

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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# **GREAT DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN CHINA**

The victory of the Chinese people over the imperialist oppressors and their Kuomintang henchmen was a great historic event. It weakened the imperialist camp, undermined its colonial rear bases and strengthened, considerably the camp of peace, Socialism and democracy: The co-relation of forces between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist camp has grown still further in favour of the anti-imperialist camp.

The historic significance of the victory of the popular revolution in China is particularly significant also because it frustrated imperialist plans for transforming China into an immense source of exploitation and tremendous manpower reserves for a new will against the progressive forces of the world. The victory of the Chinese people has clearly revealed the doom and rottenness of the imperialist colonial system, and has revealed the inexhaustible reserves of the international Communist movement.

In China, said Comrade Stalin as far back as 1927 in a talk with students of the Sun Yet-sen University, “the struggle against imperialism is bound to become profoundly popular and strikingly national in character and must deepen step by step, developing into desperate clashes with imperialism and shaking the very foundations of imperialism all over the world”.

The whole course of the Chinese Revolution confirmed this brilliant forecast of J. V. Stalin, who, in his works, made a profound analysis of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character of the Chinese Revolution that was developing.

Victoriously leading the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party leans, in its activities, on the strategy and tactics of Leninism, This ensures

the military and economic victories of the new China. The Central People's Government of China, created in the autumn last year, is doing titanic work in the organisation of normal life in the country and has already achieved great success. The first important results have been achieved: new administrative bodies have been formed in the local areas, friendly relations have been established with the Soviet Union, with which a treaty of eternal friendship—a treaty of world historical significance—was signed, and also with the People's Democracies. The war against reaction in the continental part of the country is, in the main, over; Tibet and Taiwan remain to be liberated. The Chinese People's Government is making heroic efforts to rehabilitate and develop economic life the country. It has taken into its hands the leadership in the sphere of finance and in the whole of the economy. Income and expenditure have been balanced, inflation has been curbed and prices stabilised. The new administration is rendering tremendous assistance to many millions of people who have suffered from floods and is also carrying out large-scale irrigation.

A cultural revolution, unprecedented in scope, is unfolding in China. The people, who for ages past have been forlorn and oppressed, now for the first time have access to literacy, knowledge and culture. New schools are being opened, great efforts are being made to eliminate illiteracy; a struggle is under way against ignorance, superstition and prejudice. Great assistance is rendered by the State to the national minorities in relation to which a policy of complete equality is pursued. The State is organising a public health service: thousands of hospitals, medical centres, sanatoria and rest homes for working people are being set up. All this brings into activity the broad mass of the workers and peasants who wholly and enthusiastically support their People's Government.

The most important task of the Chinese people's

Government is the carrying out of agrarian reform. China, as is known, is an agrarian country with extremely strong survivals of feudalism. Of a total of 475 million in China, the rural population comprise 410 million. Until quite recently the landlords and rural rich, comprising less than 10 per cent of the rural population, possessed up to 80 per cent of the land acreage, and the remainder, that is 90 per cent of the rural inhabitants, owned but 20 per cent of the acreage. This system of land ownership, which had become rooted during centuries, formed the basis for the ruthless exploitation of the Chinese people, for its poverty and misery.

The backwardness of China, the absence of large industry in the country, was in the interests of the imperialist States. Therefore, imperialism was the main ally of the feudal-militarist oppressors in China. "The revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism", said J. V. Stalin, "is explained, first and foremost, by the fact that imperialism in China is that force which supports and inspires the direct exploiters of the Chinese people—the feudalists, militarists, capitalists, bureaucrats, etc.; that the Chinese workers and peasants cannot defeat these exploiters of theirs without, at the same time, waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism."

The landlords and militarists formed, in turn, the main support of imperialism in China. The anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people pursued, therefore, not only the aim of eliminating the foreign imperialist yoke but also of ending, once and for all, the backwardness of the country. The Chinese people, led by the Communists, smashed in open battle the military-bureaucratic state machine of Chiang Kai-shek, which, in point of fact, was a political superstructure over a kind of combination of the domination of feudal survivals and imperialism. It is now a question of abolishing completely the economic power of the landlords, of

abolishing entirely one of the major internal sources of counter-revolution.

The law on agrarian reform, drawn up and submitted by the Chinese Communist Party, which is guided by the tried leader, Comrade Mao Tee-tung, is one of the outstanding documents of to-day. The law on agrarian reform, as well as the report of Comrade Liu Shao-chi on this reform, are based on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and on the concrete analysis of the situation in the country. It is difficult to underestimate the fundamental changes which will follow from the agrarian reform in China. The Chinese people will, in a short time, make a huge step forward in their social development. The system of landlord land ownership will be abolished in this great country and hundreds of millions of landless peasants and small plot holders will receive confiscated landlord land. The landlords—the main support of reaction in China—will be eliminated as a class. The co-relation of political forces will change even more sharply in favour of democracy, China will create the basis for the industrialisation of the country and will pave for itself the way to further progress towards Socialism. Agrarian reform in China will exercise no less influence on all countries in the East than the military rout of Kuomintang reaction and the creation of the Chinese People's Republic. The peoples in the East, including the great people of India, will see, in the Chinese experience, a practical way out of the feudal yoke and imperialist slavery; they will find greater inspiration for a decisive struggle against their oppressors.

The Chinese Communist Party, utilising the rich experience of the Russian Bolsheviks and relying on the Marxist-Leninist theory, is creating, in the course of its titanic practical endeavour, all the necessary conditions for the successful carrying out of the reform. The Communist Party, which opened for the Chinese people the way to Socialism, is rallying all the democratic, national forces of the country for

the solution of the tasks which determine the further historical development of China. It consolidates the State of the dictatorship of People's Democracy. In China, the "basis of the dictatorship of People's Democracy", said Mao Tse-tung, "is the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, petty urban bourgeoisie and, in the main, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry... The dictatorship of People's Democracy must be led by the working class". The agrarian reform will strengthen considerably the basis of the dictatorship of People's Democracy—the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

The Chinese Communist Party has become the leading force in the country. It has a membership of over five million. The Communist Party, since it assumed power, is faced with new and complex tasks of State construction. These tasks can be accomplished successfully only if, in their work, all Party cadres will rely on the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, if they master more profoundly the Marxist-Leninist science.

