, from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly, accusatory speeches were made by representatives of the dependent and semi-dependent states in Asia and Africa. They were directed against the domination and against the aggressive measures of the Anglo-

American monopolists who have subjugated the majority of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world. The representatives of these peoples demanded the legal rights to freedom and independence.

The protest speeches of the numerous representatives of the dependent and semi-dependent countries testify to the growth of the national consciousness of these peoples, to their deep hatred for the imperialist robbers and to their aspiration for national freedom and independence. At the same time, they are also a proof of the favourable impact of the freedom-loving and anti-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union and the world peace movement.

These events brought significant disquiet to the American camp of World War III organizers and propagandists. The lofty speeches of Acheson and his partners in the aggression and NATO pacts, in which they tried to deny their warmongering and predatory policies with demagogy, slander and insolence, fell flat and unimpressive. The gentlemen around Acheson were greatly disturbed by everything that was going on in the UN General Assembly contrary to their expectations and plans. They were looking for a way out and sought it, as always, in provocations and diversions. Therefore, apart from the representatives of the aggressive Atlantic Pact, they sent their paid agents to the tribune of the UN General Assembly, the representatives of countries like Cuba, Costa Rica, Venezuela, the Philippines and the like, which are de facto American colonies, and of course the representative of the Tito gang, Kardelj. This charlatan appeared on 15 November 1951, right after the Ukrainian delegate Baranovsky, who in his exposing speech had proved

with figures and facts the raging arms race of the USA and the countries of the Atlantic bloc.

Acheson and Co. assigned Kardelj — as the most suitable man and the most qualified in anti-Soviet slanders — the hopeless task of «refuting» the Soviet proposals to prevent the war of aggression planned by the USA and to maintain peace in the world. At the same time, he was to create an atmosphere favourable to the American policy of aggression in the world among the delegates to the 6th Session of the UN.

Already at the beginning of his speech, Kardelj ironized the widely known fact that the world is divided into two camps, the supporters of peace led by the Soviet Union and those of war led by the USA, and of course denied this fact. He treated the existential questions of humanity with stupid irony, pretending not to know that Tito had declared barely two weeks before that in the «event of war the USA could count on a friendly country to stand by its side». He also seemed to have «forgotten» that five days earlier the military agreement between Tito and the USA had been signed, by which Yugoslavia was also officially and formally included in the USA's war preparations.

Kardelj made special efforts to «refute» the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great powers. The reasons are well-known. The USA does not want a peace pact, because such a pact would oblige the American imperialists to renounce the preparation and ignition of a new world war against the USSR and the People's Democratic countries. Of course, even Kardelj and the whole Tito clique subservient to America cannot be in favour of such a peace pact, which would be a

hopeful beginning for securing peace in the world. Just think: If the USA — by virtue of the peace pact — would renounce its war intentions, then the Tito gang would become «unemployed». It would not be able to prepare the criminal adventure in the Balkans, it would not have any means to divert the attention of the Yugoslav peoples from its bloody and predatory system, it would not be able to carry out its howls against the Soviet Union and the neighbouring People's Democratic countries. After all, without the prospect of war, it would make no sense for the American monopolists to waste their dollars on keeping the Tito gang in power, and without American dollars, the Tito caste could not hold on to power for 24 hours. It would be overthrown and eliminated by the Yugoslav peoples themselves.

It was therefore worthwhile for Kardelj to make every effort to prove that the peace pact between the five great powers would mean «foreign domination or war for a number of small and weak nations» and «inevitably a new world war». And to prove his *salto mortale* of helplessness and villainy, Kardelj invoked the ghosts of the blessedly dormant Hitler, Mussolini and Chamberlain and the political corpse Daladier, who at the time had signed the Munich Agreement that preceded the Second World War. Only the brain of Kardelj, consumed by gloomy premonitions combined with treachery, could compare the Munich Agreement of the four fascist-capitalist states, concluded with the active participation of the American monopolists, with the peace pact between the five great powers. The latter would have involved the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and

would have been directed against the imperialists' preparations for war.

As was to be expected, Kardelj also repeated the dirty slanders and lies against the USSR and the People's Democratic countries and about the alleged danger threatening Yugoslavia from this side. The Soviet delegate Malik characterized Kardelj's speech as an attempt

«to strengthen the division in the ranks of the United Nations and to exploit the UN General Assembly for slander and provocative fabrications against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.»

The whole world already knows today that the Tito gang is the most subservient proxy of the USA and the most unscrupulous war provocateur in the Balkans and in Europe.

«Yugoslavia has been turned into a war base of the American imperialists against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Countries. With the help of the transparent lie that the People's Democratic countries want to invade Yugoslavia, the American imperialists and the Titoites have created the aggressive Belgrade-Athens-Ankara coalition. The treacherous Tito provocations on our border and the borders of Albania, Hungary and Romania do not cease.» (Valko Chervenkov.)

Apparently the Washington monopolists, militarists and diplomats have been struck by a rather strong moral and political helplessness, or all their resources have been exhausted against the invincible movement of the peoples for peace, freedom and independence. For how else can it be explained that the Truman and Acheson have pushed the bankrupt Tito

gang and its representative, the despised political charlatan and adventurer Kardelj, to the fore at the 6th Session of the UN?

The Anglo-American imperialists, in all their machinations against peace and democracy, vastly underestimate the forces of the peace camp led by the Soviet Union. Georgi Dimitrov said in this regard at the 5th Party Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in 1948:

«The Soviet Union resolutely repels the attempts and endeavours of the imperialists to frighten the peoples with their atomic weapons. In its tried and tested policy of peace and friendly co-operation between peoples, the Soviet Union relies on its growing economic and political power, on its invincible Soviet army, on the unconditional support of the workers and labourers of the whole world who are keenly interested in the maintenance of peace. The plans of the aggressors and the incendiaries of a new war will suffer an inevitable disaster.»[1]

[1] *Georgi Dimitrov*, «The Role and Meaning of People's Democracy», pp. 69-70.

Chapter VII. The Transformation of Yugoslavia into a War Base of the Anglo-American Attack Bloc

The November 1949 resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, adopted after a report by Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej, states:

«While all true friends of peace, democracy and socialism see in the USSR the powerful bastion of socialism, a reliable and unshakable defender of the freedom and independence of the peoples and the mainstay of peace, the Tito-Ranković clique, which has snatched power under the mask of friends of the USSR, on the instructions of the Anglo-American imperialists, is conducting a provocative slander campaign against the Soviet Union, making use of the basest lies from the arsenal of the Hitler fascists.

«The transformation of the Tito-Ranković clique into a direct agency of imperialism, into stooges of the warmongers, was completed by the Yugoslav government openly joining the imperialist bloc in the United Nations Organization, where Kardelj, Djilas and Bebler presented a united front with the American reactionaries on the most important questions of international politics.»[1]

As an open agency of imperialism and an accomplice of the warmongers, the Tito clique has the task of preparing the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union in South-Eastern Europe; it is thus an important link in the plans of the imperialists. In this preparatory process, Yugoslavia has been transformed into a war base of the Anglo-American attack bloc.

[1] «Consultation of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties», pp. 19-20.

Thus, the legends of the independent policy of the Tito clique and its refusal to participate in «coalitions» have been finally and forever exposed and buried. These legends were debunked and buried not only by the visits of Harriman and Allen, General Collins and Admiral Edelstone to Yugoslavia, not only by the military agreement concluded between the Tito government and the USA on 14 November 1951, but also by Tito's own confession. On 31 October 1951, he declared to nearly 100 Yugoslav and foreign correspondents that «there can no longer be any question of neutrality with regard to any European country». When asked what the USA would receive in return for the arms supplied to Yugoslavia, Tito replied that in the «event of war, the USA can count on a friendly country which will stand by its side».

Tito has herewith confessed a fact which has been underlined by his masters in Washington for a long time and not only once. A year ago, Secretary of State Dean Acheson reassured the members of the House of Representatives and the senators on the occasion of the debate on Truman's «aid» to Yugoslavia in the American Congress: «As long as Tito is in power, Yugoslavia is with us!» This is exactly how Truman, Harriman, Perkins and others have also expressed themselves in various ways.

The progressive people of the world have long maintained that the Tito gang is completely in the imperialist camp, serving the Anglo-American warmongers. What was admitted by Truman, Acheson and Co. more than a year ago has now finally been confirmed by Tito himself.

The Imperialists Are Realizing Their Old Plans

The Anglo-American imperialists prefer — and have always succeeded — in waging their wars of conquest with foreign armies and on foreign territories. They are also using this tactic in the preparation of their new war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries. In pursuit of this tactic, the American aggressors have transformed the whole of Western Europe — including Britain and France — into their war bases, as well as Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia. The transformation of Yugoslavia into a war base of the Anglo-American attack bloc with the active participation of the Titoite mercenary gang already has its history.

Even during the Second World War, Churchill and Eisenhower saw fit to land troops on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast. They wanted to nestle in Yugoslavia just as they later did in Turkey and Greece. These countries, as we know, became absolute land holdings and war bases for the Anglo-American bloc. General Fitzroy MacLean, Churchill's representative on the Tito staff during the Second World War, writes in his book «Preliminary Steps to the East» on this question:

> «Churchill was still thinking of a small-scale troop landing in Istria to coincide with the final leg of the Italian campaign. When he confided this idea to Tito, Tito approved it wholeheartedly and agreed to support it.»

Who does not understand today why the traitor and hypocrite Tito «wholeheartedly» approved Churchill's idea of an Anglo-American troop landing in Yugoslavia at a moment when the Red Army had

already entered the Balkans, thereby also bringing freedom to the struggling Yugoslav peoples?

Another friend of Churchill, the conservative journalist F.A. Voigt, writes in his book «British World»:

> «Britain and the USA (if the troop landings in Yugoslavia had been carried out — D.K.) would have become rulers of the Danubian states. The leadership of the Danubian states would have been in Britain's hands and could still be in them today. Not only in the Danubian area, but in the whole of Central and South-Eastern Europe, the situation would now be more favourable (for the Anglo-American imperialists — D.K.) than it is, both in political and economic terms. A large and promising area would have been opened up for English capital investment and private initiative.»

The determined advance of the Soviet army to the Oder and Elbe and to the Balkans prevented the dark plans of Churchill and Tito. The idea, however, of extending the power of the American-British imperialists over the Balkans and over Central Europe was not dropped. The monopolists in Washington and London only changed their tactics and methods to realize this idea. They tried, with the help of the Titoite Fifth Column, to tear the People's Democratic countries away from the Soviet Union and pull them over into the camp of the imperialist bloc. This task was given to the conspiratorial gangs of Koçi Xoxe in Albania, László Rajk in Hungary and Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria. However, they were uncovered in time by the vigilance of the democratic forces.

After the Tito clique was exposed as an imperialist agency and a rabid enemy of the democratic camp, the monopolists of Washington and London openly subordinated it to the interests and policies of the attack

bloc and turned Yugoslavia into a war base in the Balkans. They now dropped all caution and spoke quite openly. On 2 May 1950, the American reactionary newspaper *New York Herald Tribune* wrote in one of its articles:

«From the real point of view there can be no better investment either for the energy of our diplomats or for the expenditure of our funds than our investment in Yugoslavia... This country occupies a strategic position of vital importance... Taken as a whole and from a strategic point of view: Yugoslavia is a brilliant business. It offers two dollars of profit for every dollar invested.»

In their typical American «efficiency», the gentlemen of the *New York Herald Tribune* mix strategy with business, human blood with dollars. And they can only apply this «efficiency» with regard to Yugoslavia because the criminal Tito clique is in power there.

But this is not only the ideology of the *New York Herald Tribune*. It is the ideology of the American government, Truman's and Acheson's, Bradley's and Eisenhower's. Truman wrote in his well-known message of October 1950, in which he advocated giving American «aid» to the Titoites:

«Our policy in regard to Yugoslavia is to give Tito the assistance necessary to protect our strategic and political interests in that part of the world (i.e. South-Eastern Europe — D.K.).»

George Perkins, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, expressed Washington's relationship with the Tito gang as follows:

«It is necessary for the protection of our interests and those

of our Western European allies that the Tito government remain in power.»

We could cite statements by Bradley, Harriman and other American political and military figures to show how with all of them the strategic, political and economic interests in Yugoslav territory are intertwined and how they are all extremely interested in the rule of the Tito gang in Yugoslavia.

Many times in the past, the Anglo-American imperialists have tried to establish themselves in the Balkans and especially in Yugoslavia and to turn this country into their colony and strategic base. Now, they have finally achieved their goal: Yugoslavia could be transformed into a domain and war base of the attack bloc of the Western imperialists, led by the USA, as a result of the miserable betrayal of the Tito fascist gang.

Yugoslavia — Deployment Area, Source of Strategically Important Raw Materials and Cannon Fodder for the Imperialists

When the Anglo-American imperialists subdued Yugoslavia, they counted on being able to exploit its favourable geographical position, its rich reserves of strategically important raw materials and its masses of people as cannon fodder for their war plans. For the military leaders of the Western bloc, Yugoslavian territory represents a far-advanced outpost, reaching as far as the borders of Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, through which they could at the same time push their armies towards the South-West of the So-

viet Union. The Yugoslav base — according to Eisenhower's strategists — significantly strengthens the bases of the imperialist forces in Greece, Turkey and the whole Mediterranean area. The geographical position of Yugoslavia naturally tempts the imperialists to carry out their offensive operations against Bulgaria, Albania and Romania from there and also to support the attack against Hungary and Czechoslovakia from there. In view of this probable position in the future war, the Tito gang can already hardly restrain its expansionist desires against the People's Republics of Bulgaria and Albania.

The exploitation of the strategically important Yugoslav raw materials also plays a major role in the calculations of the American and British war organizers. There is a great shortage of strategic raw materials on the world market, first and foremost of raw ores, which are indispensable for war production. Yugoslavia is rich in lead, copper, zinc, chrome and other metals.

The Tito government, on the orders of its masters, exports all these mineral resources to the USA and England. Great efforts must be made to increase ore production, because the imperialists need a lot of lead, copper, zinc and chrome. The Titoites must use the American loans mainly to buy machinery and equipment for ore production and to open new mines and enlarge the existing ones. In order that the imperialists may squeeze as much as possible of these important raw materials out of Yugoslavia, the Titoites have handed over a number of key ore-mining operations (Boron, Tyrbovlje, Trepça, etc.) to the American trusts, who are unhesitatingly plundering Yugosla-

via's natural wealth. The following figures give an idea of the volume of raw materials exported to the USA: in 1938, strategic raw materials were delivered to the USA for 4 million dollars, in 1948 for 18 million, in 1950 for 35 million and in 1951 for over 60 million dollars. It is also important to note that the prices of the raw materials supplied by Yugoslavia to the USA — as the Americans themselves admit — are at the price level of 1948-1949, while international market prices almost doubled in 1951.

Of particular importance to the military leaders of the Anglo-American coalition, however, are the living forces, the human material, which Tito wants to put at their disposal for the war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Truman's letter, already mentioned, states:

«Tito has the largest army in Europe, with the exception of the USSR, and this represents an important factor in the defence(!) of Western Europe...»

But this is not only Truman's view. The American news agency *INS* stated:

«American military experts think today more than ever that the 30 divisions at Tito's disposal represent the strongest army on the European continent after the Soviet one.»

The American general staff specialists, of course, continue their calculations: they add the divisions of the Turkish reactionaries and those of the Greek monarcho-fascists to the Titoite ones and obtain the gratifying figure of 80 divisions, which they can already dispose of today, while the divisions of the other

Western states still exist only in perspective. At the same time, the Titoite divisions are dirt cheap. As is well-known, the American ministers, senators and generals remain businessmen even when it comes to cannon fodder and human lives. And so they also approach the Titoite divisions with pencil in hand. The well-known American Senator Lucas quickly finished the calculation and informed the bankers of Wall Street that «for 38 million dollars (granted to the Titoites — D.K.) they received 32 divisions, while equipment and maintenance of a single American division cost 176 million annually». No wonder other American traffickers, such as Joseph Hart and Emil Lengyel, are rubbing their hands with satisfaction and beaming with excitement, for consider this: while arming only 9 French divisions cost the American capitalists a billion dollars, Tito supplied his 32 divisions for almost nothing.

Usually cheap things are not valued very highly, because there is a general conviction that their quality is also low. Tito and his gang are certainly cheap, but expensive are the great advantages which the American and British imperialists derive from the Yugoslav economy. They also need the Tito gang for the future, if the war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies becomes acute. That is why they are interested in the Titoites remaining in power, and that is why they are giving them «aid» and loans. Truman wrote in his message to the American Congress in October 1950:

«The rations and economic conditions in this country (Yugoslavia — D.K.) are such that they may deteriorate in a distress-

ing manner unless the Government (of the USA — D.K.) takes immediate action — even before Congress has met. If no action is taken, then Tito's ability to exercise control over the underground forces in Yugoslavia will be seriously jeopardized, if not impossible, and the capacity of the Yugoslav army... will be dangerously weakened. We are consequently very concerned from a military point of view.»

Intensified Preparations for War

After the Tito clique had handed over Yugoslavia — territory, natural wealth, national economy and army — to the Anglo-American imperialists, the latter — again with the active support of the Tito fascist state apparatus — proceeded to carry out broad war preparatory measures. These measures are intended to make possible the fulfilment of the tasks set by Eisenhower's staff to the Tito clique within the framework of the war plans against the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

First of all, the Yugoslav economy must be completely converted to a war economy. Within the framework of this conversion, which is taking place under the dictates of the American and British «advisers» and «specialists», the Tito clique completed the restoration of capitalism. Some key enterprises remained in the hands of the Tito fascist state in view of the war preparations, which is the same as if they were in the hands of the Anglo-American war organizers. The capitalist principle of supply and demand as the only condition for the formation of prices and the regulation of the circulation of commodities has been reintroduced and is greatly strengthening the capitalist accumulation of capital and the unbridled robbery of

the working people.

The Tito clique had already converted the decisive part of industry to war production. The Zemun company «Zmai», for example, still stopped producing agricultural machines in 1950, although there is a great shortage of them. It now produces parts for the «Ikarus» military aircraft. The machine-building factory «Ivo Lola-Ribar» in Šelesnik has been reorganized so that it can supply the armament factory in Knjaževac, the aircraft-building factory near Čačak and other armament factories.

The Titoites have stopped all construction that serves peaceful purposes and have diverted these funds to the completion of a number of war factories in the western areas of Yugoslavia. A direct confirmation of the Tito gang's war preparations is Yugoslavia's military budget. In 1949, expenditure on the military police apparatus and its branches amounted to 33 per cent of the total budget of the state, in 1950 it was 51 per cent, in 1951 72 per cent, and for 1952 it has risen to 77 per cent, making up the huge sum of $200 billion, while the total budget is only $256 billion. These sums do not include the money in the reserve funds, which are also used for military purposes. Nor does it add other expenditures, such as for war farms masked with «peaceful objectives». The millions of unpaid working days, the slave labour of the so-called front brigades, are also not included. The front brigades are used for building roads, airfields and other strategic objects.

The construction of strategically important roads, airfields and other military objects has assumed a gigantic scale under the control of the American milita-

rists. In June 1950, a secret meeting took place in Portoroz, in the so-called free territory of Trieste, between American senior officers and representatives of the Titoite general staff. A month later, Webb, the Assistant Secretary of State, and Early, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of War, met with Tito on the island of Brijuni. In these meetings, detailed plans were drawn up for the transformation of Yugoslavia into a war base and a broad system of war preparation measures, including the completion of the enormous military-strategic construction objects.

These plans are only a continuation of the quartering of the American imperialists in Yugoslavia, who feel as if they are in their own country. Already on 24 December 1949, the Titoites had reached an agreement with the USA to hand over to them the Yugoslav airfields and airlines of Pan-American Airways, behind which the American militarists are hiding. Tito also promised the then envoy in Belgrade, Kennan, as early as 1949 that in an emergency the island of Korčula in the Adriatic Sea would be handed over to the USA. The Viennese newspaper *Der Abend* reported that the Titoites had sold the island of Korčula to the USA for 20 million dollars. In September 1950, a consultation took place in London between the USA, England and France concerning support for Yugoslavia. After this consultation, the Tito gang granted the American and British war fleets the right to exploit the three old naval ports of Boka Kotorska, Šibenik and Pula. Near Boka Kotorska, the arsenal in Tivat and the underground arms depots in Lepatani and other places were hastily restored and expanded. The war port in Šibenik was enlarged and

modernized. Huge sums were spent by the Titoites on the construction of a large harbour near Metković and on enlarging the harbours in Split, Bar and Zadar; depots for submarines are being built on the Pelješac peninsula and the islands of Vis and Lastovo. The American and British fleets also have the right to exploit the harbours in Rijeka, Bakar and Dubrovnik and the old sea fortresses of Boka Kotorska, Divulje near Trogir, Vodice and Lake Prokljan in the Šibenik area.

In accordance with the requirements of the American imperialists, a system of strategic railway lines and roads is being built at an accelerated pace, the basis of which is the Trieste-Ljubljana-Zagreb-Belgrade-Skoplje-Saloniki motorway and railway line. Great strategic importance is attached to the Banja Luka-Doboj railway line under construction, which is a supplement to the main Zagreb-Belgrade line and at the same time a part of the projected railway line that is to connect the western areas of Yugoslavia with the eastern ones in parallel with the Zagreb-Belgrade line. Another section of this parallel line, Zvornik-Koviljača-Šabac, has already been completed and its branch to Valjevo is under construction. According to the Titoite plan, the Banja Luka-Doboj railway line is to be extended westwards to Karlovac and is to connect central Bosnia with the Rijeka-Zagreb line, with Ljubljana, northwards with Austria and eastwards via Tuzla-Zvornik and Valjevo with Šumadija and eastern Serbia.

For the American aggressors, the construction of the connecting routes linking the naval ports on the Adriatic coast with the interior of Yugoslavia and es-

pecially with the central line of Zagreb-Belgrade-Skoplje is of great importance. The existing normal railway lines Rijeka-Zagreb and Split-Zagreb (with branch Šibenik-Perković) and the narrow-gauge line Zelenika-Sarajevo are insufficient for the imperialists' plans. That is why the Titoites have spent enormous funds on the completion of the so-called Unska railway line (Knin-Bihać) and are now building the Zadar-Knin line at an accelerated pace. This will significantly improve the connection of the sea ports of Split, Divulje, Šibenik and Zadar with the interior of Yugoslavia.

A significant role in the imperialists' attack plans is played by the strategic objects in Slovenia, which is the direct hinterland of the Trieste naval base and at the same time connects the countries of the NATO bloc and West Germany with Yugoslavia and Greece. During Harriman's visit to Yugoslavia in August 1951, Tito undertook to make available to the Americans the Trieste-Ljubljana-Sanski Most- Maribor railway line, the junction of the Trieste-Ljubljana-Belgrade motor road, the Ljubljana-Maribor motor road and the entire 500-kilometre asphalt road network in Slovenia for their use.

The strategic transport lines and war objects in Eastern and Southern Serbia, in Vardar-Macedonia, in Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau are being built and expanded at an accelerated pace. In the last three years, the Titoites have doubled the Belgrade-Niš railway line, rebuilding the Stalać station and turning it into one of the largest railway junctions in Yugoslavia. It connects the lines of Western Serbia and Bosnia with the main railway line Belgrade-Niš-Skoplje. So

far, the Markovac-Svilajnac-Despotovac and Kučevo-Brodica railway lines have also been built, and the Kumanovo-Carevo Selo, Skoplje-Gostivar, Dukagjini-Gjakova-Prizren lines are under construction, connecting the Belgrade-Niš-Skoplje- Gevgelija line with the Bulgarian and Albanian borders. The Belgrade-Smederevo towards Veliko Gradište, Negotin-Kladovo, Negotin-Donji Milanovac and Niš-Caribrod roads are also being repaired and extended.

Near the Bulgarian and Romanian borders, numerous military objects are under construction or have already been partly completed. Large underground camps are being built near Kučevo and near Zajčar, in Sićevačka Klisura, on the Niš-Caribrod road and in other places. In the Radujevac-Knjaževac section, right on the Bulgarian border, the old fortifications Osmanov Sanac, Plandište, Bačišta, Parajankula were reconstructed and enlarged. New fortifications were also built. In the Iron Gate area on the Danube, the Tito gang is carrying out special war preparation works. Already a few years ago, the road from the village of Mosna (located on the Negotin-Donji Milanovac road) to the top of Mount Mirotsch, which overlooks the Iron Gate, was built. Various military objects have been erected on the summit and a flank battery has been set up which can bring the whole area of the Iron Gate under fire and bring all traffic on the Danube to a standstill.

No less important for the imperialists are the airfields in Yugoslavia. They have already included them in the general military air system of the Atlantic bloc. Under American control are the airfields in Ljubljana, Skoplje, Zagreb, Zemun, Pančevo, Bela Crkva,

Kraljevo, Podgorica, the large airfields of Rajlovac near Smederevo and Mostar, the Kapino Polje airfield near Nikšić, six airfields in the Šabac-Valjevo area with concrete taxiways for landing American flying fortresses and the giant airfield between Batjnica and Pasova. On both sides of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, a large number of airfields are under construction or have been completed. They are disguised as meadows, fields and in other ways. A large number of auxiliary airfields are also being built (in Kosova-Dukagjini, Doljna Mutnica near Paraćin, Negotin, Zaječar and Knjaževac). The airfields on the Adriatic coast, in Rijeka, Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik are set up for landing American light bomber and fighter aircraft. The military air bases in Sarajevo and Mostar are hastily enlarged and modernized; for example, underground depots are built in Mostar.

The American and British military specialists pay great attention to the Tito army — its organization, training and armament. The Tito government has been asking the Americans for weapons for a long time. Popović, the head of the General Staff of the Tito Army, travelled to Washington and London, Velebit to Washington, Ranković, Djilas and Pijade to London. They asked their masters for more and for more modern weapons. For the same purpose, Tito also made several statements and persistently repeated his request for weapons to the American government.

The Tito government has already received American weapons, but these are — as it says itself — light weapons. However, it wants heavy tanks and artillery, airplanes and even atomic bombs. The American government has nothing against arms deliveries, but it has

the bitter experience of Chiang Kai-shek behind it. As is well-known, it gave him large quantities of weapons and war material, for several billion dollars, and everything fell into the hands of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, that is, into the hands of the Chinese people. Now, in order not to experience such failures again, General Collins, the Chief of Staff of the Land Forces, travelled specially to Yugoslavia with a group of senior American officers to take a look at the state of the Yugoslav army. The *New York Times* wrote about this trip:

«General Collins must accurately assess the quality of the Yugoslav army. The military leadership is obliged to give an appropriate answer to the Washington leaders about the condition of the Yugoslav army, that is, about its strength and quality, about the strategic importance of Yugoslavia and about the stand the Yugoslav government is taking, so that we can see whether it can fulfil what the American government expects of it.»

General Collins inspected various strategic objects and units and even took part in the manoeuvres. He also talked with Tito and his generals and they gave him all the necessary information and documentation for the questions that interested him. General Collins was very satisfied by the discussions held with Tito, his ministers, generals and other senior officers. He then also advocated giving the Titoites «modern and heavy» weapons, on condition, of course, that American officers instruct the Titoite army in the use of these weapons and control the training of the Yugoslav army in accordance with the wishes and plans of the American general staffs.

It goes without saying that the Titoites humbly accepted these conditions, which were then laid down in the military «agreement» signed by Allan and Tito on 14 November 1951. According to this «agreement», the Titoites receive weapons, war material and «services» from the USA, in return for which they hand over all strategic and other raw materials to the USA. According to this «agreement», numerous American military missions have also already set up in Yugoslavia to control and train the Yugoslav army. They also control the Yugoslav national economy with regard to its conversion to a war economy. This completes the total subordination of the Tito army to the command of the Anglo-American general staffs. History has repeated itself once again with Turkey, Greece and the other states subordinated to the Anglo-American bloc. On a broad scale, the equipping of the Titoite army began. This equipment program is, as General Bradley said,

«the basis of the plan we are working out to realize Yugoslavia's participation on our side in the future struggles in Europe.»

In order to complete the preparation of Yugoslavia as a war base for the Anglo-American bloc, the necessary hatred of the Yugoslav toilers against the peoples of the Soviet Union and the neighbouring People's Democratic countries must also be created and the worship and adoration of American strength, technology and way of life cultivated. This is being done on an unrestricted scale. The necessary war psychosis must be created and that tense atmosphere of the inevitability of a near war in which allegedly Yu-

goslavia will be invaded by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies(!).

The Tito fascist gang is also carrying out the ideological preparation for war in the interest of the American and British monopolists. Their newspapers, broadcasters and all kinds of puffery repeat day and night their lies that Yugoslavia's freedom and independence are «threatened» by the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries, that «frightening» war preparations are going on in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Albania to invade Yugoslavia, that peace in the Balkans and in Europe is threatened, allegedly by the «aggressive» policy of the Soviet Union.

In this vile campaign aimed at inciting the Yugoslav peoples against the Soviet Union and the neighbouring People's Democratic countries and creating a war psychosis in Yugoslavia, the Titoite mercenary gang also helps itself with «vivid» lies and slander. In Belgrade, Zagreb, Skoplje and other Yugoslav cities, «raids» of enemy planes with explosive, incendiary and gas bombs are paraded for show. The planes, of course, come in from the «East» and are successfully «repelled» and «chased away» by the Titoite air forces; in general, in all Titoite troop manoeuvres, the «enemy» comes from the «East». Sometimes the population is mobilized for air defence and other war games in which the Yugoslav «forces» fight against the «enemy from the East» invented by Tito.

The Belgrade criminals want to make it «vividly» clear to the Yugoslav peoples that their enemies are not the American and English capitalists, the colonizers and slaveholders, but the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. They have forgot-

ten the enormous sacrifices of the Soviet peoples in life and health which were necessary for the liberation of the Yugoslav peoples from Hitler's yoke. Under the cover of lies and slander, the Tito gang wants to induce the Yugoslav peoples to forget hunger and misery, fascist terror and exploitation, to fall away from their liberator, the USSR, and the neighbouring People's Democratic countries, and to be used as cannon fodder in a new criminal war of aggression by the Anglo-American bloc.

Yugoslavia Joins the Attack Bloc

Elsewhere we have already brought the statement of General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the United States Armed Forces Joint Staff Committee, in which he emphasized as early as the autumn of 1950 that the «aid» which the American government was giving to the Titoites was the basis of the plan which the American militarists were working out to ensure the participation of Yugoslavia on the American side in future battles in Europe. Bradley's remarks coincide with those made by Tito to journalists in Belgrade, namely, that in the event of war the U.S. could count on present-day Yugoslavia as a friendly country that would stand on the side of the U.S.

No doubt can arise: The American generals and the Tito clique are united in their intentions and plans. The Tito army has been included in the aggressive forces of the Anglo-American bloc and is to be used to invade the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

Under these plans, the Yugoslav army has been

given an important and leading place in the former so-called southern flank of the Eisenhower front for the coming war. The strategists from Eisenhower's staff want to unite the military forces of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece under their command. They reckon that these forces will not only secure the Anglo-American bloc from the Mediterranean route, but that they will also attack the areas on the lower course of the Danube and the South-West of the Soviet Union. No doubt the popular strategy of the unlucky man of Gallipoli[1], Churchill, who has still not dreamt out his dream of the «punch in the gut» — in the past of Germany and now of the USSR — plays a role here.

But the intended participants in the «southern flank» of the Eisenhower front are still pursuing their own predatory intentions with regard to the People's Democratic countries. The Greek monarcho-fascists are openly striving for the robbery of southern Albania and have an appetite for the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The remarks of Venizelos, the former Prime Minister of Greece, to the correspondent of the *Daily Mail* on 19 February 1951 are well-known, in which he demanded of the USA and England «the creation of a large army in Greece for the campaign to the Danube». At the same time, General Kitrilakis, the deputy commander-in-chief of the Greek army, proposed to the Turkish general staff a «plan for a joint Greek-

[1] *Gallipoli* — peninsula on the Hellespont. In April 1915, English and French forces landed on Gallipoli to force passage through the Dardanelles; but they had to withdraw in January 1916. In his capacity as Head of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill ran the British expedition to Gallipoli. The failure of this expedition forced him to resign in 1915. *The ed.*

Turkish raid against Bulgaria at the same time as a Yugoslav-Greek raid on Albania and Bulgaria».

The Turkish reactionaries, of course, are not embarrassed to deal with such plans and to forge even more shameless ones, for the fantastic dreams of the re-establishment of the former Turkish Danubian governorate are still alive, where the Aghas (gentlemen) from Ankara ate pilaf[1] and drank Sherbet (honey water) at the expense of the quiet Bulgarian paradise.

The Tito fascists of Belgrade are not lagging behind their worthy brothers from Athens and Ankara. Having failed in their attempts to seize the vast territory of the Danube region in a «peaceful» way, they now want to seize, in alliance with Athens and Ankara, Northern Albania, Pirin Macedonia and a few other «pieces» of the territory of Bulgaria and the other People's Democratic neighbours. Therefore, they are eagerly participating in the preparation of the «Blitz» plan, which includes the invasion of Albania by the «United Forces» of the Belgrade Tito fascists and the Greek monarcho-fascists. They are also making plans to invade the People's Republic of Bulgaria and are taking feverish measures to this end.

The new Rhee Syngman's in Belgrade, Athens and Ankara do not hide their desire to attack. The less famous Evson Venizelos said to the *Daily Mail* correspondent:

«The military plans of the Western powers so far are not suf-

[1] *Pilaf* — common oriental dish; grainy cooked rice with braised mutton. *The ed.*

ficiently aggressive. We must be ready to attack.»

The American reactionary *New York Times* newspaper, which gets its information directly from the Tito upper class, wrote that the Titoites were «ready to attack from their bases as soon as they have the necessary weapons». Finally, on 30 October 1951, Peko Dapčević, the deputy head of the Titoite general staff, also came forward. He cynically declared in connection with the atomic bomb of the USA:

«We would like to have some of them. We could make good use of them, because we are in a favourable starting position.»

The Anglo-American imperialists, of course, are striving to give a more organized form to this Belgrade-Athens-Ankara «urge» to attack. The imperialist lackeys terrorizing the peoples of Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey are again in complete agreement on their intentions. All that remains now is to find the external form for this unity which would enable Eisenhower to better deploy and direct these armies in the planned war of aggression.

The inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the NATO Pact had made the task of the Washington and London masters much easier. Now all that remained was to find a way of including Yugoslavia. But this had to be in such a way that the «moral and political prestige» of the Tito gang would not be affected. The visit of Harriman and Dawes, of Collins and Edelstone had, among other tasks, that of finding a suitable way of doing this.

Radio Saloniki, in the hands of the Americans, announced on October 18, 1951, that

«the visit of General Collins, Chief of Staff of the USA, to Belgrade, as well as other steps taken by the American ambassadors in Belgrade and Rome, will produce concrete results in the very near future in the relations between Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy and Turkey. The American and British ambassadors in Belgrade are insisting to the Yugoslav statesmen on the conclusion of a pact between Yugoslavia, Italy, Turkey and Greece. This pact, which would link Yugoslavia with three states which are members of the NATO Pact, would settle the question of Yugoslavia's inclusion in NATO.»