The exclusive significance of the new social reforms begun in China are emphasised by the anger and fury with which they are being attacked by the imperialists and particularly by the American imperialists. They are enraged by the victory of the popular forces in China. They are scared by the flame of national liberation and by the agrarian revolution which the fresh breeze from China is spreading throughout the East. They want a feeble, enslaved and feudal China. Therein lies the reason why Truman has spared no effort to help Chiang Kai-shek. Therein lies the reason why Truman hastens to unleash war in South-East Asia; why he is organising intervention in Korea and Taiwan, and is preventing in every way the new China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation. Therein lies the reason why U.S. agents are developing furious activity in China, organising bandits and saboteurs and continuing to forage the Chiang Kai-shek gang



and supply it with arms. But People's China has expressed its firm and unbending determination to defend its freedom and independence and to end any adventure of U.S. imperialism.

The people of China are transforming their great country into a mighty bastion of peace. The Chinese people do not want war; they have fought long and stubbornly for their freedom. The people of China need a lasting and durable peace so that they can consolidate their remarkable victories and carry out great democratic changes. Therefore, together with all world progressive forces, they will passionately struggle for peace, against the instigators of a new war.

## **SUCSESSES OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY IN THE U.S.S.R.**

The Central Statistical Board of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. recently issued a report on the results of the fulfilment of the State Plan for the development of the national economy of the Soviet Union for the second Quarter of 1950.

The programme for the second quarter of 1950 was fulfilled for the gross industrial output of the country as a whole by 103 per cent. Compared with the second quarter of 1949, gross output rose by 21 per cent. The expenditure of raw materials and other materials and fuel per unit of production was reduced considerably. The cost of production in industry dropped, in comparable prices, by 6 per cent. Labour productivity increased by 12 per cent.

New achievements were attained by Socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union. Collective farms, machine-tractor stations and State farms successfully carried out their spring sowing campaign, and fulfilled the targets for sowing spring crops. The area under crops as a whole rose by nearly 6 million hectares, including an increase of almost 2 million hectares in the most valuable crop—spring wheat. The countryside received a large number of agricultural machines with the help of which harvesting has been already started. The magnificent work of fulfilling the great Stalin plan of the transformation of nature is being successfully carried out.

The upsurge in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. is bringing about all even greater improvement in the wellbeing of the Soviet people. Retail trade turnover rose by 30 per cent as against the second quarter of 1949. Sales of foodstuffs increased in the second quarter of 1950 by 25 per cent compared with the corresponding period of last year, and of industrial goods by 37 per cent.

The new successes of the national economy in the U.S.S.R. provide striking evidence of the superiority of Socialism over capitalism,

## **NEW SUCCESSES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN RUMANIA**

During the second quarter of 1950 the working people of Rumania achieved new successes in industry, agriculture, transport, trade and in raising the economic and cultural level of the population,

Production targets for the second quarter were fulfilled for industry as a whole by 100,8 per cent.

Compared with the second quarter of 1949, output of vital products in the second quarter of the current year was: electric power, 112.4 per cent; coal, 108.3 per cent; iron ore, 128.3 per cent; cast iron, 131.4 per cent; steel, 122,6 per cent; tractors, 225.8 per cent, and so forth.

The plan for field work was fulfilled at a higher agrotechnical level than in 1949, The area under industrial crops increased,

During the second quarter, 18 new machine-tractor stations were organised which brought the total number of machine-tractor stations up to 133. The number of societies for the joint cultivation of land rose seven and a half times compared with the corresponding period of last year. The number of collective farms reached 670.

The plan for State and co-operative trade was fulfilled by 106.4 per cent and surpassed by 54.1 per cent the level of the corresponding period last year.

Capital investments exceeded by 97 per cent those in the comparative period last year.

The total number of workers, engineering-technical personnel and employees increased by 260,000, or by 38 per cent, compared with the second quarter of 1949.

Average wages in industry rose by 9 per cent. Labour protection improved.

## **FULFILMENT OF THE PLAN FOR THE SECOND QUARTER IN BULGARIA**

The State Planning. Commission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has issued a report on the fulfilment of the National Economic Plan for the second quarter of 1950,

The Plan for the output of industrial production was fulfilled by 101.6 per cent. The gross industrial output increased by 23 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1949. The largest growth in production was attained in such branches as those of engineering, electrical, rubber, footwear and others.

The number of workers and employees in industry and transport increased by 36,556. The wage fund rose 18 per cent as a whole and 24 per cent in industry.

Considerable successes were achieved in agriculture. Areas under a number of important crops such as tobacco, sugar beet, cotton, flax and others rose by 16 per cent. The number agricultural producer co-operatives increased from 1,563 in the second quarter of 1949 to 1,781 in the second quarter of 1950, that is, by 218, and their area under crops, by 49 per cent.

# **INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE THREAT OF A NEW WAR!**

## **Pietro Nenni's Statement on Peace Movement in Italy**

On July 29, Pietro Nenni, Chairman of the National Peace Committee, issued a statement to the press on the progress in Italy of the movement for peace, against the instigators of a new war.

He said: "There can be no doubt that faced with the growing war danger for our country and for all humanity in connection with the events in Korea, the collection of signatures is developing on an even greater scale and with an ever-growing intensity. We may say that more than two-thirds of the signatures were collected after the commencement of American intervention in Korea."