So the miracle cure has already been found: by concluding a military alliance with Turkey, Greece and Italy, the Tito gang becomes a de facto member of the aggressive NATO Pact, and it is not even necessary for it to join it officially. Tito has already approved of this elastic form. He told journalists in September 1951 that Yugoslavia was inclined to conclude a military agreement with Turkey and Greece.

Thus the Anglo-American imperialists, with the help of the Tito clique, succeeded in turning Yugoslavia into their war base in the Balkans and in drawing it into the zonal military alliance of South-Eastern Europe. The strategists of Eisenhower's staff do not conceal the fact that they are pinning their highest hopes on the Tito army. Eisenhower's people are counting on the Tito army not only as a fighting unit but also as an instrument of diversion and provocation. The American Senator Taft declared in September 1951:

«Chiang Kai-shek's army can serve us as a diversionary force against China, Tito's army as a diversionary force against the USSR.»

And the Swiss newspaper *Tribune de Genève* re-

cently wrote:

«A tacit alliance between the Atlantic forces and Yugoslavia is today for Washington. London and Paris a guarantee that the West can, if it sees fit, light the powder in the Balkans.»

This is the opinion of the authoritative people in Washington, and with it they themselves have expressed the whole vulgar truth about the criminal and villainous role of Tito and his gang as foreign soldier-servants and spies.

Chapter VIII. Tito's Rummaging in the Balkans

Towards the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in all Balkan questions in general, the anti-Soviet and anti-democratic policy of the Tito clique aims at the following:

«In all these countries, i.e. in all People's Democracies, a bourgeois-democratic system must be established... These bourgeois-democratic governments would orient themselves towards the United States instead of the Soviet Union, in such a way that they would rally around Yugoslavia and form an interstate federation under the leadership of Yugoslavia and Tito, becoming a federation of states would then base itself on the United States. This federation of states would at the same time form a military bloc on the side of the United States against the Soviet Union.»[1]

This basic aim was already in the minds of the Titoites when the People's Liberation War was still in progress. Through their agents, they were already trying to gain influence on the people's liberation movements of the neighbouring countries.

Between 1945 and 1948, the Tito clique repeatedly tried to annex Yugoslavia's People's Democratic neighbouring countries, taking advantage of the prestige that the courageous Yugoslav freedom fighters had acquired for their country. In Bulgaria this was done under the slogan of the Federation of Southern Slavs and in Albania under the pretext of protection from the Greek monarcho-fascists.

After the Tito clique was exposed, it resorted to

[1] «László Rajk and accomplices before the People's Court», p. 77.

the means of conspiracies. Provocateurs and diversionists were sent to the People's Democratic countries in order to weaken the people's democratic regime there and to prepare the transition of these states into the imperialist camp.

The creation of the so-called Belgrade-Athens-Ankara axis and the conclusion of the military agreement between the USA and the Tito clique was the beginning of using all the fascist aggressive forces of Belgrade, Athens, Ankara and Rome with full force against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Since then, the Tito government's hostility towards its neighbours and especially towards the People's Republic of Bulgaria increased more and more.

The Activity of the Tito Clique against the People's Republic of Bulgaria

The enmity of the Titoites against the working Bulgarian people and against its leadership, the Bulgarian Communist Party, was already evident in the first years of the People's Liberation War. This was particularly visible in Macedonia, where Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, Dionisije Popović and their lackeys equated «Bulgarian» with «fascist» and «occupier». Tempo used the word «Bulgarian» as a swear word against Metodi Shatarov only because he had been a former functionary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and did not want to submit to Tito's policies against the Bulgarian people and the CPB.

During the People's Liberation War, the Titoites tried hard to slander the Bulgarian labourers who were mobilized by the fascist Bulgarian government

and sent to Serbia and Macedonia. They continue this slander even today. However, it is known that the Bulgarian soldiers behaved quite friendly towards the Serbian people and the partisans, although the orders of their fascist officers were different. All honest Yugoslav partisans confirm this, and even Dedijer could not help mentioning it in his diary. Under 10 June, 1943, it reads:

«Kladanj. Bulgarian troops fought against us in Durmitor... The Bulgarians behaved very well. Pop Vlado says that Lieutenant Colonel Knežević (Knežević had stayed in Sandžak as a partisan after the first offensive and had spent the winter of 1942-1943 there — D.K.) sent a report in which he wrote that the Bulgarians behaved decently. If they come across one of ours, they hide him in the forest themselves and say: 'Brother, into the forest, the Germans are coming!' They don't demand passes from anyone, they don't murder, and they don't set fire to anything.»[1]

The Titoites' hatred of Bulgarians was also evident in the outrageous treatment of the representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the staff of the partisan movement in Macedonia. The accused Blagoj Hadji Panzov vividly described in the Traicho Kostov trial how the Bulgarian representatives were treated at the main staff of Tempo in the village of Stajevac on the Pčinja river:

«At the same time, in one of the rooms of the village school where the staff was located, three Bulgarian functionaries — Yordanka Chankova, Blagoj Ivanov and Bai Ivan (I do not know his exact name) were kept in complete isolation. No one went to see them, as Tempo had forbidden any contact with the Bulgarians... I was interested and wanted to go and talk to them.

[1] *Vladimir Dedijer*, Diary, Part II, p. 345.

When I was on my way to see them, I met Major Mitko Zafirovski of the staff, and he told me that I had better not go to the Bulgarians, because Tempo did not like it if anyone wished to speak to the Bulgarians.

«While the representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party were treated badly, Tempo's attitude to the English, to the representatives of the English military mission, was quite different. He went to see them very often, one could say every afternoon, always went himself and had a long talk with them. After the conversation they often walked in the schoolyard.»[1]

Comrade Bulgaranov, who spent a long time as a representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the Main Staff in Macedonia, also reported similar things about Tempo's anti-Bulgarian behaviour at the 5th Party Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in 1948:

«During the whole period, both in Macedonia and in other areas, at conferences, meetings and rallies, Tempo never mentioned with a single word the struggle of the Bulgarian people, the partisans and our party, although we reminded him of it incessantly. This was expressed most sharply at the conference of the Macedonian Communist Party in the village of Fuštan (Northern Greece). The hall was decorated with slogans and greetings to the Nadibar parties, only the greeting to the CP of Bulgaria was missing. I asked the instructor of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia personally why there was no word for our party on the walls. He answered me that this was completely consciously and deliberately omitted 'because Macedonians are very attracted to the CP of Bulgaria and we see our task as changing that and drawing them over to the CP of Yugoslavia'.

«After we had drawn Tempo's attention to these things as gross nationalism, he did not make good the mistake, but after going back and forth in the room for some time, declared: 'You see, such a slogan could not be produced because — the paper

[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», p. 302.

had not sufficed.'«

No less outrageous was the behaviour of the Titoites towards the new Bulgarian People's Army, which had taken part in the expulsion of the fascist occupiers from Serbia and Macedonia and, after stubborn fighting, had advanced, together with Soviet formations, as far as Hungary and Austria. Tito's men — Tempo, Apostolski, Koča Popović and especially the professional forger Dedijer — want to persuade the Yugoslav peoples that the Bulgarian People's Army had not played a decisive part in the battles against the German occupiers and had merely taken a «walk» through the towns of Macedonia, Kosova and Serbia already liberated by Yugoslav troops. On the other hand, it is generally known how hard the battles were which the Bulgarian People's Army fought in the area of Strasin-Kumanovo-Stip-Skoplje, in the Novi Pazar district in the direction of Niš, in the battles around Niš and, last but not least, finally in the glorious battles during the operations on the Drava (Drave) against the fascist troops. In these battles the Bulgarian People's Army made thousands of sacrifices, sacrifices in the common liberation struggle of the Balkan and other peoples who supported the glorious Soviet Army in the final crushing of German fascism.

In a speech on the parliamentary elections in December 1949, our unforgettable Vasil Kolarov said:

«Bulgaria was to be openly detached from the Soviet Union and led over into the imperialist camp; but this proved impracticable. In the underhand manoeuvres to achieve this treacherous goal, the Trotskyist Tito clique, recruited by the Anglo-American imperialists, was given the leading role.»

Even before the end of the war, the Tito clique had initiated cunning manoeuvres to prepare for the robbery of Bulgaria. In December 1944, Tito's emissary Edvard Kardelj had come to Sofia and contacted Traicho Kostov. Both began to conspire against the freedom and independence of the Bulgarian people. Kardelj spoke quite openly — as Traicho Kostov confessed in court — that Bulgaria should be annexed to Yugoslavia.

«The English and the Americans,» he said, «certainly promised Tito that they would not put anything in the way of Bulgaria's annexation to Yugoslavia... they would formally raise protest and, as was their custom, begin a campaign to that effect in their press to blame the USSR for the creation of the federation and to use this as a pretext to absolve themselves of some of their obligations to the USSR.»[1]

In order to achieve this goal, namely to tear the People's Republic of Bulgaria away from the Soviet Union, the Titoite intriguers continued to make all kinds of efforts into 1948. Among others, Milovan Djilas was sent by Tito to Sofia as a delegate to the Slav meeting. He also contacted Traicho Kostov, Tito's confidant, and reproached him for still not having succeeded in uniting Bulgaria with Yugoslavia. Kostov testified about this:

«This time,» declared Djilas, «such means must be taken and such results achieved that no one will be able to prevent Bulgaria's annexation to Yugoslavia.»[2]

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[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», pp. 99-100.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

In his personal statements, Traicho Kostov continues:

«Djilas drew my attention to the need for serious work within the Party itself. He underlined that we had to move towards the creation of a circle of supporters and then widen this circle. 'These people', Djilas said, 'must be placed in leading positions in the state and party apparatus, so that in the future they can exert their influence in the direction we need'.»[1]

Ranković, the Titoite Minister of the Interior, set the task — according to Traicho Kostov's remarks — of filling the decisive posts in the Ministry of the Interior with «reliable» people.

«You must make an effort,» Ranković said, «to place your trusted people in leading posts in these organs. These people must be in the closest contact and intercourse with the representatives of the Yugoslav Spy Service...»[2]

Finally, the demands of the Tito clique went so far that Tito himself gave Traicho Kostov the following tasks:

«One must already», he said, «proceed to the organization of actions so that they can produce better results.»[3]

Tito promised to support the conspirators around Traicho Kostov by armed intervention. He did not even shy away from the uglyiest and lowest; he demanded of Kostov that Georgi Dimitrov be assassinated:

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[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», p. 107.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

«You must be prepared to take decisive action, to arrest and, if necessary, to liquidate Dimitrov, in which you can also count on our help.»[1]

All the official and unofficial representatives of the Yugoslav government in Bulgaria were involved in this criminal plan. Everyone, from the ambassador down to the smallest courier of the Yugoslav embassy, was engaged in espionage and decomposition work designed to draw the Bulgarian people into the camp of the Belgrade traitors and through them into the camp of the American English imperialists.

In the autumn of 1944, the Titoites were preparing to separate the Pirin district (Bulgarian Macedonia) from Bulgaria by force. The Macedonian brigades formed there were to be exploited for this purpose. This intention was prevented by the resistance of the population there and by the vigilance of individual leading Bulgarian communists. After this impudent attempt had failed, the Titoites tried for a long time to take possession of the Pirin district by putting pressure on the Bulgarian government. After the agreement concluded in Bled in 1945 between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian governments, a hundred Yugoslav teachers, booksellers and other representatives from Skoplje (People's Republic of Macedonia within the framework of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) were sent to the Pirin district. In addition, the area was still visited by numerous delegations and excursionists. All of these Titoite emissaries developed extensive agitation in Macedonia, which was directed against the territorial existence of Bulgaria and also

[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», p. 123.

against the interests of the population residing in the Pirin area. All these «teachers», «booksellers» and lower secret agents, who were under the direction of the Yugoslav UDB officers Pero Korobar in Blagoevgrad, Pero Oliolovsky in Petrich and Cvetko Ivanovsky in Gotse Delchev, unfolded an active propaganda in favour of the Tito clique and were also engaged in espionage. They spied in important economic centres, such as the Pirin mine, electricity plants, etc., were interested in the locations and numbers of troop units and militia, especially on the border. The secret agents from Skoplje applied political and moral pressure to make the population inclined to the Titoite policy. They distributed scholarships to students and pupils and gave bribes to certain people. They also, as a series of later court cases in Petrich, Blagoevgrad and Sandanski proved, set up espionage agencies through which they wanted to penetrate all branches of economic and political life and prepare the breakaway of the Pirin region from Bulgaria.

However, the cunning manoeuvres of the imperialists, which they carried out through their Belgrade agency, were exposed and crossed by the attention of the CP of Bulgaria and the People's Government, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, the greatest and most consistent fighter against Titoite fascism. The Traicho Kostov gang, this Washington-London-Belgrade agency in People's Democratic Bulgaria, was exposed and liquidated. The CP of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian People's Government uncovered in time the veiled plans and dirty manoeuvres of the Tito gang directed against the freedom and independence of the Bulgarian people and thus foiled all the plots directed against

the auspicious friendship of the Bulgarian people with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

For the Anglo-American imperialists, after all this, there was nothing left but to instruct their Belgrade agency to resort now to open provocations, gang raids and blatant murders. Weapons and slanders necessary for this were readily supplied by the Washington and London warmongers. Thus they incited an evil mob against Bulgaria and the Soviet-led democratic camp.

Disguised as diplomatic officials and so-called «political émigrés», Tito's UDB agents and other spies began to operate in Bulgaria (Blagoj Hadji Panzov, Svetozar Savić, Major Ugrica, Branko Zvijerac, Miodrag Sibirac and others), including many fugitive fascists, bandits from the Mikhailov groups and criminal criminals. This motley crew was brought to light by numerous court cases in Sofia, Petrich, Blagoevgrad and Sandanski. It has been proved beyond doubt that the entire espionage and decomposition work of this rabble was directed personally by leading Titoites.

The best idea of this is given by the note which the Bulgarian government handed over to the Yugoslav embassy in Sofia on 15 April 1950. In it, in connection with the trial of the Zvijerac-Sibirac gang, it said:

«The trial has proved that the present leaders in Yugoslavia, with Tito, Ranković and others at their head, have organized conspiracies on the promptings of the imperialists to overthrow the legal order existing in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They sent bandits, terrorists and spies to Bulgaria to carry out these criminal plans and assassinate members of the Bulgarian govern-

ment, as well as representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries.

«To achieve their goals, the Yugoslav leaders exploited senior UDB officers and agents, Yugoslav and Bulgarian fascists, bandits and criminal criminals, such as Branko Zvijerac, the head of a security department in KNOJ[1], Miodrag Milošević-Sibirac, the head of counter-intelligence of the 26th Yugoslav Division, Dimiter Todorov Goranov, a former Tsarist officer, participant in Hitler's Baltic campaign against the Soviet Union and murderer of progressive sailors in the Bulgarian fleet, or Stoyan Grigorov Petrov, former cavalry sergeant, or the sergeant Petar Ivanov Petrov and Petko Ivanov, a former Tsarist officer and active fascist, and many other elements who actively participated in the persecutions of the partisans in Macedonia and Serbia.

«This criminal activity against the People's Republic of Bulgaria was directly organized and directed by the following Yugoslav senior officials:

«1. Slobodan Penezić, Minister of the Interior of Serbia; it was proven that he personally gave the accused Branko Zvijerac and other officials the order to go illegally to Bulgaria, to pose there as opponents of the Tito regime, in order to be able to engage in espionage and acts of terrorism without hindrance. When Minister Penezić instructed Branko Zvijerac to carry out this criminal activity, he told him that it was high time to take revenge on Bulgaria. Then he initiated him into the hostile plans of the Yugoslav leaders to enslave Bulgaria and place it under the Tito clique as the 'seventh republic'.

«2. General Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, head of the political administration of the Yugoslav Army and immediate head of counter-intelligence, and Efto Sokić, head of counter-intelligence of the Yugoslav Army; it was proved at the trial that both sent Miodrag Milošević-Sibirac, head of counter-intelligence of the 26th Division, to Bulgaria and gave him espionage and terrorist orders. When they gave him detailed instructions for this criminal activity, General Tempo told him that the struggle had to be waged not only against the security of the People's Republic

[1] Abbreviation for Corps for the People's Defence of Yugoslavia, designation of the border troops.

of Bulgaria, but also against the Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies, because they were 'enemies of the present Yugoslav regime'.

«3. Colonel Bojanić, head of the UDB for Serbia, took a direct part in preparing and sending spies and terrorists to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He gave Sibirac the final concrete instructions for the criminal orders given to him. He threatened him that his work would be controlled and that if he did not fulfil the orders he had been given, he would be killed.

«4. Colonel Vojkan Lukić, head of the UDB for Serbia, was involved in instructing Branko Zvijerac and others. He showed him the location in Freedom Park on the Sofia city map where he was to meet with Svetozar Savić, the UDB major and head of the consular service of the Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia.

«5. Bisić, UDB major, personally instructed Bogoljub Čedomir Ilić in Negotin how to go illegally to Bulgaria and carry out acts of terror there.

«6. In addition to these senior officials in Yugoslavia, senior officials of the Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia also organized and directed criminal acts of espionage and terror.

«S. Savić, the head of the consular service of the Yugoslav Embassy in Sofia, was directly responsible for all espionage and terrorist groups sent to Bulgaria. He met regularly with Branko Zvijerac and handed over to him the instructions of Minister Penezić. He also handed over to him the decision of Tito and Ranković and the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia that an assassination attempt must be made on the tribune of the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum during the celebrations on the occasion of 9 September. He told him that he must have the assassination carried out by some discontented Bulgarian citizen. He said that there were representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic countries on the tribune, and so the assassination could cause a crisis between these countries and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Mlodrag Milošević-Sibirac also received his instructions directly from Savić.