Among the leading provinces in the collection of signatures, Nenni mentioned Emilia and Toseana, where the number of signatures was respectively 1,746,575 and 1,416,945, representing half the population in these provinces. No less important results were achieved in the region of Apulia (1,053,668 signatures), and in Campagna (906,641 signatures). Despite the bans imposed by Prefects, and police obstacles, targets for signatures were surpassed in many provinces, including Ferrera where the Stockholm appeal was signed by 70 per cent of the population, and also in the provinces of LAVORNO, Bologna, Florence and so on. The number of signatures collected in the Milan Province is 910,000; in the Rome Province, 830,000; in the Florence Province, 500,000 and so on.

The National Peace Committee in Italy declared that recently 23 priests and monks, despite Vatican threats, signed the Stockholm appeal. Among them was the parish priest of Croce del Bracco (Bologna) who also agreed to become a member of the local peace committee. Speaking at a meeting of the committee, he said: “My parishioners have different political beliefs and I am not going to make them uniform, but as the defence of peace is a common task for all, I am doing everything possible to unite all of them in the struggle against war and I ask them all to sign the Stockholm appeal.”

## **STATEMENT BY A NOBEL PRIZE WINNER**

Despite the severe persecution of the partisans of peace, the campaign for the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal in the U.S.A. already embraces forty States. The Stockholm appeal has been signed by 1,250,000 persons, including more than 650,000 who have signed the appeal since the beginning of the American armed intervention in Korea.

According to incomplete returns, 13,500 signatures have been collected in the eastern division of the County (Los Angeles) during the past few days.

Signing the appeal, Emily Greene Balch, Professor Emeritus at Wellesly College, Nobel prize winner of 1948, declared: “A statement like the World Peace Appeal is especially important at this time because it cuts across all ideological and political lines and merits the support of all those who want peace, regardless of any other differences among them.”

During the last few days, the appeal has also been signed by: Aubrey Williams, publisher; Justice James H. Wolfe of the Supreme Court of Utah; G. Ashton Oldham, Protestant Bishop; Dr. Auto J. Carlson, scientist, Dr. Philip Morrison,

nuclear physicist; and many others,

## **PEOPLE OF BRAZIL VIGOROUSLY PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT**

The people of Brazil have replied to U.S. aggression in Korea by intensifying their struggle for peace. In Rio de Janeiro, San Paulo and other towns, demonstrations were held under the slogans: “Down with U.S. intervention in Korea and Brazil”, “We do not want war, we want peace!”

Emulation for collecting signatures to the Stockholm appeal is extending among people of various professions. For example, Prof. Sa Pires, on behalf of Rio de Janeiro doctors, has challenged the engineers. The newspaper “Imprensa Popular” has sent to all editorial boards of newspapers, journals and telegraphic agencies in Brazil which spotlight the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal, a letter recommending the organisation of fraternal emulation, The newspaper is calling for emulation for the best explanatory campaign around the struggle for banning the atomic weapon. The weekly newspaper “Voz Operaia”, has announced a competition for the best collectors of signatures.

The “Centre for the Study and Protection of Brazilian Economy and Oil” has organised a large exhibition devoted to the peaceful utilisation of nuclear energy. The exhibition was shown in Rio de Janeiro and in other towns throughout the country.

Brazilian youth is competing with Argentine youth in extending the signature campaign. Three-men groups have been formed which are functioning successfully. For example, a three-man student group in the National Technical School collected 3,000 signatures within 15 days.



The Stockholm appeal has been signed by many priests, a group of Capuchins in the Rio de Janeiro Monastery and a nun from the St. Bernadette Ecclesiastical College. Taking over the Chairmanship of the Military Club, General Estillac Leal spoke in defence of national sovereignty, democratic liberties and for active struggle against instigating a new war.

In all, 3,750,000 people had signed the Stockholm appeal in Brazil by July 15.

## **PEACE RELAY IN FRANCE**

Three big peace relays will pass through French highways in connection with the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm appeal.

Meeting in Marseilles the relays will proceed to Nice where, from August 13 to August 20, a big International Youth Rally will take place. Demonstrations, ceremonies and festivals under the slogan of the struggle against the growing danger of a new war, for the intensification of the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Petition will be held throughout the whole course of the relays.

Many Parisians and residents of other cities will, while on holiday in the countryside or at the seaside, use their stay to help carry out the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm appeal.

## **FINNISH INTELLIGENTSIA ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**

By July 25, the Stockholm appeal for banning the atomic weapon had been signed by 602,723 people in Finland.

The working class of Finland is in the forefront of the fighters for peace. Representatives of the intelligentsia are also actively participating in peace committees, of which there are now more than 250 in the country. The Permanent Peace Committee in Helsinki includes Erkki Aaltonen, a composer. The local peace committee in Pasila has Nijilo Raunio, a master chemist, as its chairman. Mauri Faven, the artist, is the secretary of the peace committee in the Leppjavaara Parish.

Among those who have signed the appeal are Professors Vegelius, Iveron and Salomaa; Aaro Hellaakoski, Olavi Sijippajinen, Helvi Hjamjaljainen, Olavi Paavolainen, writers; Einar Englund, a composer; Iosta Diel, an artist, and others. Teachers, doctors, scientific workers, leaders of schools and other representatives of progressive intelligentsia in Finland are joining the struggle for peace, against the war danger.

## **PEACE MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA**

Fifty thousand Australians have so far signed the Stockholm appeal. Up to July 26, the Peace Council in New South Wales State alone collected 13,449 signatures. In this State, from July 30, there has been organised a special week for stepping up the fight of the Australian people against the warmongers. Organisers of this campaign appealed to all partisans of peace to sign the appeal.

Among those who signed the Stockholm appeal in Australia are; Rev. Dicky, Presbyterian Minister; Methodist Ministers, Rev. Hartley and Rev. Colcott; Rev. Victor James, Unitarian Minister and Rev. V. Heiman, Congregational Minister.