«Arso Milatović, the former Yugoslav deputy military attaché in Sofia, occupied himself exclusively with organizing espionage throughout his stay in Bulgaria. He maintained constant contact with Darina Borislavova Stoikova, who provided him

with confidential information about Bulgaria. After Stoikova came under suspicion, Milatović reported her activities to the CC of the CPY, and in the presence of Tito, the CC decided that Stoikova should remain in Bulgaria and continue her espionage activities.

«Radomir Simić, the third legation secretary of the Yugoslav embassy, had the task of receiving the spies sent from Yugoslavia and Bulgarian fascist émigrés in Sofia and maintaining contact with them. The latter had been briefed by the UDB district chief to liaise with Lieutenant Simić and hand over the spy information to him.

«Kiril Odrlin, the former Deputy Commercial Attache in Sofia, and Nastadin Radović, who was also formerly Deputy Commercial Attache, were in regular contact with one Katerina Metodieva Spasova, giving her espionage assignments and taking from her regular information about Bulgaria that constituted state secrets.»

In their premeditated plan to artificially inflame national enmities and provoke serious border incidents, the Tito clique systematically organizes border incidents and discriminates against Bulgaria's diplomatic representatives in Belgrade. A single note from the Bulgarian government alone, that of 16 January 1950, lists fifteen cases of gross border provocations by Yugoslav authorities. On 25 February 1950, the Yugoslav border organs organized the dastardly assassination of the two Bulgarian border guards Vasil Ivanov Minkov and Stanju Kolev Grossev. In response to the Bulgarian government's note of protest and its demand that the assassins and their henchmen be punished, the Yugoslav government denied the murder and cynically added that the two Bulgarian border guards had been killed by Bulgarian organs. This statement naturally meant encouragement for further provocations and murders for all Yugoslav

border authorities.

In fact, even after this date, the Titoite border organs carried out a whole series of raids and deliberately and systematically provoked border incidents.

In 1948, the Tito bandits organized «only» 12 border incidents; in 1949, they could already boast before their imperialist masters of 50 border provocations, in 1950 of 123 and in 1951 of more than 150 major incidents.

In 1951, the Titoite criminals violated Bulgarian air sovereignty more than thirty times. In some cases the planes came from Greece and flew over Bulgarian territory in the direction of Yugoslavia. Bulgarian border guards and Bulgarian territory were fired upon 27 times. In 17 cases Yugoslav border guards crossed the border in order to abduct Bulgarian citizens or border guards into Yugoslavia. 19 cases were reported of anti-Bulgarian and anti-Soviet propaganda material being distributed at the border.

The Tito «diplomats» in Sofia behaved like bandits. It is enough to recall the criminal activity of Savić. It was he who tried to organize the assassination attempt on the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum. Furthermore, the activity of Ugrica, who bandit-like sneaked into military camps and other important objects, should be mentioned. Finally, the atrocious crime in the «Geo Milev» factory speaks convincingly of the fact that the Tito «diplomats» are learned pupils and emulators of the American gangsters.

Incessantly, the Tito authorities secretly smuggle spies and diversionists across the border: surrendered UDB agents, fascist and criminal types are picked up by the Belgrade mercenaries, formed into gangs,

armed to the teeth and, with the help of the Yugoslav border authorities, smuggled into Bulgarian territory to carry out diversionary and rummaging work; among them also Bulgarians who are wanted in Bulgaria for anti-grassroots and communally dangerous crimes and who have found refuge with Tito. The Bulgarian state authorities have already put many such elements out of action, including quite a few whom the Bulgarian people had long since rejected.

Murder, common assassination, is one of the most frequent ways in which the Tito soldiers carry out their hostile activity against Bulgaria. Murder of border guards, of border residents and even of children, as well as numerous cases of shooting from Yugoslav territory at Bulgarian border detachments and at peasants working near the border, occupy an important place in the anti-Bulgarian activity of the Tito gang. The bestial murder of the eleven workers of the «Geo Milev» factory, burnt like living torches, which took place on the orders of Belgrade under the direction of the Yugoslav deputy military attaché Ugrica, remains an indelible stigma on the foreheads of Tito, Ranković and accomplices.

The Titoites also created an intolerable regime in the cultivation of the fields across the Bulgarian border. The Bulgarian government's note of 29 June 1950 cites a number of facts about the arbitrary closure of border points, non-admission of Bulgarian peasants to cultivate their fields located on Yugoslav territory, detention and arrest of Bulgarian peasants by the Yugoslav border authorities and the like. Similarly, the Yugoslav government exploits the agreement on fields and property on both sides of the border as a cover for

espionage and diversionary activities against the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In the course of eight months, the Bulgarian government has sent four protest notes to the Yugoslav government protesting against the gross and systematic Yugoslav violations of the agreement on property lying on both sides of the border. As there was no other way out, the Bulgarian government cancelled this agreement in the end in order to protect the border population from the taunts of the Yugoslav authorities.

Another vicious anti-Bulgarian measure of the Titoites is to terrorise the Bulgarian citizens and Greek refugees in Yugoslavia. After the end of the war, several thousand Bulgarian citizens and Greek refugees were induced to move to Yugoslavia. Not long after their arrival in Yugoslavia, Bulgarian citizens very soon realized that they had been swindled by the Tito agents, and many made efforts to return to Bulgaria.

After the open transition of the Tito clique into the imperialist camp, these Bulgarian citizens and Greek refugees are subjected to savage terror by the Tito-Ranković police. The latter demand that the Bulgarians renounce their Bulgarian citizenship. And the Greek refugees are contemptuously called «Bugari» (Bulgarians) or «Greeks». Legally acquired Bulgarian passports and other documents are taken away from the resettlers; they are sent from one end of Yugoslavia to the other in goods wagons, tortured in camps until they are finally settled in small groups in the most remote corners of poor mountain regions.

According to the accounts of the victims and other eyewitnesses, one can claim that only the Jews were mocked in this way during Hitler's rule.

Despite the many protests of the Bulgarian government, the Tito police are still forcibly detaining more than 7000 Bulgarian citizens and refugees from Aegean Macedonia, although they wish to return or resettle in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. But that is not all! The Titoite police authorities are still looking for new victims among the Bulgarians living in Yugoslavia. In June and August 1950, the Bulgarian government handed over two notes to the Yugoslav embassy in Sofia protesting against the new arrests of Bulgarian citizens in Yugoslavia. The notes named thirty-seven Bulgarian citizens, most of whom had been arrested by the Tito police in early 1950.

The climax of the hostile acts of the Tito gang against the Bulgarian people is the slanderous «complaint» of the Belgrade government at the 6th Session of the UN General Assembly. This accuses the Bulgarian People's Democratic Government of violating the peace treaty and committing hostile acts against Yugoslavia and allegedly persecuting the «Yugoslav minority» in Bulgaria. There is no Yugoslav minority in Bulgaria at all. It is a pure Titoite invention.

The policy of the Tito clique towards Bulgaria is obviously hostile and directed against the existence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, against the freedom and independence of the Bulgarian people. Our Comrade Vladimir Poptomov did not write the warning words for nothing:

«For our country, the Titoites are not only deserters from the front of democracy and socialism, not only agents of the Anglo-American imperialists and the worst slanderers and provocateurs against the Soviet Union, but also the most dangerous neighbours. The Titoites are no longer hiding the territorial

claims they are making on Bulgaria, they are speaking openly and boldly of their intention to annex the Pirin district. They have reached an agreement with the Greek monarcho-fascists in order to stifle the people's liberation movement in Greece, to divide up Albania and to create a common front against Bulgaria.»[1]

The Tito Clique's Stirrings against the People's Republic of Albania

Mehmet Shehu, Secretary of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, wrote:

«Of all the People's Democracies, Albania is the country against which the fascist Tito clique has acted and is acting in the most open and brutal manner.»[2]

The hostile activity of the Tito clique towards the Albanian people is a continuation of the policy of the former royal Serbian governments and the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie, who also wanted to lay their hand on the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic. The Tito clique remained faithful to this traditional Great-Serbian bourgeois policy and even during the People's Liberation War tried to subordinate the liberation struggle of the Albanian people to its interests and in this way to prepare and realize the annexation of Albania to Yugoslavia.

For this reason, Tito sent Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo to the Albanian partisan leadership in 1943 to convince them that a unified «Balkan staff» with Tito at its head had to be created and that it should lead

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 8 January 1950.

[2] *For lasting peace, for people's democracy!* of 4 August 1950.

the «unified» people's liberation movement in the Balkans.

Of course, at that time the young Communist Party of Albania, with Enver Hoxha at the head, rejected the Titoite proposal. Tempo then proceeded to split the leadership of the People's Liberation Movement in Albania, thus significantly complicating the liberation struggle of the Albanian people. He succeeded in winning over the members of the CC of the CP of Albania Koçi Xoxe, Sejfulla Malëshova and Pandi Kristo to his anti-people course.

Velimir Stojnić[1], Tito's plenipotentiary to the CC of the CP of Albania, succeeded in 1944, leaning on Koçi Xoxe, in carrying out Titoite policies for a time through the CC of the CP of Albania. Tito agents were placed in responsible posts, Sejfulla Malëshova and Pandi Kristo were made members of the CC's Politburo; Koçi Xoxe himself became Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior.

After the end of the war, the Tito clique made various moves aimed at seizing Albania. For this purpose, they exploited the group around Koçi Xoxe. All the treaties and conventions concluded between Yugoslavia and Albania up to 1948 disadvantaged Albania and gave the Titoites the opportunity to penetrate all branches of Albanian political and economic life.

At the beginning of 1948, the Titoite agents within

[1] Before Velimir Stojnić, Miladin Popović, an excellent communist-internationalist, was the representative of the CC of the CPY in Albania. He gave great help to the organization of the people's liberation struggle in Albania, but was recalled to Yugoslavia and assassinated because of his differences with the Tito clique on Albanian policy.

the CC of the CP of Albania struck a heavy blow against the leadership of the CP of Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha: with the support of the Tito representative in Albania, Koçi Xoxe and his supporters succeeded in getting a resolution adopted at the 8th Plenum of the CC condemning the policy of friendship with the USSR which the Party and the government had pursued until then and demanding «co-operation» between Yugoslavia and Albania under the slogan «brotherhood and unity».

Immediately after the 8th Plenum, Kristo Themelko, Koçi Xoxe's closest collaborator and head of the political department of the Albanian army, requested the merger of the Albanian army with the Yugoslav army, and Tito proposed sending Yugoslav troops to Albania «for protection against monarcho-fascist raids» (by the Greeks — D.K.).

At that time, in the spring of 1948, The Titoites were making feverish preparations to invade Albania and occupy the country. Aleksa Mišurović, head of department in the military district of Niš, describes the preparations as follows:

«The 5th Rifle Corps of the Skoplje Army, the 5th Motorized Corps under the command of Colonel Pekić, the 52nd Division, the 25th Independent Regiment, the close and long-range artillery and other units were brought up to war strength. The 27th Rifle Division from Banja Luka was thrown to the Albanian border in the Ohrid-Prespa-Shen Naum area and the Rifle Division under the command of Colonel Milan Bosnić from Osijek to the Podgorica-Tuzi sector (on the North-Eastern border of Albania). All these were preparations to realize the plan of the Tito imperialist agency and to occupy Albania.

«At that time, we all wondered what could have happened in Albania and what could cause the Yugoslav army to bring these

divisions from peacetime to war strength and move them to the Albanian border. The Titoites in the General Staff and their tools in the Niš Military District Staff and the staffs of the 1st and 8th Skoplje Armies gave the following brief 'clarification': 'The People's Republic of Albania is threatened by an invasion by the Greek monarcho-fascists, therefore our army must be ready for any eventuality and render assistance'. There was also talk of some parts of the 5th Corps having to be transferred to Albanian territory 'for more effective help'.

«All operational and intelligence personnel were pushed to the Albanian border. The newly created detachments were personally directed by Koča Popović, the Chief of the General Staff, by Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, the Head of the Political Administration of the Yugoslav Army, and other imperialist agents of the Tito General Staff.

«The soldiers and honest leaders of the 3rd Military District thought that they really had to rush to the aid of the brotherly Albanian people, and worked tirelessly day and night to prepare the said units as best they could. The pioneer units, the district staffs and the Skoplje army, which had to prepare the Skoplje-Veles-Bitola-Ohrid-Shen Naum and Skoplje-Gostivar-Kičevo-Ohrid communication routes for transport, had a particularly hard time.»[1]

These criminal plans of the Tito clique against Albania collapsed because their implementation coincided with the exposure of the Tito clique by the CC of the CPSU(B) and later by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties. After this exposure, the Albanian people listened, realized the danger hanging over them and took decisive measures to repel their internal enemies, the provocateurs Koçi Xoxe and cronies, the criminal hand of the Tito clique who wanted to steal the freedom and independence of the Albanian people.

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 11 November 1949.

After the resolution of the Information Bureau, the Tito clique went over to its familiar means, to stirring up trouble. It sent spies and divserionists into Albania to carry out acts of terrorism and sabotage. In this way, the Tito clique wanted to weaken the people's power and overthrow the Albanian Republic through an uprising staged from outside.

In their activities directed against the People's Republic of Albania, the Titoites worked together with the Greek monarcho-fascists and under the dictates of the Anglo-American imperialists. These criminal relations were exposed by Enver Hoxha. At a rally in Shkodra in 1949, he shared the following astonishing facts:

«Tito and his supporters have tried to form diversionary gangs and send them across our border to cause discontent and confusion in our country. The fate of dozens of war criminals and bandits is known who, on Ranković's orders, roamed around our northern mountains and murdered our comrades. From fifteen of these criminals and traitors the earth has been freed. The rest we crushed; hungry and unresisting as they were, they could no longer hold out in Albania and escaped to Yugoslavia. The attacks of the bandit Tito in connection with the draining of Lake Shkodra were also foiled. This was nothing but an attempt to enter Albania all over again. This, like the 'Trojan horse', was a means for the purpose of 'peacefully overthrowing' our country.

«As is known, some Albanian war criminals — executioners of our people, collaborators of the Italian and German fascists — had fled abroad, such as Mithat Frashëri, Mustafa Kruja, Abaz Kupi, Ahmet Zogu, Ernest Koliqi, Muharrem Bajraktari and others. The Americans and the British did not extradite these war criminals to Albania despite the Potsdam resolutions. Now these murderers have raised a committee in France consisting of spies of America, England and Italy, Tito, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Vatican.

«We know that Mithat Frashëri, the agent of the Greek monarcho-fascists Abaz Ermenin and the executioner Xhafer Devën met with Tito agents in Trieste; Gani Kryeziun, the old agent of Tito and the Secret Intelligence Service, was also there and officers of the American and English spy services. We also know what tasks were set in Skoplje and Prishtina by the fascist Tito and for what purpose he supported and fed the Albanian war criminals in these cities.

«King Aleksander had taken into his service the Kryeziu family, feudal lords from Kosova, Ceno Beg, Gani Beg, Seit Beg and others. The executioners of the people of Kosova (Albanian territory under Yugoslav rule — D.K.), Ferhat Dragët, Iljaz Agushët, Xhafer Devët and others also collaborated with them. The Serbian chauvinists and the Kryeziu family are the murderers of the patriot Bajram Curri. During the fascist occupation, some of these spies and executioners of the Albanian population in Kosova went into service with the Italians and Germans. Others, such as Gani and Seit Beg Kryeziu, changed masters and became spies of the Secret Intelligence Service. In 1944, Gani and Seit Beg Kryeziu and the Trotskyist traitor Zai Fundo were with the British military mission in the northern Albanian mountains. When our People's Army reached these bandits, it inflicted a terrible defeat on them. The leaders were captured and sentenced to death. Then Tito and his clique suddenly declared that they would break off relations with Albania if Gani and Seit Beg Kryeziu were executed. They demanded that they be handed over to them so that they could hand them over to the British. Does this not clearly show that the fascist Tito and his friends have long been in the service of the Secret Intelligence Service? Gani Beg Kryeziu is alive and well in Yugoslavia today, and Seit Beg Kryeziu is on the Traitors' Committee in Paris.»

Important documents were found in several of Tito's spy and diversionist gangs arrested in recent years. They gave the Albanian government credible information about the criminal attacks of the Tito clique on the freedom and independence of the People's Republic of Albania.

As Mehmet Shehu told the newspaper *For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy!*

«the Albanian government organs have evidence and documents which show that the groups of Albanian reactionaries and war criminals organized and armed by the Greek and Yugoslav fascists were to instigate an uprising in the rear of the Albanian army last summer (1949), at a time when the monarcho-fascist troops were preparing an attack on Albania's southern border. However, these groups of enemies of the people were unmasked in time and neutralized. From the beginning of 1949 to the end of June 1950, Tito's forces, in violation of Albania's territorial inviolability, perpetrated more than 150 provocations on land, sea and air...

«In the summer of last year, when the monarcho-fascist troops were engaged in real fighting with the Albanian troops on our southern border, the Tito fascist clique began a whole series of large-scale operations to 'cleanse' the zones bordering Albania of anti-Tito and internationalist elements. These operations were at the same time intended to intimidate the Albanian population in order to facilitate the military actions of the monarcho-fascists on the southern border.