# **AGAINST THE SANGUINARY CRIMES OF THE AMERICAN INTIERVENTIONISTS IN KOREA!**

When the U.S.-British imperialists launched their intervention in Korea they reckoned on a lightening victory which would have enabled them to make a slave of the Korean people, and transform the Korean peninsula into a military outpost for unleashing war against the camp of Socialism and democracy.

The working people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic have frustrated all these plans of Truman and his Wall Street bosses. Rising as one man in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their country, they are delivering telling blows at the interventionists. U.S. troops are daily rolling further and further back to the South-East extremes of the peninsula.

Suffering defeat after defeat at the front, the U.S. imperialists are unloosing their rage on the civilian population of Korea. The U.S. air force and the navy are barbarously shelling, bombing and burning peaceful towns and villages in Korea. As a result of brutal American air raids, the town of London, was completely destroyed and, according to Boyle, an Associated Press correspondent, now resembles Nagasaki after the atom bomb explosion. Thousands of people perished in London. To Coventry and Lidice, ruthlessly destroyed by the Hitlerites in the last war, there has now been added London, barbarously devastated on MacArthur's orders. In Wonsan, American savages destroyed a rest home with 170 of its inmates, a hospital, and a railway polyclinic where many sick and doctors were killed. Many civilians perished and hundreds of dwellings were destroyed as a result of systematic American

bombings of Pyong-yang and Seoul.

American generals are trying to “excel” one another in the maltreatment and barbaric annihilation of Korean women, the aged and the children. The name of the bloodthirsty Walker—a war criminal and the hangman of the Korean people—will indignantly be branded by everyone in the world. Being in command of the U.S. land forces in Korea, he ordered all peaceful citizens to be driven behind the lines of the American army and their houses to be destroyed as the Hitlerite troops did in their time. All who show unwillingness to leave with the American army, Walker orders to be shot on the spot. Over three thousand of the non-combatant population, over three thousand peaceful citizens were shot in the towns of Pyongtaek, Chonju, Suwon and Unsan.

Fearing the wrath and the resistance of the population to the barbarous measures of the interventionists, the Americans are driving the peaceful inhabitants into concentration camps. As reported by the “New York Times” correspondent, 58 camps accommodating 379,000 Koreans have been set up on territory under U.S. control. Their life is one of sheer misery.

All these fads of barbarous annihilation by the interventionists of the peaceful Korean population reveal the bestial countenance of American imperialism striving to drown the whole world in blood for the sake of profits.

Millions of honest people throughout the world protest against American savagery in Korea, resolutely defend the people of Korea and demand the expulsion of the American interventionists from Korea.

At numerous meetings and rallies in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov, and Baku, working people, in the Soviet Union have expressed their indignation against U.S. intervention in Korea and against the savage annihilation of peaceful inhabitants.

Almost 8,000 protest resolutions from working people in

Czechoslovakia against the intervention in Korea have reached the Czechoslovak Peace Committee and government organs in the Republic. “Our affections and sympathies are for the Korean people”, write the workers of the “Solosushitsi” factory. “By raising labour productivity we shall help not only the fighting people of Korea but also the struggle of the working class in all countries for peace throughout the world.”

The Central Council of the Amalgamated Trade Unions in Albania has resolved to hold a Solidarity Week of the Albanian working class with the Korean people from August 8 to August 15.

“Our working class, like all our people”, reads the address of the Trades Union Council in connection with the holding of the Solidarity Week, are profoundly indignant at the ruthless intervention of the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in Korea, which, like the fascists, are bombing the peaceful inhabitants”.

Despite the government’s ban, the men of the rail depot in Milan discussed at a meeting a report on U.S. brutality in Korea. Vigorously protesting against the criminal annihilation of the Korean people, the workers of the depot decided to hold a brief solidarity strike with the fighting, working people of Korea,

A mighty voice of protest against U.S. savagery in Korea has been raised by the working people in **China, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Britain, the U.S., India, the Argentine, Cuba and other countries.**

The American imperialists think they can strike fear in the Korean people and halt its victorious march to liberation and independence by shooting down the peaceful population of Korea. It won’t work! Hatred for the interventionists fills the hearts of the fighting patriots of Korea. They are inspired by the sympathy and solidarity of the working people throughout the world. The Korean people will hurl from their country the

American interventionists whom no brutalities will help!

## REPLY TO COMRADES\*

### To Comrade SANZHEYEV

Dear Comrade Sanzheyev!

I am replying to your letter with considerable delay, for it was forwarded to me from the Central Committee only yesterday.

Your interpretation of my standpoint on the question of dialects is absolutely correct.

“Class” dialects, which it would be more correct to call jargons, do not serve the masses of people, but a narrow social upper crust. Moreover, they do not have a grammatical system nor a basic word stock of their own. In view of this they certainly cannot develop into independent languages.

Local (“territorial”) dialects, on the other hand, serve the masses of people and have a grammatical system and basic word stock of their own. In view of this, some local dialects, in the process of the formation of nations, may become the basis of national languages and develop into independent national languages. This was the case, for instance, with Kursk-Orel dialect (the Kursk-Orel “speech”) of the Russian language, which formed the basis of the Russian national language. The same must be said of the Poltava-Kiev dialect of the Ukrainian language, which formed the basis of the Ukrainian national language. As for the rest of the dialects of such languages, they lose their sense of origin, merge into those languages and disappear in them.

There are also reverse processes, when the single language of a nationality, which has not yet become a nation owing to

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\* Magazine “Bolshevik” No. 14



the absence of the necessary economic conditions of development, collapses because of the state disintegration of that nationality and the local dialects, which have not yet had time to merge into a single language, revive and give birth to the formation of separate independent languages. Possibly, this was the case with the single Mongolian language, for example.

**J. STALIN**

July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1950

## **To Comrades D. BELKIN and S. FURER**

I have received your letters.