«After the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau 'On the Situation in the CPY', the Tito agency set about with increased activity to expand its network in Albania, to bring unrest, panic, sabotage and terror to our country. Extensive acts of sabotage in railway transport, the assassination of the chairman of the council of the Hajmel locality, the assassination of the secretary of the district committee of the party in Mirdita, Comrade Bardhok Biba, the assassination of the secretary of the local branch of the party in Dode, etc., etc. — all this was the work of the Tito agency.»[1]

With the formation of the Belgrade-Athens axis, the well-known plan of dividing Albania between Greece and Yugoslavia, discussed by Zaldaris and Pi-

[1] *For lasting peace, for people's democracy!* of 4 August 1950.

jade at the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, resurfaced. At that time, the plan could not be carried out because world public opinion had become aware of it. Thus the conspirators were forced to abandon their intentions for the time being.

The Tito Clique Stabbed the Struggling Greek and Macedonian People in the Back

One of the most serious outrages of the Tito leadership against the freedom and interests of the Balkan peoples is the blow to the back of the Greek and Macedonian people fighting for freedom and democracy.

The history of this traitorous act begins during the German occupation. In order to usurp the leadership of the people's liberation movement of the Balkan peoples or — if this should not succeed — at least to weaken and disorganize it, the Tito leadership reached out to the Greek democratic movement as early as 1943. The same Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo who had disorganized the liberation struggle in Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau and elsewhere, also tried to divide the fighting Greeks and Macedonians. He took the position that the liberation of Aegean Macedonia could only happen through Yugoslavia.

At that time, Tempo created in the Greek democratic movement, true to Tito's policy of decomposition, an anti-people conspiratorial group headed by Goce and Keramidjieff.

The resolution of the leadership of the Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia of June 1949 states that «the decomposition of the unity of struggle

between the Greek and Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia began with the stirring and splitting work organized by the CP of Yugoslavia in the CP of Greece in 1944».

At that time, the Tito clique built its own party organization in Aegean Macedonia, destroying the unity between the CP of Greece and the EAM; it sent hundreds of its OZNA agents and its agents of the 2nd Bureau of the Yugoslav Staff into the CP of Greece and the NOF. At the head of this decomposition work were two dark figures, Keramidjieff and Goce.

The resolution of the Aegean Macedonian Communist Organization also states that Lazar Koliševski, the Secretary of the CP of Macedonia and Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Macedonia, directed the activity of the Tito spy group in the CP of Greece and NOF itself.

The agents of the Tito traitor clique carried out their Judas work for years. With slander and flattery, with threats and all kinds of tribulations, they carried out their anti-people policy in order to separate the Macedonian people from the Greek in Agaean Macedonia. In this way, they wanted to establish their rule over Agaean Macedonia by force in order to unite it with Yugoslavia at the next favourable moment.

«Today it is clear to every Macedonian,» the aforementioned resolution continues, «that this work of decomposition by the Tito clique and its gang was the main obstacle to the consistent implementation of the policy of the CP of Greece on the Macedonian question.»

The Tito clique did everything possible to disorganize and confuse the correct policy of the CP of

Greece and to impose on it a political line which was bound to be harmful to the common liberation struggle of the Macedonian and Greek peoples. Today it is common knowledge that the 5th Plenum of the CC of the CP of Greece succumbed to the intrigues of the Tito clique and its agents Keramidjieff and Goce when it took the decision to replace the slogan «equality of the Macedonian people» with the slogan «self-determination». For the Titoites, the slogan «self-determination» meant the unification of Aegean Macedonia with Yugoslavia. This false slogan, which aimed at the detachment of Agaean Macedonia from Greece and the unification with Yugoslavia, was widely exploited by the Greek monarcho-fascists in the struggle against the CP of Greece and the Greek People's Liberation Movement and caused a lot of damage. The monarcho-fascist propaganda was able to convince the Greek people and the world public that the CP of Greece wanted to sacrifice Greek territory with more than one million Greek people. This brought confusion in the ranks of the Party and the EAM. The leadership of the CP of Greece and the NOF had to make great efforts to repair this damage.

In their efforts to seize Agaean Macedonia and disorganize the Greek liberation movement, the Titoites enjoyed the full support of the British imperialists. Nikos Zachariadis writes:

«When the English landed in Greece in October 1944, Tempo, who led the provocative moves against the CP of Greece, told the communists of Aegean Macedonia that he had asked Tito to send two divisions to occupy Salonika. This was before the December events; the British, unsure of their hold on Greece, preferred not to let Salonika fall into the hands of ELAS, but to

let Tito occupy it; they therefore dropped weapons over Chrupista airfield, which were then passed on to Tito's agents, Tempo, Goce and Pios to Vapsori to be used against ELAS. Already during the Hitler occupation, Goce and Pios set up groups of Macedonians and worked with Tempo. It can be taken as established that later the Englishman Evans, who was then the representative of the British military mission in Macedonia, called with particular emphasis for the intensified formation of these groups, which Goce, Pios and Keramidjieff used for their divisive machinations against the popular and liberation movement in Greece.»[1]

But the Tito clique did not only have the ambition of appropriating Aegean Macedonia. During the clashes between ELAS and General Scobie's English occupation forces in December 1944, the Titoites gave immediate help to the English by ordering Macedonian troops under Goce's command to go to Yugoslavia. Later, when the well-known agreement was signed in Varkisa, the Titoites tried to make this agreement ineffective and to restart the fighting with the English. For this reason, the Titoites also supported the adventurous «rebellions» of Miserias (Velouchiotis), which had the clearly recognizable intention of weakening the Greek democratic army and stifling the liberation movement for a long time.

Zachariadis is absolutely right when he asserts:

«The CP of Greece and the revolutionary movement in Greece have been between two fires since at least 1943: on the one hand, the foreign imperialists and monarcho-fascists and, on the other, Tito's clique with its executive organ, the gang of Go-

[1] *For lasting peace, for people's democracy!* of 1 August 1949.

ces and Keramidjieffs...»[1]

In its rabble-rousing against the Greek democratic movement, the Tito clique did not even stop at the most serious crimes. It has been irrefutably proved that Christos Vlahos, who assassinated the member of the Politburo of the CC of the CP of Greece, Janis Zevgos, in Salonika in 1947, was an agent of the Tito spy service. On the instructions of the Titoites, he had gone into service with General Zervas, a well-known agent of the Secret Intelligence Service, in order to be able to carry out the murder of Janis Zevgos.

The pinnacle of Tito's crimes against the liberation struggle of the Greek and Macedonian people, however, is Kajmakčalan. On 6 July 1949, the Supreme Command of the Greek Democratic Army announced that on 5 July of the same year, monarcho-fascist troops had taken advantage of Yugoslav territory to bypass units of the Greek People's Army and attack them in the rear. On the same day, the *Free Greece Telegraph Agency* referred to an official document, to the report of the commander of the 516th Battalion of the monarcho-fascists, Lieutenant Colonel Petropoulos, to the commander of the 3rd Army Corps, General Grigoropoulos, and announced that on 4 July 1949, that is, on the eve of the attack, the Greek People's Army had attacked Yugoslav territory. July 1949, i.e. on the eve of the day on which the monarcho-fascists had used Yugoslav territory, a meeting had taken place between Yugoslav and Greek (monarcho-fascist) officers in the area of Popovolosi

[1] *For lasting peace, for people's democracy!* of 1 August 1949.

(Kajmakčalan), with English and American officers also present.

There, the Greek monarcho-fascist troops were allowed to cross Yugoslav territory. After this meeting, the units of the Greek democratic army were unexpectedly attacked from the rear.

A few days later, Yugoslav border troops were not ashamed to open fire against a unit of the Greek Democratic Army because it had approached the Yugoslav border while manoeuvring. These were, of course, extremely valuable services rendered by the Titoites to the Greek monarcho-fascists for their struggle against the Greek and Macedonian people.

It is clear that the strike of the Titoites against the Greek democratic army in Kajmakčalan is a logical continuation of the whole Titoite activity in the service of the American and British imperialists. The interference of the Titoites in the Greek civil war in favour of the monarcho-fascists decisively influenced the outcome of the struggle of the Greek and Macedonian people. At the end of 1948 and the beginning of 1949, monarcho-fascism in Greece was in a serious moral and political crisis. Its army was in decomposition and was becoming steadily more incapable of fighting. The reactionary forces in Greece were gripped by a crisis, their situation was hopeless. The American masters of the Greek monarcho-fascists were also bogged down, and voices were even raised advising them to leave Greece. The general verdict at the time was that the monarcho-fascist regime was on the verge of collapse and the Greek democratic army on the verge of victory. And it was precisely at this critical moment for the monarcho-fascists and their

American masters that the Titoites came to their aid.

This service of the Titoites was recognized by both the American imperialists and the Greek monarcho-fascists. In a letter to the *France Press* from Washington, printed in the monarcho-fascist newspaper *Katimerini* on 19 October 1949, they said:

«The official American circles are not afraid to admit that Tito's betrayal played a great part in the development of the situation in Greece. The diplomatic circles even consider that Tito's intervention was as decisive as the economic and military aid shown to the Greek government by the USA.»

The Tito clique continued its treacherous and hostile acts against the Greek and Macedonian people by handing over several thousand Greek children who were in Yugoslavia to the monarcho-fascist executioners. As is known, about ten thousand Greek and Macedonian children had fled to Yugoslavia from the bloody terror and barbaric bombings. The Tito fascist clique now handed over these victims of the monarcho-fascist terror to those from whom they had fled abroad.

In November 1950, the newspapers reported that a group of Greek and Macedonian children had been handed over to Greece. Many Titoites, monarcho-fascist and foreign officials and 35 journalists were present. In 1951, some groups of Greek and Macedonian children and youths were still handed over. Among the so-called children were also youths of 18 years of age who were already subject to compulsory military service. The Belgrade criminals are thus handing over Greek and Macedonian youths to the monarcho-fascists so that tomorrow they can be used as cannon fod-

der for their criminal adventures and for the adventures of their Anglo-American masters. The children who have really and allegedly been handed over are now not being passed on to their families in Greece, but are being held in «hotels» until the children's parents are «found». So the children have not been requested by the parents, but are simply handed over on the basis of agreements between the Yugoslav and Greek governments. The «hotels» where the children are imprisoned are, as the whole world knows, concentration camps where the Greek monarcho-fascists keep and wear down the children of Greek and Macedonian patriots.

The depth to which the Tito criminals have sunk is proved by their attack on the lives and health of thousands of Greek and Macedonian children, whom they do not hand over to their parents or relatives in the People's Democratic countries, but to the monarcho-fascist executioners. This outrageous crime of the Tito clique against the children of fallen and martyred Greek patriots is at the same time for the Belgrade government a political and economic business unique in the history of mankind. The handing over of the children is closely connected with the formation of the Belgrade-Athens axis of aggression and the establishment of friendly relations between the two fascist governments, with the establishment of mutual economic relations and the provision of a free trade zone for the Titoites in the city of Salonika.

The Belgrade fascist clique is trying to cover up the unprecedented crime and low business at the expense of defenceless Greek and Macedonian children. For this reason, the arch-criminal Tito himself cynically

stated in his interview with the journalist Sulzberger:

«For us it is the very best thing if this thing (the handing over of the children to the monarcho-fascists — D.K.) is done through the Red Cross, because the countries affiliated to the Information Bureau will campaign against us. They will claim that we are giving the children to fascists and reactionaries and that the parents of these children are in Czechoslovakia, Romania and other countries...»

This is absolutely true! The children's parents, relatives and loved ones live in the People's Democratic countries. But in many cases the Titoites refused to allow the children to go to their parents or relatives in the People's Democratic countries. They prefer to hand them over by force to the monarcho-fascist executioners.

In vain Tito and his gang hope that under the guise of the Red Cross they can cover their shame and confuse public opinion. Their crime against the Greek and Macedonian children is so great and appalling that no mask, not even that of the Red Cross, can save them from the contempt and wrath of the peoples.

The Tito Clique's Disgraceful Game with the Slogan «Federation of the South Slavs»

In its anti-Soviet and anti-Bulgarian activity, the Tito clique exploited the slogan of the «Federation of South Slavs» in the most shameful way. With this slogan, which is popular among the South Slav peoples, they intended to facilitate and cover up their criminal efforts to annex Bulgaria.

It is indisputable that the Bulgarian, Serbian, Cro-

atian and Macedonian peoples and the other South Slav peoples carry deep in their hearts the idea of fraternal unification of all South Slavs. The CP of Bulgaria has given expression to this aspiration for friendship and fraternal unity and included the struggle for the federation of the South Slavs in its program. This struggle has found expression in the political and practical activity of the CP of Bulgaria since the day of its foundation. The idea of federation, as Comrade Georgi Dimitrov said, became the traditional idea for our party and for the whole labouring Bulgarian people.

While the slogan of federation was only a program question until the Second World War, the solution of which was connected with the revolution in the Balkan countries, after September 9, 1944, when the monarcho-fascist state form was liquidated in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and the people's democratic power was established, it acquired current significance. It could have found its practical solution.

«In view of the internal and international situation that had arisen, the vital interests of the Bulgarian people and the Yugoslav peoples dictated the closest possible rapprochement of the two countries, which should have led in the shortest possible time to their economic and state-political unity, to the formation of the Federation of the South Slavs.» (Georgi Dimitrov.)

The Tito clique also saw that the slogan of the federation of the South Slavs was popular, they also saw the favourable conditions for its realization that had arisen after 9 September 1944. This led them, following the advice of the American imperialists, to exploit the slogan of the Federation of the South Slavs for

their insidious political aims.

However, the CP of Bulgaria and also the Bulgarian government considered the Federation of the South Slavs as a necessity for the further development of the South Slavs on the road of friendship with the USSR and the construction of socialism. Georgi Dimitrov, in his speech at the 5th Party Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in December 1948, underlined:

> «Such a federation, based on friendship with the Soviet Union and fraternal co-operation with other People's Democratic republics, would have been able to guarantee the freedom and independence of our peoples and would have ensured their proper development on the road to socialism.»[1]

It is therefore clear that the CP of Bulgaria conceived the Federation of the South Slavs as an «economic and state-political unity» which would be formed under the protection and with the help of the USSR and could only exist thanks to the close friendship with the USSR. The CP of Bulgaria aspired to such a federation of the South Slavs which, with the help of the USSR and the People's Democratic countries, would have secured the freedom and independence of our people from the attacks of the Western imperialists. The CP of Bulgaria was in favour of such a federation of the South Slavs, within the framework of which socialist society could be built and the transition to communism could be prepared with the active support of the USSR.

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[1] *Georgi Dimitrov*, «The Role and Meaning of People's Democracy», p. 77.

Starting from this progressive and only genuine conception, the leadership of the CP of Bulgaria and the government of the Fatherland Front made great and sincere efforts to realize the federation as soon as possible. These efforts of the Bulgarian leadership, and especially of the late great man, Georgi Dimitrov, led to the Bled settlement between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav governments, through which a number of important measures were agreed upon, aimed at the early realization of the federation. The formation of the federation itself was a question of a few months, because Georgi Dimitrov's view was that «the sooner it was created, the less difficulties we would have in international relations».

The leadership of the Bulgarian CP resolutely and enthusiastically directed its work towards concluding the federation in the shortest possible time. Naturally, the following telegram from the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia to the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), dated 14 March 1948, caused great astonishment:

> «We learnt that a number of our functionaries are talking widely about the fact that in two to three months the federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria would be formed. The CC of the CPY is of the opinion that it is too early to talk about the federation today. We will acquaint comrade Dimitrov with our projects during his trip to Czechoslovakia.»

As we know, however, the Titoites did not acquaint Comrade Dimitrov with their projects, but refused further negotiations.

The betrayal of the Bled settlement was nothing special and nothing new in the politics of the Titoites.

In reality, the Yugoslav leaders and their deputies in Skoplje behaved in a hostile and rejecting way towards the idea of the Federation of Southern Slavs. In 1945, a delegation of Macedonian emigrants and representatives from the Pirin district (Bulgarian part of Macedonia) visited the city of Skoplje, the capital of the People's Republic of Macedonia in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. One of the participants of the delegation, Christo Kalaydzhiev, reported:

«To our great astonishment, in Skoplje there was no talk at all of the Federation of the South Slavs, whereas this idea is very popular among the Macedonians in Bulgaria and among the Bulgarian people, and one cannot imagine the unification of Pirin Macedonia with the People's Republic of Macedonia without it. Apostolski, a functionary of the Tito Party, replied to us: 'First Pirin Macedonia must be annexed to the People's Republic of Macedonia, if only two days earlier, and then we will talk about the Federation'.»[1]

G.I. Madolev also reported the following significant fact at the 5th Party Congress of the CP of Bulgaria:

«In May 1946 I was head of the delegation sent from the Pirin district to the People's Republic of Macedonia. In my first speech in the town of Strumica before an audience of many thousands, I stated that the Pirin district would unite with the Macedonian Republic in the fraternal family of the South Slav peoples. The people received this slogan with great applause, but the responsible party and state functionaries afterwards rebuked me very strongly because I had spoken about the South Slav federation and not for unification within the framework of the Federal

[1] *Rabotnichesko Delo* of 22 August 1948.

These facts prove that among the Belgrade leaders there had long been a current against real brotherhood and unity of the South Slavs, against the unification of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Almost two years passed after the above-mentioned telegram from the CC of the CPY to the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) before the general public could learn some of the real reasons for the rejection of the agreement on federation and become acquainted with the «projects» of the Titoites on this question. This was during the trial of Traicho Kostov in Sofia and during the trials in Tirana and Budapest.

From the testimony of the defendants and witnesses it became clear that the Titoites had played a dishonest game with the slogan of the Federation of the South Slavs and that in reality they wanted to carry out their anti-Soviet and anti-working class policy under the mask of the Federation.

Today we realize that this deceptive game is rooted in the anti-Soviet policy carried out by the Tito clique during the People's Liberation War and after the end of the war, with the aim of severing the friendship of the South-East European peoples with the USSR. Edvard Kardelj, as already quoted verbatim, told Traicho Kostov at the end of 1944 that the British and Americans had supplied the Yugoslav partisans with arms and ammunition during the war on the condition that Tito would keep Yugoslavia out of the hands of the Soviet Union after the war and not give it the opportunity to gain influence either in Yugoslavia or in the Balkans in general. The Americans and the British

were — according to Kardelj — determined not to allow the countries liberated by the Soviet army to be torn away from the bloc of the Western powers. On this question, certain agreements had already been reached during the war between Tito on the one hand and the British and Americans on the other.[1]

On the basis of these «certain agreements», the Titoites not only sold out the Yugoslav peoples, who shed rivers of blood for their homeland and independence, but also made themselves tools of the imperialists, who in this way also want to divert the other People's Democratic countries from friendship with the USSR and subjugate them for the foreign capitalists.

Kostov went on to say that Kardelj had told him that Tito and the entire Yugoslav leadership regarded the immediate annexation of Bulgaria to Yugoslavia as the best means of achieving this goal. To this end, they wanted to exploit the slogan of the Federation of the South Slavs, which was extremely popular among the Yugoslav peoples and the Bulgarian people. The Titoites thought that in this way they could deceive the peoples more successfully and more securely and bring the Balkans more easily under the rule of the imperialists. Therefore, all further talks of Traicho Kostov with Tito, Djilas and Ranković revolved around the basic question, namely: to exploit the idea of the federation of the South Slavs as a means of annexing Bulgaria to Yugoslavia as painlessly as possible, to tear «federal» Yugoslavia away from its liberator, the USSR, and to draw the Balkan countries into the Western bloc of the Anglo-American imperialists.

[1] See «Traicho Kostov and his group», pp. 97-99.

It must be underlined that in all the talks with Traicho Kostov, the Titoites persistently demanded the accelerated realization of the «federation». Kardelj demanded of Kostov that Bulgaria should join Yugoslavia before the end of the war.

«It is only necessary to act quickly and decisively,» Kardelj remarked, «to present the world with a fait accompli with which it will eventually have to come to terms.»[1]

And Djilas, on behalf of Tito and Kardelj, expressed his regret before Traicho Kostov that the immediate annexation of Bulgaria to Yugoslavia had still not been carried out. Tito and Ranković repeatedly called on Kostov to act more decisively and quickly.

«At the end of the conversation, Tito again recommended moving to decisive action, because the matter had already gone too far for a reversal to be possible.»[2]

Kostov summarized Tito's Federation «projects» as follows:

«From the way Kardelj presented Tito's plan, I gathered that this time the Yugoslavs had set in motion the creation of a federation in order simply to swallow up Bulgaria, to make it completely dependent on Yugoslavia, and in this way all the more easily to tear it away from the USSR together with Yugoslavia and join it to the bloc of the Western powers.»[3]

Today, all honest people see that Tito's plan was

[1] «Traicho Kostov and his group», p. 99.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

also to turn Yugoslavia into an outpost for the war against the USSR and the People's Democratic countries intended by the Anglo-American imperialists. The Titoites did not hide this at all. In all the conversations of Tito, Kardelj, Ranković and others with Rajk and Kostov, it was emphasized that the Yugoslav leaders wanted to unite the peoples of South-Eastern Europe in order to oppose the USSR.

From the above it is clear why the Titoites dragged out the negotiations on the creation of a real federation of the South Slavs, which was honestly and resolutely sought by the CP of Bulgaria, and then, after much toing and froing, finally declared that it was «too early», while at the same time, behind the back of the CC of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), they demanded of the traitor Kostov and his gang to speed up the creation of the «federation» according to their model, that is, to bring Bulgaria under the thumb of the Tito gang. Who can still doubt that they never sought a real mutual rapprochement of the South Slavs and were always enemies of a true federation of the South Slavs? Aptly, Comrade Georgi Dimitrov said:

> «In the past, the unification of the South Slavs had always met with the stubborn opposition of the German imperialists. Today, the new aspirants to world domination — the American and British imperialists — are opposed to the unification and association of the South Slavs. They have good allies in the Yugoslav leaders.»[1]

[1] *Georgi Dimitrov*, «The Role and Meaning of People's Democracy», pp. 83-84.

Tito's Macedonia Policy in Tow of King Aleksander and Nikola Pašić

Georgi Dimitrov assessed the policy of the Tito clique on the Macedonian question as follows:

> «In fact, the Tito group slid down a slippery slope and now occupies the positions of the Great-Serbian chauvinists who seek hegemony in the Balkans and the annexation of Macedonia to Serbia and Yugoslavia.»[1]

This characterization of the Macedonian policy of the Tito clique was given by Georgi Dimitrov before the 5th Party Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in December 1948, when the facts were not yet known which later came to light through the trials of Koçi Xoxe in Tirana, László Rajk in Budapest and Traicho Kostov in Sofia, nor were the recent revelations about the Tito clique. Nevertheless, the keen eye of our late teacher and leader saw through the Tito clique and judged its Macedonian policy quite correctly.

Until the Balkan war of 1912-13, the Serbian bourgeoisie had tried to penetrate Macedonia by all means. With this aim, the school system was exploited, the population was demoralised by bribery, students and pupils were corrupted by scholarships, and finally acts of violence were not spared and armed gangs were organized by official Serbian bodies and sent to Macedonia. Stubbornly and unflinchingly, all Belgrade governments carried out policies that sought Macedo-

[1] *Georgi Dimitrov*, «The Role and Meaning of People's Democracy», p. 78.

nia's annexation to Serbia. The hottest minds of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie dreamt of access to the Aegean Sea for Serbia and domination of Salonika. Several wars were fought in the interest of this traditional Great-Serbian policy.

It must be underlined that for the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie the Macedonian question was a purely Serbian affair. It thought of nothing else than the unification of Macedonia with Serbia. Likewise, the Great-Bulgarian bourgeoisie faced the problem: Macedonia belongs to Bulgaria! And, of course, the Greek bourgeoisie did not see the matter differently. They too claimed Macedonia for themselves. None of the contending parties even remotely thought of recognizing the principle of «Macedonia to the Macedonians!» The monarchical and chauvinist cliques in all the Balkan capitals, in Belgrade, Athens and Sofia, were therefore hostile to the Macedonians' struggle for their statehood and freedom.

Some leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia also took the same stand; for them, too, the Macedonian question after the First World War was an internal Yugoslav issue. For many years, the leadership of the CPY, headed by Sima Marković, did not want to know anything about any national Macedonian question and stubbornly took the position that if there could be talk of any national question in Yugoslavia, it was only an internal administrative question, which should and could only be decided within the framework of the Vidovdan Constitution (Constitution of 1921) or through appropriate constitutional amendments.

This view was also expressed by Sima Marković in 1925 in the Yugoslav Commission of the ECCI, in

which he endeavoured to prove that the social content of the national movement in Yugoslavia consisted in the «competition between Serbian capital on the one side and Croatian and Slovene capital on the other». Comrade Stalin twice condemned this anti-Marxist position of the Yugoslav leadership around Sima Marković, underlining that the national question in Yugoslavia is by its very nature a peasant question with a deeply revolutionary character. J.V. Stalin said about this incorrect view of Sima Marković:

> «This misjudgement and this underestimation constitute a great danger, for they mean in practice an underestimation of the inner potential force inherent in the movement, let us say, of the Croats for national freedom, an underestimation which can lead to serious complications for the entire Yugoslav Communist Party.»[1]

The Belgrade ruling circles of the time were extremely sympathetic to this view of Sima Marković and his group. Some Belgrade bourgeois newspapers even ran articles in which they defended Marković against Stalin's «attacks», while at the same time they savagely cursed Kosta Novaković-Dragačevac's pamphlet «Macedonia to the Macedonians, the Land to the Peasants» and the Great-Serbian court rushed to throw the pamphlet's author into prison.

The 3rd Party Congress of the CPY in 1926 in Vienna formally declared its support for the Stalinist stand on the national question, but the factional struggle raging in the party leadership, with the right and the «left» opportunists and anti-party elements al-

[1] *J.V. Stalin*, *Works*, Vol. 7, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1952, p. 61.

ternately gaining the upper hand, led to the Yugoslav leadership in fact following the anti-Marxist thesis of Sima Marković and comrades.

The attitude of the Titoites to the Macedonian question is in reality not at all different from that of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie. The only difference is that the Titoites were forced not to treat the Macedonians as «real Serbs», as the Belgrade chauvinists did in the past, but had to recognize the existence of a special Macedonian nation. But even on this question the Titoites do not come into conflict with the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie. There used to be influential circles even within the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie which considered it appropriate and even necessary to abandon the traditional treatment of Macedonians as «real Serbs» and to recognize the Macedonian nation. One of the most consistent ideologists in these circles was Professor Nedeljković in Skoplje (now a professor at Belgrade University). He proved that it served the interests of Yugoslavia and especially the Great-Serbian interests in Macedonia to treat the Macedonians as a special Macedonian nation. He did not conceal the fact that the Macedonian population would then join the Serbian people more easily and could be assimilated more painlessly.

On the eve of the Second World War, the well-known Žika Lazić came to the same conclusion. As a specialist in the «Macedonia» policy of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie, he came to the conclusion that the frontal tactics of the time, to enshrine the Macedonians, could not produce the desired results. This explains why the ruling circles in Serbia allowed certain expressions of Macedonian folk life on the eve of the

Second World War. At that time, poems and other printed works were allowed to be published in Macedonian, Macedonian revolutionary songs were sung without hindrance, and in 1940 public celebrations and rallies were permitted on Elias Day in honour of the great Macedonian popular uprising in 1903.

This political turn of Belgrade towards the Macedonian people coincided with the strong movement of the Macedonians fighting for their national independence. This movement was most actively supported by the CP of Bulgaria and all progressive people who consider the Macedonian nation as a product of historical development and political necessity.

The Tito clique has adopted this conception of Professor Nedelković and Žika Lazić, which dominated wide circles of the Great-Serbian ruling class before the Second World War, and is carrying out its practical implementation.

Already during the People's Liberation War and after the foundation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, the Titoites considered the recognition of the Macedonian nation only as a means for the gradual «incorporation» of the Macedonians into the Serbian people, that is, as a means for the adaptation of the Macedonian population by the Serbian people. Therefore, in the People's Republic of Macedonia, they placed in all leading positions — from the CC of the Party and the Council of Ministers to the People's Councils in the smallest village — people of Žika Lazić's «Janissary Recruitment».[1] For example, the

[1] The Belgrade government and especially Žika Lazić, the former police chief for Yugoslavia and Macedonia, took Mace-

Secretary of the CC of the «Communist» Party of Macedonia, Vidoje Smilevski, is a «Macedonian» from Belgrade who does not even know the Macedonian language. Lazar Koliševski, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Macedonia, was a pupil in a Serbian orphanage, did not live in Macedonia until 1941 and did not know the Macedonian language. Exactly such pupils of the Žika-Lazić system are Cvetko Uzunovski, Krste Crvenkovski, Naum Naumovski, Borko Temelkovski, Lazo Mojsov, Mito Hadji Vasilev and all the rest of the fascist group of leaders in Macedonia today.

While the Titoites were putting the Žika-Lazić system's disciples in the lead, the old Macedonian communists and reliable patriots of the people were pushed aside or arrested; some of them disappeared without a trace. In 1941, the Titoites drove out Metodi Shatarov-Sharlo, a Macedonian communist tried and tested in many years of struggle; in 1946, they threw the 1st Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Metodi Chento, into prison; they dismissed the Minister Pavel Shatev, an old Macedonian revolutionary, from his position and later arrested him. In 1948, the Minister of Labour, Kiro Petrushev, was

donian children — following the example of the former Turkish rulers — and educated them in various children's homes and schools in old Serbia. Alienated from their families and the Macedonian environment, these children were educated in the Greater-Serbian spirit and in a savage hatred of everything non-Serbian. After completing this «education» between the ages of 20 and 25, the young Macedonians no longer knew their mother tongue at all and as a rule had become fanatical Great-Serbs and Bulgarian haters.

dismissed and later arrested. Still other ministers, party and trade union officials were expelled and arrested. Panko Braschnarov, one of the most active and deserving old communist leaders in Macedonia, was also cold-called.

At the same time, the Tito clique and the Lazić-Janissary agency in Skoplje intensified the inheritance of the entire Macedonian culture: The Macedonian language, as the basis of which the Skoplje-Montenegrin dialect closest to Serbian was taken, was «enriched» with thousands of new Serbian words and speech forms, and the Macedonian orthography was adapted to Serbian. Macedonian folk songs and other expressions of the folk heritage are systematically «revised». Great-Serbian teachers, directors, professors etc. are working in the schools, theatres and other cultural institutions. The state apparatus in Macedonia is entirely in the hands of Serbian chauvinists, and the organs of state security and the army are almost exclusively in the hands of Tito agents sent to Macedonia from Serbia, Montenegro and other ends of Yugoslavia.

The anti-Macedonian and anti-democratic character of the «national» Macedonian culture of Titoite character is expressed in the pronounced anti-Bulgarianism of all measures in the political and cultural life of Vardar Macedonia. The development of this «Macedonian» nation and culture is accompanied by a cruel struggle against the Bulgarian people and their culture. This «cultural» development of today's Vardar Macedonia shows exactly the same anti-Bulgarian tendencies as the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie represented in Macedonia for many years. The difference

between then and now is only that the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie once carried out the struggle against everything Bulgarian with a view to a violent and rapid inheritance of the Macedonians, whereas the Tito clique is carrying out the struggle against everything Bulgarian ostensibly in the interests of the Macedonian nation, but which it regards only as a stage in the gradual inheritance of the Macedonian population.

The Tito clique has resurrected the old Great-Serbian dream of swallowing the whole of Macedonia. The Belgrade governments pretended to have forgotten these dreams during the last two to three decades. Only in their ideology did they take into account the possibility of realizing them later if the circumstances were favourable. After the Tito clique had recognized the Macedonian nation and a Macedonian state had been formed within the framework of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, they openly and brazenly made their claims to swallow Pirin and Aegean Macedonia as well. Not a single government of King Aleksander and his successors has so openly shown its intention to rob Pirin Macedonia as the Titoites persistently and impudently do today.

Having taken this position, the Tito clique expresses the most key wishes and aspirations of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie from before the two wars, namely, to annex the whole of Macedonia to Serbia and Yugoslavia, to occupy Salonika and to obtain an exit to the Aegean Sea. By carrying out this policy quite ruthlessly, the Titoites are endeavouring to realize the traditional pipe dreams of the Obrenović-Karadjordjević dynasty of a Greater Serbia with access to two seas, the Adriatic and the Aegean.

This policy of expanding to the South and South-East was already pursued by the Titoites during the People's Liberation War, when they tried by all means to get the People's Liberation Movement in Aegean Macedonia under their leadership. The Titoites tried to carry out this policy also in the post-war conditions by making serious efforts to occupy Salonika with its hinterland and to seize Pirin Macedonia. The Titoites are still pursuing this policy today, but already by other means. Today they have resurrected and developed to perfection all the means that the royal Belgrade governments made use of schools and cultural centres are exploited to spread their influence, scholarships are granted, bribes and favours are used to win over the unstable, networks of decomposition and espionage are created and armed gangs are smuggled across the borders. These systems, used and tried by the Belgrade governments in the past, are applied in refined forms by the Titoites to Pirin Macedonia today. By 1948 they have spent vast sums on teachers, theatres, booksellers and the like, set up their network of decomposition and spies in the Pirin area and financed the gang system on the border.

In this way, the Tito clique — as Georgi Dimitrov said — «now occupies the position of the Great-Serbian chauvinists», not only in its objective of achieving hegemony in the Balkans and the annexation of the whole of Macedonia to Serbia and Yugoslavia, but also in the methods by which they endeavoured to achieve their goal: ruthless aggression with all the means of their fascist power.

However, the Macedonian people see that the Tito gang is today the main obstacle to the liberation and

unification of their homeland, that the Titoites are the most dangerous enemies for the development of the Macedonian people on the road to peace, democracy and socialism, in the fraternal family of the peace-loving People's Democratic countries and under the leadership of the USSR.

Chapter IX. The Struggle of the Yugoslav Peoples against the Fascist Tito Regime

The Yugoslav peoples made heavy sacrifices in the struggle against the German occupiers and their Yugoslav helpers around Nedić, Pavelić, Mihailović and others. About 1.7 million Yugoslav nationals gave their lives for freedom and independence. Hundreds of towns and villages were razed to the ground; the other material victims caused by the fleeing fascist hordes are incalculable.

However, the Yugoslav peoples did not lose heart in the face of the heavy sacrifices and devastation. Even during the People's Liberation War, they began to rebuild the destroyed bridges and railway stations, villages and factories. After liberation from the fascist yoke, feverish work began throughout Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav peoples set about healing the severe wounds of the occupation with the same energy and enthusiasm with which they had fought the fascist occupiers. But not only did they restore what had been devastated, they also built something new. Determined, they built a new life, because they wanted to lay the foundation for socialism, for prosperity and a happy life. All this sounds like a legend today.

Through the betrayal of the Tito gang, the Yugoslav peoples have lost again all the achievements of the People's Liberation War, all the possibilities for creating a free and happy life have been taken away from them. Instead, the Titoites have led Yugoslavia back to capitalism, to dependence on the imperialist warmongers. Instead of prosperity and happy life in the family of peace-loving peoples — again misery and

suffering under the claws of the Anglo-American capitalists.