Your mistake is that you have confused two different things and substituted for the subject examined in my reply to Comrade Krasheninnikova another subject.

1) In that reply criticise N. Y. Marr who, speaking of language (of sounds) and thought, detaches language from thought and thus lapses into idealism. Hence, I referred in my reply to normal human beings who have a language. I maintain, here, that ideas can be formed by such human beings only on the basis of language material, that naked ideas, not connected with language material, do not arise with people who have mastered language.

Instead of accepting or rejecting this thesis, you introduce anomalous human beings, people without language, deaf and dumb, who have no language and whose ideas cannot, naturally, arise on the basis of language material. As you see, this is an entirely different topic which I did not touch upon and could not have touched upon, since philology concerns itself with normal human beings possessing the faculty of speech and not the anomalous, the deaf and dumb who do not possess the faculty of speech.

You have substituted for the topic under discussion, another topic that has not been discussed.

2) From Comrade Belkin's letter it is evident that he places on par the "language of words" (language of sounds) and "sign language" ("gesture" language, according to N. Y. Marr). Apparently he thinks that sign language and the language of words are equivalent, that at one time human society had no language of words, that "gesture" language at that time played the part of the language of words which appeared later.

But if Comrade Belkin really thinks so, he is committing a grave error. The language of sounds or the language of words was always the only language of human society, capable of serving as an adequate means of communication between people. History does not know of a single human society, be it the most backward, that did not have a language of sounds of its own. Ethnography does not know of a single small backward people who did not have a language of sounds of their own be it as primitive or even more primitive than, say, the Australians or the Tierra del Fuegians of the past century. Language of sounds in the history of mankind has been one of the forces which have helped human beings to emerge from the animal world, unite into communities, develop their mentality, organise social production, wage a successful battle against the forces of nature and achieve the progress we have today.

In this respect, the significance of the so-called language of gestures, in view of its extreme poverty and limitations, is negligible. Properly speaking, this is not a language, and not even an ersatz-language that could in one way or another replace the language of sounds, but an auxiliary instrument of extremely limited resources to which man sometimes resorts to emphasize this or that point in his speech. The language of gestures cannot be compared to the language of sounds, any more than can the primitive wooden hoe be compared to the modern caterpillar tractor with its five-furrow plough and its

tractor row drill.

3) Apparently, you are interested primarily in the deaf and dumb, and have but a secondary interest in the problems of philology. Evidently, it was precisely this circumstance that prompted you to put a number of questions to me. Well, if you insist, I am not averse to granting your request. How do matters stand with regard to the deaf and dumb? Does their mentality work, do they have thoughts? Yes, their mentality works, they do have thoughts. Clearly, since the deaf and dumb are deprived of a tongue, their thoughts cannot arise on the basis of language material. Can this be taken to mean that the thoughts of the deaf and dumb are naked, not connected with the “norms of nature” (N. Y. Marr’s expression)? No, it cannot. The thoughts of the deaf and dumb arise and can exist only on the basis of the images, sensations, conceptions they form in every-day life with respect to the objects of the outer world and their relations among themselves, thanks to the sense of sight, of touch, taste, and smell. Apart from these images, sensations, conceptions, thought is empty, deprived of any content whatsoever, that is, it does not exist.

**J. STALIN**

July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1950

## **To Comrade A. KHOLOPOV**

I have received your letter.

My reply is somewhat tardy in view of pressure of work.

Your letter tacitly proceeds from two premises: from the premise that it is permissible to quote the work of this or that author *apart* from the historical period of which the quotation treats, and secondly, from the premise that this or that conclusion or formula of Marxism, derived as a result of

studying one period of historical development, holds true for all periods of development and therefore must remain *invariable*.

I must say that both these suppositions are profoundly erroneous.

A few examples.

1) In the 'forties of the past century when, as yet, there was no monopoly capitalism, when capitalism was developing more or less smoothly along an ascending line, encompassing new territories it had not yet occupied, and the law of uneven development could not yet fully operate, Marx and Engels concluded that a Socialist revolution could not be victorious in any one country, that it could be victorious only as a result of a joint blow in all or in most of the civilised countries. This conclusion subsequently became a guiding rule for all Marxists.

However, early in the twentieth century, especially in the period of the first world war, when it became clear to everyone that pre-monopoly capitalism had clearly developed into monopoly capitalism, when rising capitalism had become dying capitalism, when the war had revealed the incurable weaknesses of the world imperialist front, and the law of uneven development predetermined the maturing of the proletarian revolution in different countries of different times, Lenin, proceeding from Marxist theory, came to the conclusion that in the new conditions of development, the Socialist revolution could prove fully victorious in any given country, that the simultaneous victory of the Socialist revolution in all countries or in most of the civilised countries was impossible, owing to the uneven maturing of the revolution in those countries, that the old formula of Marx and Engels no longer corresponded to the new historic conditions.

It is evident that here we have two different conclusions on the question of the victory of Socialism, which not only

contradict each other, but exclude each other.

Some dogmatists and Talmudists who quote formally without grasping the essence of the problem, apart from historic conditions, may say that one of these conclusions should be discarded as being: absolutely incorrect, while the other conclusion, as the absolutely correct one, should be applied to all periods of development. But Marxists cannot but know that the dogmatists and Talmudists are mistaken, they cannot but know that both of these conclusions are correct, though not unconditionally, just each for its own period: Marx and Engels' conclusion, for the period of pre-monopoly capitalism; and Lenin's conclusion for the period of monopoly capitalism.

2) Engels in his "Anti-Dühring" said that after the victory of the Socialist revolution, the State is bound to wither away. On these grounds, after the victory of the Socialist revolution in our country, dogmatists and Talmudists in our Party began demanding that the Party should take steps to ensure the speedy withering away of our State, to disband State organs, to give up a standing army.

However, Soviet Marxists, on the basis of studying the present day world situation, came to the conclusion that in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, when the Socialist revolution has been victorious only in one country, and capitalism reigns in all other countries, the land of the victorious revolution should not weaken, but in every way strengthen its State, State organs, intelligence organs and army, if that land does not want to be crushed by the capitalist encirclement. Russian Marxists came to the conclusion that Engels' formula implies the victory of Socialism in all countries or in most countries, that it cannot be applied when Socialism is victorious in any given country, while capitalism reigns in all the other countries.

It can be seen that here we have two different formulae on

the question of the destiny of the Socialist State, each formula excluding the other.

The dogmatists and Talmudists may say that this circumstance creates an intolerable situation, that one of these formulae must be discarded as being absolutely erroneous, and the other—as the absolutely correct one—be applied to all the periods of development of the Socialist State. But Marxists should know that the dogmatists and Talmudists are mistaken, because both these formulae are correct, but not absolutely, just each for its period: the formula of Soviet Marxists, for the period of the victory of Socialism in one or several countries; and Engels' formula, for the period when the consecutive victory of Socialism in separate countries will lead to the victory of Socialism in most countries and when the necessary conditions will thus have been created for the application of Engels' formula.

The number of such examples could be increased.

The same must be said of the two different formulae on the question of language, taken from various works by Stalin and cited by Comrade Kholopov in his letter.

Comrade Kholopov refers to Stalin's work "Concerning Marxism in Philology", where the conclusion is drawn that, as a result of the crossing, say, of two languages, one of them usually emerges victorious, while the other dies away, that, consequently, crossing does not produce some new, third language, but preserves one of the languages. Further he refers to another conclusion, taken from Stalin's report to the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), where it is said that in the period of the victory of Socialism on a world-wide scale, when Socialism will have gained strength and become part of our everyday life, national languages will inevitably merge into one common language which, of course, will be neither Great Russian nor German, but something new. Comparing these two formulae

and seeing that, far from coinciding, they exclude each other, Comrade Kholopov falls into despair.

“From your article”, he writes in his letter, “I understood that the crossing of languages can never produce some new language, whereas prior to your article I was firmly convinced, in conformity with your speech at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), that under *Communism*, languages would merge into one.”

Evidently, having discovered a contradiction between these two formulae and being deeply convinced that the contradiction must be removed, Comrade Kholopov considers it necessary to get rid of one of these formulae as incorrect and to clutch at the other as being correct for all periods and countries; but which formula to clutch at—he does not know. The result seems like a hopeless situation. Comrade Kholopov does not realise that both formulae can be correct, each for its period.

This is always the case with dogmatists and Talmudists who, without delving into the essence of the problem and, quoting formally, irrespective of the historical conditions of which the quotations treat, invariably find themselves in a hopeless situation.

Yet if one examines the essence of the matter, there are no grounds for a hopeless situation. The fact of the matter is that Stalin’s pamphlet “Concerning Marxism in Philology”, and Stalin’s speech of the 16th Party Congress, refer to two entirely different epochs, which result in different formulae.

Stalin’s formula in his pamphlet, in the part pertaining to the crossing of languages, refers to the epoch *prior to the victory of Socialism* on a world-wide scale; when the exploiting classes are the dominant power in the world; when national and colonial oppression remain in force; when national insularity and mutual mistrust of nations are consolidated by State differences; when, as yet, there is no national equality;

when the crossing of languages takes place as a struggle for the domination of one of the languages; when conditions are as yet lacking for the peaceful and friendly cooperation of nations and languages; when the question on the agenda is not the cooperation and mutual enrichment of languages, but the assimilation of some and the victory of other languages. It is natural that in such conditions there can be only victorious and defeated languages. It is precisely these conditions that Stalin's formula has in view when it says that the crossing, say, of two languages, results not in the formation of a new language, but in the victory of one of the languages and the defeat of the other.

As regards Stalin's other formula, taken from the speech at the 16th Party Congress, in the part pertaining to the merging of languages into one common language, this has in view another epoch, namely, the epoch *after the victory of Socialism* on a world-wide scale; when world imperialism will no longer exist; the exploiting classes will have been overthrown, national and colonial oppression will have been eradicated; national insularity and mutual mistrust of nations will have been replaced by mutual trust and rapprochement between nations; national equality will have been put into practice; the policy of suppressing and assimilating languages will have been abolished; the co-operation of nations will have been adjusted, and it will become possible for national languages freely to enrich one another through co-operation. Naturally in these conditions there can be no question of the suppression and defeat of some languages, and the victory of others. Here we shall be confronted not by two languages, one of which is suffering defeat, while the other emerges from the struggle victorious, but by hundreds of national languages, out of which as a result of lengthy economic, political and cultural co-operation of nations, there will emerge first the most enriched single zonal languages, then the zonal languages will



merge into a common international language which, of course, will be neither German, Russian nor English, but a new language which will have absorbed the best elements of the national and zonal languages.

Consequently, the two different formulae correspond to two different epochs in the development of society, and by virtue of this very correspondence, both formulae are correct, each for its epoch.

To demand that these formulae should not be at variance with each other, that they should not exclude each other—is just as absurd as it would be to demand that the epoch of the domination of capitalism should not be at variance with the epoch of the domination of Socialism, that Socialism and capitalism should not exclude each other.

The dogmatists and Talmudists regard Marxism and separate conclusions and formulae of Marxism as a collection of dogmas, which “never” change, despite changes in the conditions of the development of society.

They think that if they learn these conclusions and formulae by heart and begin to cite them without rhyme or reason, they will be able to solve all problems, reckoning that the memorised conclusions and formulae will serve them for every period and country, for every possible contingency. But this can be the conviction only of people who see the letter of Marxism, but not its essence, who learn by rote the texts of conclusions and formulae of Marxism, but do not understand their content.

Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of Socialism in all countries, the science of building a Communist Society. Marxism as a science cannot stand still, it develops and improves. In its development Marxism cannot but be enriched by new experience, new

knowledge consequently some of its formulae and conclusions cannot but change with the passage of time, cannot but be replaced by new formulae and conclusions, corresponding to the new historical tasks. Marxism does not recognize invariable conclusions and formulae, obligatory for all epochs and periods. Marxism is the enemy of all dogmatism.

**J. STALIN**

July 28, 1950.

# **THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN**

The Communist Party of Great Britain celebrated its thirtieth anniversary on July 31<sup>st</sup>. In connection with this outstanding date in the British labour movement, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain has published a special resolution which reads as follows:

“Thirty years ago the Communist Party was formed, with the aim of winning the British working class for active united struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism and the Tory Party, in order to achieve working-class power and a Socialist Britain.

“The foundation of the Communist Party marked a great step forward for the British working class, at a time when the leadership of the Labour Party was becoming a more and more conscious prop of the capitalist order; when the general crisis of capitalism, with its special consequences for imperialist Britain, had developed; and when working-class power had been established for the first time in history by the Soviet Revolution...

“In the thirty years of its existence the Communist Party has fought in the forefront of many class battles in which the British workers have been involved, and in the course of these struggles has built up its cadres and its organisation as a Party of a new type...

“In the great industrial struggles of these thirty years the Communist Party and its members have played an outstanding part—especially in the mining, engineering and transport industries, and in the General Strike in 1926. They have consistently fought to strengthen the membership and class

policy of the Trade Unions, and for international working-class unity, in the mutual interests of the workers of Britain and of other countries...

“From its formation our Party has recognised that it is in the fundamental interests of the British working class to make common cause with the working people of the Soviet Union, who have overthrown their capitalists and landowners, established working-class power and democracy for the people, and are now completing the building of a Socialist society and beginning the transition to Communism, Our Party has, therefore, maintained a continuous fight against British Imperialist intervention and attacks on the Soviet Union, and for peace, trade and friendship with the Soviet people.

“Our Party has consistently fought for democracy and peace and against imperialist wars and preparations for war: it has fought for the colonial peoples, ruthlessly exploited by British imperialism, and helped them in building up their organisation to struggled for improved conditions, democracy and independence.

“In the fight against fascism the Party records its campaign for unity, the Reichstag fire counter-trial in London, the mass struggles that crushed the Mosley marches, the united campaign in defence of the Spanish Republic, and building up of the British Battalion of the International Brigade. The Party fought in the interests of the British people against the warmongers and traitors of Munich, and for the opening of the Second Front.

“In these and in countless other national and local class battles the Communist Party, constantly fighting for unity in the struggles against monopoly capitalism and imperialism and the Tories, has served the present and future interests of the British working class, and has itself developed as a Marxist Party...

“The building of the Communist Party”, further states the

Resolution, “has therefore been inseparable from the struggle against the policy of the Right-wing Labour and trade union leaders, and for strengthening and uniting the movement on the basis of a militant class policy.

“On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party, the Executive Committee calls on all Party organisations to redouble their efforts on behalf of the working class, to strengthen our factory organisations, to make a rapid increase in the membership of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League and in the circulation of the “Daily Worker”; to strengthen the Marxist outlook and fighting spirit of the members; and to fight the influence of the Right-wing Labour and trade union leaders in order to build up a stronger, more united and more class conscious movement on the basis of a militant class policy.

“In the present situation of extreme danger for the British people, the Executive Committee calls for new efforts to unite the working class and all democratic and progressive sections of the people in the fight for peace and the independence of Britain, for improved living standards, and for a Government that will really serve the cause of the working people.”

## CONFERENCE OF PARTY ACTIVE IN ROME

A conference of the party Active of the Rome Organisation of the Italian Communist Party was held on July 30. The conference was devoted to the question of summarising the conclusions of the campaign to raise the membership of the Rome organisation to 100,000.

Aldo Natoli, Secretary of the Rome federation of the Communist Party reported that by July 29 the Rome organisation of the Italian Communist Party and the Communist youth organisation had a membership of 98,150. In seven months of the current year the number of Communists in Rome and in the provinces increased by 11,535.

A warm reception was accorded to Palmiro Togliatti General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, who attended and spoke to the conference. He pointed out that the Communist Party has displayed its strength, the solidarity of its ranks and the correctness of its line in difficult conditions of struggle. Speaking on questions of home and foreign policy, Togliatti exposed the intrigues of the Christian Democratic Government which had launched a crusade against the Communists.

“The Government”, said Togliatti, “calls Communists, Socialists and all their followers the ‘Fifth Column’ and threatens to apply extraordinary measures. It has brought against us the charge of not wanting to see Italy in the ranks of the aggressive anti-Soviet front. It is true we do not want this and that we shall bend all our efforts to prevent it!” exclaimed Togliatti to the accompaniment of stormy applause from the delegates. “But we act and shall act thus because, in the first place, we do not want to see the defeat of Italy. We know and warn that anyone who raises a hand against the Socialist part of

the world will burn his fingers!”.

Branding with shame the rash threats of government officials to carry out punitive measures against the Communists. Togliatti declared that the Communist Party appeals for peace and unity not to the broad masses alone but also to the middle and propertied strata as well. “Our aim is to safeguard the peace of Italy from the hysteria, madness and blindness of its rulers, to safeguard the unity and freedom of the Italian nation. Let people not tell us that the basis for such unity no longer exists. This basis can and must be the Republican Constitution of Italy. The enemy wants, by infuriated attacks, to provoke the Communists and the Italian working people to take risky steps, to launch an isolated struggle. We must reply to these criminal attempts with stubborn and calm work aimed at deepening our ties with all sections of the population, at extending our influence among all social groups so that they might understand that we are striving to safeguard the peace of the nation and with it their own peace.”

## **PARTY EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY**

At the end of July, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party passed a decision on the results of the 1949-1950 Party academic year and the preparations for the 1950-1951 academic year.