Of course, the free-loving and bold Yugoslav peoples cannot resign themselves to the base treachery of the Belgrade rulers around Tito. They will never bow down without resistance to the yoke of the Anglo-American robbers and warmongers. The Yugoslav toilers are once again treading the path of stubborn struggle, this time against the new Tito fascist oppressors.

The Yugoslav Working People Live under Conditions of Colonial Exploitation

After the liquidation of the people's democratic regime and the establishment of a fascist-type police regime in the country, the Yugoslav peoples were deprived of all the political freedoms they had won during the People's Liberation War. After capitalism was restored and Yugoslavia was transformed into a raw material area of the Anglo-American capitalists, the Yugoslav peoples also lost all the social and economic gains that the people's democratic power had given them.

The situation of the workers and their families is particularly difficult. The Yugoslav emigrants' newspaper *Nova Borba*, published in Prague on 10 May 1950, gives the following details of the exploitation of the Yugoslav working class by the fascist Tito regime:

According to Titoite official figures, the Yugoslav working class received 35.2 billion dinars in total gross wages and salaries in 1948. After deducting social security contributions and taxes, 27.5 billion remained.

In the same year, the value of total industrial production (including mines and electricity plants) was 130.7 billion dinars. As a result, the value of unpaid labour in relation to paid labour (130.7 to 27.5 billion dinars) was 377 per cent. This percentage is even higher than the corresponding percentage in Japan, where, as is well-known, the most terrible colonial exploitation of the working class prevails and in 1934 the degree of exploitation of the proletariat was 312 per cent.

In 1949, 1950 and 1951, the percentage of unpaid labour in Yugoslavia increased significantly, because in connection with the price increase, the sales value of production increased, while the wages of workers and salaries of employees decreased. As a result of this and the increase in labour standards and the extension of working hours, wages fell in absolute and relative terms. In 1949, the wage fund fell by about 9 billion dinars.

Since 1947, nominal wages have been significantly reduced and in some enterprises today do not even reach 50 to 60 per cent of the wages of 1946. Measured in terms of purchasing power, they now amount to only 25 per cent of the wages of five years ago.

By 1951, however, the exploitation of the workers had already assumed colonial proportions. On the instructions of the American «advisers», the Tito gang, as part of the re-establishment of the capitalist system, introduced the well-known capitalist piecework system in the factories. The Tito newspaper *Borba* admits in its 31 July 1951 issue that the introduction of this piecework system «was taken as a signal to increase the working day to ten, twelve and more hours in many places». However, the *Borba* newspaper «for-

got» to add by whom this signal was given. It was given precisely in the pages of the central organ of the Tito gang, *Borba*. It wrote shortly before: «It is not necessary to adhere strictly to the fixed working day, because that brings more harm than good to the factories.»

Then, in the same spirit (dated 31 July 1951), *Borba* continues that «in the lumbering industry, in construction and in mines, there are most cases of working more than eight hours», that is, mainly in the industries working for the Americans and their preparation for a new war of aggression. In October 1950 alone, 4,800,000 hours of overtime were worked in the three economic sectors mentioned, of which about 2,000,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the coal mines in Serbia, approximately 3,322,132 hours of overtime were recorded during the first half of 1950. The situation is the same in the other sectors of the economy and in other areas of Yugoslavia. The directors are so «merciful» as to pay the workers overtime as if it were ordinary working hours, and in this way they rob hundreds of millions more of the sums of wages earned by sweat. In the «Kreka» mine 154,024 overtime hours were registered in the 1st quarter of 1951. They were paid like ordinary working hours, and thus the workers were cheated out of 1,514,192 dinars in wages. In the same way, millions of dinars of wages are robbed in the metal plant «Smederevo», in the iron ore mine «Ljubija» and in many other enterprises.

But payment for overtime as normal working time is also a rare occurrence. As a rule, overtime work is not paid at all. In order to avoid the need to keep them

in the books and to force workers to work ten, twelve and more hours a day, the Tito directors of the logging and wood-processing industries have raised the daily norms by 70 per cent. In all sectors of the economy they have been raised by 50 or more per cent. However, they still pay the same wage.

There are also factory managers who force workers to give up their legal rights, to be paid for overtime work. Thus, unpaid overtime work of four or more hours a day became common. In this way, the construction workers of the miners' colony in Pljevlja were forced to sign a special passage when concluding their employment contract, which obliged them to work unlimited hours, i.e. longer than eight hours a day, and by which they agreed to be paid for overtime work as normal working hours. On the basis of such «contracts» — as the newspaper *Borba* wrote on 31 July 1951 — the twelve-hour day without overtime pay was introduced in many places, for example in the «Tesla» factory in Pančevo, in the ore mines «Zajača», «Golesh», «Bujanovac» and in the railway workshops in Smederevo.

The introduction of the ten and twelve hour working day without payment for overtime work is done with the agreement of the Tito party and trade union leaders. Even the newspaper *Borba* cannot hide the fact that they support the robbery and oppression of the workers.

The Tito fascist factory directors, however, are far from satisfied with what they get from the increased standards, the longer working day and the wage cuts. They devise new methods to steal from the workers, each as they see fit. For example, the director of the

«Barovo» factory has invented a so-called «special fund» for which 25 per cent is deducted from the workers' wages «to cover any losses in the event that any department of the factory fails to meet its obligations». But even this was not enough for the zealous Titoite director, as we read in the newspaper *Borba*. In April 1952, he withheld 32 per cent of wages and in this way stole 4,200,000 dinars from the workers. Other directors, on the other hand, have introduced penalty systems for all kinds of real and invented «offences» committed by the workers. Through such a system, in 1950, 2,615,000 dinars were illegally withheld from workers' wages in the «Trepça» mine, 2,130,000 in the «Breša» mine, 1,500,000 in the «Zenica» metallurgical plant, etc.

As is usual in all capitalist enterprises, the Titoites are also trying to reduce production costs by lowering labour wages. As the newspaper *Borba* of 18 August 1951 reports, the price of a ton of hard coal in Serbia was 11 dinars cheaper in the first half of 1951 than was originally foreseen. However, the administrative and sales expenses were about 10 dinars per tonne higher, and the miners received only 399.89 dinars for a tonne of coal instead of 455.93 according to the plan. These figures are so clear that even the Tito newspapers are forced to admit «that in the Serbian coal mines the workers' wages were cut».

But there are other ways in which the workers are cheated and sucked dry. For example, the workers are forced to buy from their factory outlets and feed themselves in the factory dining rooms. Let us see what the newspaper *Politika* in Belgrade of 25 July 1951 writes about the supply of food in the mining ar-

eas:

> «Judging by the price level of food and the praise, the mining centres are among those places in our country where life is most expensive... The prices in the restaurants, dining halls, pubs etc. are much higher than the average prices elsewhere, judging by the quality, quantity and service. This applies to all items, even industrial ones.»

This is because the delivery organizations are capitalist enterprises that further rob the workforce. For example, the supply company of the Ibar mine earned 1,500,000 dinars in a single month from supplying the workers, and the supply company of the Sensko-Resaver mine earned 4,000,000 dinars.

In addition to this increased colonial exploitation of the Yugoslav workers, there are new kinds. The Tito fascist government has increased the tariffs for railway, water and car transport by 300 per cent, and from 1 November 1951 — according to official communications from Belgrade — the rents for housing and other premises have been increased. This is another heavy burden placed on the labourers of Yugoslavia, and especially on the working class.

In addition, the working conditions in Yugoslavia are almost unbearable. The Tito newspapers themselves bear witness to this. *Borba* of 5 August 1951 writes that an inspection showed that out of 2,000 factories only six have washrooms. In the printing works and foundries the workers do not receive milk. The same is true in the factories «Emonit» in Novi Sad and «Župa» in Kruševac, where the workers are constantly exposed to poisonous gases and substances. The same picture in the tobacco warehouses, factories

and mines. Occupational safety is almost non-existent; as a result, accidents at work are a daily occurrence. In the metal factory in Smederevo, according to the *Politika* newspaper of 25 August 1951, there were 1428 accidents in 1950, and in the first half of 1951 43,454 working days were lost as a result of hundreds of accidents.

The newspaper *For a Socialist Yugoslavia!* reported that, according to official data, 100,000 work accidents occur annually in Croatia. In Belgrade there were 1,058 work accidents in 1950; in 1951 the number increased significantly. In January and February 1951 alone, 139 industrial accidents were registered in Belgrade, 12 of which were fatal. On the railways, on buildings and in metal factories, accidents at work occur on a massive scale because there are no protective devices whatsoever. The newspaper *Borba* wrote openly that in the Serbian mines alone an average of 1,000 miners have to sacrifice their lives or their health forever. Below we bring a report on the conditions in the mine in Bor, where industrial accidents have increased at an alarming rate:

«The ambulatory has been closed down. In the individual mines there is no health protection at all. The Titoites force young people without any professional training to do the blasting, which leads to frequent deaths. Many miners have died because the power lines were not insulated. Workers who work with red-hot copper are not even given asbestos gloves. Most of the workers in the copper foundries are young people who quickly lose their strength and are then thrown out on the street by the Titoite directors. Other forcibly employed youths move into their places.»

The Yugoslav workers and employees live under

extraordinarily difficult conditions. Wages are so low that they are not nearly enough for food and clothing. The average wage of a worker does not exceed 3,000 dinars a month. Let us now see what the worker can buy for this sum. The following overview of prices for the last two to three years gives a frightening picture of the poverty and starvation to which the Yugoslav workers are condemned. In a letter to the newspaper *For lasting peace, for people's democracy!* from Vojvodina, dated January 1950, it is said:

> «In recent months a kilogram of bacon cost 800 dinars, smoked meat and salted bacon 600 to 800 dinars per kilogram. These prices are twice higher than they were a year and a half ago. Milk on the 'free market' in Novi Sad costs 35 dinars per litre. In the city milk shops, only a total of 3,000 litres are sold daily, which is not even enough for the children and the sick. In 1947, sugar was available on cards at 36 dinars; now sugar can only be found on the black market at 180 to 200 dinars per kilogram.»

Such were the prices on the «free market» in the winter of 1949-1950 in the most fertile area of Yugoslavia — Vojvodina. Let us see how prices were in Belgrade in the summer of 1950. A food price survey in July 1950 found that the price of pork had risen from 300 to 500 dinars per kilogram, tomatoes from 30 to 40 dinars in 1949 to 150 dinars in the summer of 1950. A pair of chickens cost 200 to 300 dinars in 1949, a year later they cost 450 to 700 dinars. A litre of milk rose from 25 to 30 to 45 to 50 dinars. The price of sunflower oil rose from 300 to 650 to 700 dinars per litre. The price of sugar rose from 200 to 500 dinars. The price of maize flour rose to 80 to 100 dinars and wheat flour to 200 dinars per kilogram.

In 1951, the situation did not improve at all, but worsened significantly. Until 1951 there was still a certain supply, albeit extremely irregular and insufficient. From January 1951 onwards, the labourers have been forced to buy everything on the free market, where food and other prices are constantly rising. The highest prices are for clothes and shoes. For a metre of cotton shirt cloth the Yugoslav worker has to pay 5 to 12 days' wages, for a metre of canvas 8 to 13 days' wages, for a man's cotton shirt 12 to 24 days' wages, for a metre of suit cloth made of waste and wool 30 to 40 days' wages, for a suit made of the said cloth 120 to 180 days' wages.

It is not surprising that in this situation Yugoslav workers and employees cannot eat their fill and are constantly starving. In Yugoslavia, 100,000 workers die every year from tuberculosis alone.

The situation of Yugoslav children is tragic. More than a million orphans and children of parents languishing in concentration camps and prisons live a bleak life. Over 450,000 such children are kept as servants in the houses of Titoite leaders in the cities and as servants and maids with the kulaks in the villages. 300,000 orphans are wasting away in the orphanages in unbearable misery. To prove this claim, we cite the orphanage in Prokopije alone, where 70 per cent of the children suffer from bone tuberculosis as a result of insufficient nutrition. The number of orphans suffering from tuberculosis is so large that they have been collected in a special camp in Karduri. According to authoritative doctors, more than 60 per cent of Yugoslav children suffer from glandular diseases or advanced stage tuberculosis.

Tuberculous children roam the towns and villages of Vojvodina. The hungry children of the Belgrade and Zagreb workers rummage in the rubbish bins for edible food. The children from Bosnia and Herzegovina wander around in groups, begging for alms at the doors.

The Tito gang is not ashamed to exploit child labour as well. Children between the ages of 6 and 15 are conscripted to do all kinds of work. In the compulsory labour service camps in New Belgrade, more than 40 per cent of the labour force are children between the ages of 10 and 16. In some forced labour brigades, children make up as much as 60 per cent.

Fascist Terror Rages in Yugoslavia

Fierce fascist terror is the inevitable companion of hardship and poverty under which the labouring masses languish under the fascist Tito regime. The Titoites apparently believe that the working class can only be held down by fascist terror under conditions of colonial exploitation and ever-increasing misery. There have never been so many prisons and concentration camps in Yugoslavia as there are today. Their number is now four times greater than during the royal period. In Belgrade alone, in addition to the prisons known from the past, there are several dozen buildings that have been turned into temporary prisons. In the relatively small town of Kragujevac there are five prisons. There have never been as many prisoners in Yugoslav prisons and concentration camps as there are today. More than 200,000 people languish in prisons and slowly perish in the state security camps.

The number of those arrested is constantly growing, and it is rightly said that Tito turned Yugoslavia into one huge prison.

«The prison of the Belgrade Central Militia is located in the basement of the house at 21 Boleslaw Bierut Street. In the past, this house served as a storage room for wood and coals. This speaks sufficiently for the condition of the building. The arrestee is first led into the office, which is located in the courtyard of a building. In its right corner steals a low brick cottage, on the left a building with small doors, the chancery and the sentry. Then come a few more buildings and behind them the courtyard with the notorious Glavnjača State Security Service prison.

«Some of the inmates in this prison are political prisoners who have already been interrogated and are awaiting their sentence, the rest are criminal criminals who are under a different administration.

«The prison cells are in two rows. A narrow corridor separates sic, in the middle of which sits the warden on duty. Eight cells are available. The best are those facing the courtyard, for these still receive a little fresh air through a small window half a square metre in size. The air flows into the other cells from the corridor and the toilets. The cells are 24 square metres in size and just over 2 metres high. Forty to forty-five prisoners are crammed into each cell, there is no furniture at all. The floor is cemented. In some cells there are wooden floorboards, which is considered a great asset. There is only one lamp in the cell. It shines in such a way that it is almost dark.

«Moving around in such a cell is most difficult. People do it only in case of extreme necessity, and then great dexterity and elasticity are required. Practice taught them that it was best to lie in two rows, on one side. In this way, a small space is left in the middle. Turning from one side to the other can only be done on command. However, there is not enough space for all prisoners to lie down. The 'new ones' stand or sit if they can find room.

«An eighteen-year-old youth who was arrested for distributing leaflets directed against the Tito clique has been 'sitting' in Glavnjača for almost a year and is awaiting his sentence. He told me calmly: 'The Titoites think that with such methods they can

kill the revolutionary spirit of the youth. Our spirit cannot be killed, because we have understood what the Soviet Union means. The more they mistreat and torture me, the more I hate and despise them. And so it works on everyone.'

«In the cell, people are only allowed to speak in whispers. Political talk is strictly forbidden. If the guards hear a sound, they rush into the cell and start hitting comrades indiscriminately. For those who resist, there is a special solitary cell. It has no windows or light and is so large that a person can lie or stand in it. The prisoner's hands are tied behind his back and he is beaten without stopping. I saw a person who was in the solitary cell for over three months. He was all blue and swollen, his hands were stiff, he couldn't move his fingers.

«Nevertheless, the solitary cell is considered the most humane means of torture. The most horrible cells are the čučavac.[1] One of these cells is by the warden on duty, the second by the lavatories and the third at the end of the corridor. The čučavac is a narrow wooden box 1.20 to 1.30 m high. The prisoners have given it the perfectly appropriate name. In this box, a person can neither stand nor sit nor lie down. He must squat by leaning with his head and knees against the front wall of the box and with his back against the back wall of the box. Ranković's Gestapo bandits lock men and women in such boxes. An older prisoner told me that one comrade lasted 45 days in the box. I saw one comrade who lasted only 7 days. It is too terrible to describe. When he came out of the box he could not move, his arms and legs were terribly swollen and he was completely shapeless. For three days he lay like a corpse, only occasionally gnashing his teeth.

«The number of those who get from Glavnjača to another prison is very small, because only a few lucky ones get to court.»

The fate of the prisoners in the Tito concentration camps is no better. We bring a camp inmate's description of one of the many death camps in Yugoslavia,

[1] The name comes from the word čučati — squat, meaning stool.

Goli Otok[1]:

«The camp for communists and honest patriots on the island of Goli Otok was opened by the Titoites in July 1949. Prisoners from all over Yugoslavia are in this camp. When prisoners are brought to the camp, the ship first circles the island a few times so that the prisoners lose their orientation. During the trip to the island, the State Security Service officers strip the prisoners naked, cut off their hair and force them to jump into the water when they arrive. This procedure is also done during the cold winter days. Some comrades who could not swim drowned. After this 'bath', the prisoners walk through two trellises of policemen and state security agents who beat them ruthlessly with the butts of their rifles. The path, which the prisoners have to walk naked and barefoot, is piled up with small stones, so that after only a few steps their feet are already bloody.

«After this reception, the prisoners are crammed into the camp barracks. Each barrack holds 200 or more prisoners, whereas normally the space would barely be enough for 50 people. People can only sleep on their sides and turning over is done on command.

«After the prisoners enter the barracks, the 'camp rules' are read to them. These stipulate that the prisoners must go to bed at 10 p.m. and get up at 3 a.m. The working day is 10 hours. On the way to work, the prisoners must hold their hands behind their backs and lower their heads. Eyes must be fixed on the heels of the person in front of them.

«Wardens and policemen are equipped with whips. The daily ration consists of 300 grams of bread and 4 cigarettes. There is no useful work on the island of Goli Otok. The prisoners are forced to work only to torture them. They have to move stones from one place to another and then back again. They have to dig holes and fill them up again with earth. They have to scoop sand out of the sea or build a stadium and a beach bath for the state security officers and policemen.

«The prisoners are given absolutely no rest. If a prisoner can-

[1] The description was given on 19 May 1951 by the Radio Station of the Yugoslav Revolutionary Emigrants.

not or does not want to work, he is punished by having to stand upright for three hours facing the sun with his hands up or jumping around with bare feet on sharp stones. Sometimes, in winter or early in the morning, they are made to scoop sand out of the sea as punishment.

«The food is terrible, hunger is a constant guest. Drinking water is insufficient, and there is no water at all for washing. The prisoners on Goli Otok cannot wash their clothes. They do not have stockings at all. The air in the barracks is heavy and oppressive. There is no medical help for the sick, nor are they isolated from the healthy. Dysentery, typhus, scabies and all kinds of other contagious diseases rage in the camp. As a result of the poor food, there is also scurvy. Every day you can see prisoners pulling teeth out of their diseased jaws with their fingers. In Goli Otok many comrades have fallen ill and died. There is a cemetery in the camp where funerals are held daily. Most of the deceased, however, are thrown into the sea.

«The Titoites are trying to hide their crimes from the people. They lie that troops are stationed on these islands and that they receive military training there. It is forbidden to visit these islands.

«The prisoners were forbidden to write to their relatives for a long time. Then they were allowed to write. However, state security officials dictate the content of the letters, which usually read: 'I am healthy, I am well. I have everything. I have work. My work is not hard. Food is good, don't send me parcels.'

«In order to conceal the camp location, the following addresses are given for the camp inmates of Goli Otok: For Serbs, Belgrade, P.O. Box No. 45: for Montenegrins, Cetinje, P.O. Box No. 25; for Croats, Zagreb, P.O. Box No. 42; for Macedonians, Skoplje, P.O. Box No. 30; for Bosnians and Herzegovinians, Sarajevo, P.O. Box No. 55, and for Slovenes, Ljubljana, P.O. Box No. 64.

«Once a prisoner is released from the camp — such cases are very rare — the Titoites try to silence him by threatening his life. He has to tell his relatives that he was in Slovenia to cut wood and spent the time pleasantly.

«In addition to the tortures that the prisoners on Goli Otok have to endure at the hands of the state security agents, they are

plagued in every conceivable way by the criminal elements who are deliberately added to the political prisoners. In the Goli Otok camp, however, there is a healthy core, and the attempts of the Titoites to break the resistance of the comrades have failed. Anti-Tito slogans can often be read in the barracks. Miroslav Božić died of maltreatment without revealing the existing illegal organization, which an informer had managed to get hold of.

«As a result of the determined behaviour of the comrades, the Tito executioners use the most bestial methods to intimidate the prisoners. They murdered Blažo Raičević, one of the oldest Montenegrin communists, in front of all the prisoners of Goli Otok. Many comrades have also disappeared without a trace. The policemen say that they were in 'detachment'.

«Four thousand prisoners in Goli Otok are steadfastly bearing their agony, wanting only one thing: for the whole world to know their bitter fate, their sufferings and the criminal acts of the bloody Tito gang, which is systematically destroying the best Yugoslav communists and patriots.»

The Viennese newspaper *Österreichische Volksstimme* of 6 July 1951 gave the following account of a women's camp:

«Under the harmless name 'P.O. Box 45' hides one of the most terrible camps for the extermination of women. There are several 'post boxes' for women, but this one is the most terrible. In the municipality of Zabela, near Požarevac, a camp has been created to which women workers' leaders and proven communists, martyred and very weakened women, are transported from prisons in all areas of Yugoslavia. The transports arrive at night. Most of the prisoners are tubercular and with open cavities. The main commander of the camp, General Biljanović, has ordered that medical help is only given in 'serious' cases. Since then there have been no more severe cases.

«The camp guards are men. There is one male or female guard for every five women, armed with submachine guns and equipped with whips and truncheons, which they use according to the situation. The women are driven to work with beatings.

«After breakfast, which consists of a disgusting drink called

tea, the women go to work. They dig ditches in a malaria swamp. If no other work is available, the women carry stones from one spot to another, or they are forced to move human excrement from one pit to another.

«But the moral force of the anti-fascist women is stronger than the whips of the executioners. Once, when an overseer, Lieutenant Olga Koslić, beat a sixty-year-old woman who had lost two sons in the war against the Hitler occupiers, and smeared her face with dirt, an eighteen-year-old communist woman shouted: 'Fascists! It won't be long now and you will pay for your crimes!' The warden 'complained' and the young girl was taken to the deputy commander, Marija Selić. Selić is known as 'Gerta' and served in the Gestapo. She demanded that the girl take back her words. But the girl repeated her words and added: 'You are worse than the Hitlerites'.

«This incident came to the attention of the camp commander at the time, Lieutenant Colonel Ljuša. He ordered the 'rebel' to have her arms and legs tied with wire and punished by beatings.

«Some time later the women's blankets were taken off as punishment. The communist women declared a general strike, which was supported by all the prisoners with firm solidarity. As a result, the blankets had to be returned.»

The eyewitness accounts given of the terrible conditions in the Tito prisons and concentration camps speak so forcefully and convincingly that it is unnecessary to quote further figures, facts and reports, which abound. The reports vividly show the fascist terror under which the Yugoslav labourers live.

The Struggle for the Elimination of the Tito Fascist Regime Intensifies

The Yugoslav labourers have already completely recognized the traitorous role of Tito and his clique. The incomprehension and confusion that occurred in the first months after the publication of the resolution

of the Information Bureau has turned into a deep contempt for the betrayal of the Tito clique and a firm determination to fight against them. The first stage of this struggle bore the character of mass passive resistance; it was a heavy blow against the Tito production plans. The Yugoslav labourers systematically left the factories — for good or for a few days — and thus brought disorganization and chaos into production.

According to the official data of the former State Planning Commission, 21.7 per cent of 2,026,840 permanent workers left work for good in 1949. Tito himself confessed in his speech in Split on 6 March 1949 that 400,000 persons had left the industrial plants, and in his speech in the People's Skupština he confirmed that one third of the workers in Croatia did not show up for work during the whole of 1949. In reality, however, these figures are much higher.

The newspaper of the so-called Croatian Popular Front *Vjesnik* wrote that 30 to 40 per cent of the miners did not come to work and 12 to 18 per cent had given up work for good. The newspaper *Arbeitsstimme* wrote:

> «At the 'Raša' mine in Istria, out of 7,000 workers, 950 to 1,000 on average do not show up for work, so that the daily coal production has been reduced by about 1,000 tons.»

In the «Ivo Lola-Ribar» machine factory, 25 per cent of the workers regularly do not show up for work, in the «Kreka» mine close to 700, in the Aleksinać mines close to 500, in the Sensk mines close to 800, and so on. In the Croatian wood industry, about 32 per cent of the employees do not work. In the Timoć coal mines, 50 to 70 per cent of the workers do not

work. In the «Vrška Čuka» mine 77 per cent of the workers refused to show up for work. In the non-ferrous metal mines, only 50 per cent of the workers showed up for work during 1949. For the copper mine in Bor, 4,306 new workers were recruited in the same year, because 5070 old ones had left. According to a report in the newspaper *Rad*, the Belgrade factories alone lost 223,000 working hours, or 280,000 working days, in 1949 because the workers did not show up for work.

The mass non-attendance at work and the abandonment of industrial objects continued in 1951. In the autumn of 1951, 3000 workers left the construction of the «Cenica» factory, 1,000 miners left the «Raša» mine, so that work was completely stopped in the mining shafts 196, 197, 207a and 208b. In the «Poljanice» mine, 26 per cent of the workers do not show up for work every day.

In the «Kučaj» forestry 90 per cent of the workers left work. On the occasion of this event, the Belgrade newspaper *Glas* wrote that the whole area there was talking about the workers' indignation. At a conference of the directors of the coal mines in Croatia in October 1951, it was stated that.

«in most of the mines the shifts are not complete. Out of 100 workers needed for a shift, only 60 show up for work. The preparatory work falls behind, the brigades do not fulfil their daily tasks. The daily production is fulfilled as follows: In Raša 72 per cent, in Novi Golubovec 70 per cent, in Mursko Središće 86 per cent, etc.»

When the Zagreb newspaper *Vjesnik* reported this information on 18 October 1951, it added that the de-

cision had been taken to dissolve the third shifts in those mines where the problem of manpower could not be solved. The newspaper further reported that in 1951, 24 per cent of the total workforce in the mines did not turn up for work.

Despite the police measures introduced, the Tito campaign to mobilize labour suffered a major failure in the autumn of 1951. For example, 1,500 workers were to be recruited for the construction of the aluminum combine near Šibenik, which will work for the American war industry. However, only 100 workers could be recruited. During the same campaign, the Tito organs in Croatia were supposed to recruit 5,000 peasants and 2,000 carts for various forestry projects. Nothing came of this either. When the Zagreb authorities ordered the Tvornica and Naprijed factories to stop their hitherto extremely low production in the cotton industry and send the workers to new objects in Bosnia, almost all the workers refused to comply with this order. The Tito newspaper *Naprid* reported that 50,687 workers were needed for military objects alone. It was disappointed to have to add that this plan was only on paper and that the workers did not turn up.

After these initial forms of resistance against the Tito clique, the Yugoslav workers already went one step further. They are using production sabotage on an ever wider scale. They are damaging machinery, delaying and prolonging the work process, rendering raw materials useless, failing to meet labour standards and much more. The newspaper *Under the Banner of Internationalism* of 15 July 1950 carries an article under the headline «The metalworkers strengthen their

struggle against the Tito gang», which states:

«In the factory 'Ivo Lola-Ribar' in Šelesnik most of the machines are damaged. When repairing them, the workers destroyed or hid machine parts. In some departments, almost 50 per cent of the machines are out of order. In the foundry, the workers have thrown many moulds and templates into the blast furnaces. Even the 47 'specialists' who came from West Germany could not repair the damage.

«Compared to 1938, labour productivity fell by 32 per cent in 1919 and 40 per cent in 1950. The attempt to force the workers to work on several machines also failed. Not only that. In the factories where work used to be done on several machines, the workers would not agree to work on several machines under any circumstances. Whereas in 1948 work was done on four milling machines, today work is done on only one. Through poor and imprecise machining of the individual parts ordered by the machines and tractor stations, and also through deliberate delays in the work process, the workers have managed to prevent a large number of the tractors from being used during the previous year's sowing campaign.

«In most of the factories producing metal fittings, the consumption of the raw materials copper, bronze, zinc, aluminum and lead has increased fourfold due to sabotage and resistance of the workers. Measuring apparatus, drawings, work plans, etc. are destroyed in order to strengthen the struggle to reduce production and against labour productivity and to stop slavish exploitation. This form of struggle makes it almost impossible for the Titoites to control semi-finished and finished production.»

As a third or more of the workers who previously worked in the conviction that they were building socialism leave the factories, the Tito directors are forced to replace the skilled workers with unskilled ones. They forcibly hire workers who are unfamiliar with the production process. As a result, labour productivity has dropped a lot, the standards and production plans of the factories are systematically not

met. The newspaper *Borba* writes that in the largest coal mine, in Kreka, 75 per cent of the miners barely fulfil 55 per cent of the daily standards. The cement factory in Beočin did not even fulfil 50 per cent of the plan.

In the textile factories «October Freedom», «Elka», «Andja Ranković», «Sonija Marinković», «Varteks» and others, both the production volume and the quality are continuously decreasing. In the wood extraction industry in Slovenia, 17,000 working days are lost every month as a result of workers' resistance and sabotage. As a result, the annual production has decreased by 360,000 cubic metres.

Decisive resistance to the Tito regime is also shown by the labouring peasants. Whereas in 1939 the cultivated land in Yugoslavia amounted to 70 million decares, it now amounts to barely 60 million. Yugoslavia is the only country in the world that cultivates less land today than before the Second World War. The peasants refuse to fulfil Tito's sowing plans. The newspaper *Borba* reported on May 8, 1950, that in the autumn of 1949 and the spring of 1950, 35 per cent of the usable land in Serbia, 55 per cent in Croatia, 49 per cent in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 63 per cent in Slovenia, 66 per cent in Macedonia and as much as 75 per cent in Montenegro had not been cultivated. Of the utilisable land in Vojvodina, the granary of Yugoslavia, 20 per cent was not sown. In Slovenia, which ranks second in terms of fertility, the underutilised arable land is even greater. Even after planting late crops such as tobacco and various vegetables, 30 per cent of the arable land in Yugoslavia remained unutilised.

But the toilers of Yugoslavia are gradually moving from passive sabotage to active mass struggle against the fascist Tito clique. Deprived of their class unions (the previously existing unions led by the spies Zalaj, Janka, Jovanović and others have turned into tools for the repression and robbery of the Yugoslav working class), they independently organized a series of strikes and other protest actions in the factories. These are mainly led by young workers. The young people in the car repair workshops of the 5th Military District in Zagreb and in a war engineering factory in Kragujevac have led strikes against their cruel exploitation and slavish working conditions. The youth of the factories «Motador» in Smederevo, «Jastrebac» in Niš, «Radiator» in Zrenjanin and other factories have also carried out successful mass actions to protect their interests.

The student youth has also joined the active struggle against the Tito clique. The Yugoslav universities have turned into real revolutionary centres of anti-Titoite propaganda, more than 12,000 Belgrade students demonstratively refused to participate in military training as a sign of protest. The Tito fascist professors are boycotted by thousands of students.

The struggle of the Yugoslav labourers is mainly directed against the objects of war. On 27 March 1951, Radio Moscow reported that an armaments factory had been secretly undermined in Kosovska Mitrovica and a large warehouse of war materials destroyed in Niš; that a large petrol depot had been set on fire in Vojvodina and sixty petrol tanks in Slavonski Brod.

In January and February 1951, a tunnel on the Kraljevo-Skoplje railway line was blown up and a

goods train carrying war material was blown up near Niš.

The poor and middle peasants are also becoming more active. Even the American newspapers report that the Tito government is «meeting with serious resistance from the rural population». In May and June 1950 there was a peasant uprising in Croatia, especially in its grain-poor areas. The Titoites had to mobilize large detachments of the State Security Service to quell the peasant uprisings. According to the American newspapers, mass arrests and shootings of peasants were carried out. In the Leskovac area, peasants have fled en masse to the mountains.

The news of the peasant uprisings in the Zasinsk district, in the areas around Kraljevac, Leskovac, Slun, etc. spread like wildfire. It became known that also in the area of Lake Platnica in Croatia, peasants in many places left their villages and went to the mountains. Peasants from the Albanian villages of Voksh and Junik have joined the partisan groups operating in their area en masse.

In the Yugoslav army, sympathy with the heroically fighting Korean people is growing daily. There is not a barracks where slogans to the following effect have not appeared: «Long live the Korean People's Army! Death to MacArthur! Down with Tito, the Yugoslav MacArthur!» If it cannot be determined who wrote the slogans, then the whole unit is punished.

On 2 April 1951, in Terazija Square in Belgrade, an officer of the KOC (counter-intelligence service) arrested a non-commissioned officer and two soldiers for loudly ranting against the Americans, especially Generals MacArthur and Ridgway, and condemning

their crimes in Korea. Caricatures depicting Tito as an animal appeared three times in one week at the officers' club in Niš. At a meeting of the party group of the Yugoslav general staff, a lieutenant colonel openly declared:

«I know what awaits me. Arrest, perhaps even death! Nevertheless, I am happy to be able to express my loyalty to Stalin!»

Major Kristijić was asked in Belgrade whether he would shoot at the Soviet army. He replied: «I would rather shoot at myself or at those who order me to shoot!»

At the head of this constantly activating struggle of the toilers against the fascist Tito gang of traitors is the new, resurrected Communist Party. The Yugoslav Communist-Internationalists, who remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union and the interests of the Yugoslav peoples, are resolutely and successfully creating a new, revolutionary Communist Party in Yugoslavia.

This new Communist Party created a wide network of lower party organizations in all factories and authorities, in the units and villages. It directs the discontent of the masses to the right path, it organizes the struggle to eliminate the fascist Tito clique. It skillfully combines the economic and political struggle, unites it into a general movement of the entire Yugoslav people for the elimination of the fascist Tito gang and for the return of Yugoslavia to the fraternal community of the People's Democratic countries and the USSR. The Communist-Internationalists link the struggle against the fascist Tito regime with the struggle of the

peoples of the whole world for peace and democracy, against the imperialist warmongers.

This struggle of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist gang of the imperialist agent Tito is supported with all their strength by the fraternal communist parties and all progressive people in the world, because they know that this struggle is directed against one of the most dangerous Anglo-American agencies, that it is the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The struggle of the Yugoslav peoples against Tito and his gang also has the strongest echo and the strongest moral and political support of all the peoples of South-Eastern Europe, especially the Balkan peoples, because they know that the Titoites are furious enemies of their freedom and independence.

The struggle of the Yugoslav peoples has the sincere and all-round support of the Bulgarian people as well. The Bulgarian people have well understood the words of their unforgettable Vladimir Poptomov and will never forget that

«for the Bulgarian Communist Party and the whole Bulgarian people, the struggle against the Tito clique has a particularly great significance, both for the guarantee of the national independence and security of the country and for the creation of peaceful conditions for the building of socialism».