During the 1949-1950 academic year within the Party educational system, the organisation of Party studies has improved considerably. The A. A. Zhdanov Higher School of Social Sciences was opened under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, also evening universities, Marxism-Leninism schools, and six-month Party schools were started. Classes on current politics were organised for Party members and non-Party people. To help students of Party schools and courses, lectures and booklets totalling nearly 12 million copies were issued. The work of training and refresher training of teaching personnel for Party schools was improved.

In 1949-1950, 249,125 Party members in all were embraced by the Party educational network, compared with 100,406 in 1948-1949.

Alongside these achievements, the decision of the Central Committee also noted a number of shortcomings in Party studies. The curricula of Party universities, schools and courses are not, as yet, sufficiently linked to questions of Party work. Some materials for studies are written in heavy vague language, and sometimes contain mistakes.

The Central Committee decided that the main task of Party studies in 1950-1951 must be to train Party and State leading cadres and also skilled propagandists and agitators. To this end, the network of Party schools and courses will be extended. The number of Party schools for nationalities inhabiting Rumania



will be increased. A 30 per cent increase in the number of students in the Party educational network and also an extension of the network of Party clubs, are planned.

## **FIRST GRADUATES OF PARTY SCHOOL IN ALBANIA**

The first students graduated a few days ago at the twelve months' school of the Albanian Party of Labour in Tirana. Present at the graduation ceremony were Comrade Enver Hodja, General Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labour, Secretaries of the Central Committee, Comrades Tuk Yakova, Mehmet Shehu, Bedri Spahi and members of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

Comrade Enver Hodja, on behalf of the Central Committee, congratulated the graduates who had successfully completed the course of study and hoped they would ably apply in their practical work the knowledge they had acquired.

The twelve months school of the Albanian Party of Labour opened in September last year. There were 95 students in this school, mainly leading workers and members of the regional bureaux of the Albanian Party of Labour, leaders of Regional Executive Committees, workers from mass organisations and Commanders of the People's Army.

The curriculum included: History of the C.P.S.U.(B), history of the Soviet Union, history of the Albanian Party of Labour, dialectical and historical materialism, basic questions of economy and practical leadership in its different branches and questions of Party building for Party workers and of State construction for administrative workers.

In addition, the students studied general history, the history of Albania, geography, the Albanian language and its literature and the Russian language. In spite of the low general educational level (75 per cent of the students had only primary education, since in the past they did not have the opportunity to receive education because of their social position), 62 per cent of the graduates received good and satisfactory marks. Some of

the graduates received excellent marks.

## **MEETINGS OF THE SOUTHERN SLAV MINORITY IN HUNGARY**

The Democratic Union of the Southern Slav minority in Hungary recently called Southern Slavs to a meeting in defence of peace.

At a meeting in Katymar, the working people of the villages Bacsbokod and Csikeria and those from other localities, attended the meeting. In his speech, Andrija Horan, Chairman of the Democratic Union of Southern Slav Minority in Hungary denounced the slander disseminated by the Titoites on the orders of the Americans, regarding the persecution of Southern Slavs living in Hungary, the slander which serves the aim of creating a war conflict in the Balkans.

Andrija Hovan explained how the Hungarian Workers' Party and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic ensure the economic, political and cultural equality of the Southern Slav nationality. The meeting loudly greeted the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin, the heroic Korean people and the Hungarian Workers' Party.

At the meeting, a peasant, Bandik, who only came to Hungary from Yugoslavia in 1945—and who despite that has received 5 holds of land and 500 square metres of vineyards following the liberation of Hungary, read a letter from his brother in Yugoslavia asking him to send him even second-hand clothes and other things which he could not get in Yugoslavia.

The peasant woman Vuics Janosne, explained how Southern Slav working people, along with their Hungarian brothers, are building Socialism.

Trubli Janosne, the local judge, Kapas Minlosne, a woman from Bunyevac, Gallyas Sandor, a Southern Slav teacher, Acs Sandta Istvanne, Pal Filipovics, a working peasant, and

Bertalan Fekete, a high school student, exposed in their speeches the slanders of the Tito clique and their foul aims.

Similar meetings also took place in the villages of Totzcentmarton and Kasad.

## **COPENHAGEN WORKERS REFUSE TO UNLOAD AMERICAN AMMUNITION**

Copenhagen port-workers have organised it protest strike against the unloading of American ammunition in the port.

The attempt to fool the workers by declaring that the ship “Java” carried 300 tons of ports cartridges failed. The workers established as a definite fact that these sports cartridges were really American military cartridges.

The ship had to leave the port. The port-workers’ trade union forbade their members to unload this cargo of American ammunition.

## **PREPARATION FOR THE NEW SCHOOL YEAR IN POLAND**

In connection with the forthcoming new school year in Poland, the publishing houses are preparing to issue a great number of textbooks and school stationery, The State Schools Publishing House, up to September 1, will publish 13,000,000 school textbooks—three times more than last year. Moreover, this year there will be published a great number of geographical maps and other school stationery, together with nearly a million copies of the curriculum for general schools.

# **CONCERNING THE TASKS OF THE NATIONAL FRONT OF DEMOCRATIC GERMANY. Otto Grotewohl, Chairman, Central Committee, Socialist Unity party of Germany**

The struggle between the two worlds headed, on the one hand, by the United States of America, and on the other, by the Soviet Union, is deciding the question of the present and future of mankind. In this struggle everything backward and reactionary is represented by capitalist countries under the leadership of the imperialist United States of America; everything progressive and advanced by the great Soviet Union—the mainstay of world peace—and by People’s China and the People’s Democracies.

The Soviet Union is striving to consolidate the front of the peace-loving states and, in friendship with them, to secure its peaceful building of Socialism. From this purpose follows the wide and powerful support for the movement of the struggle for peace throughout the world. It is becoming increasingly clear that the front of peace is far more powerful than that of the warmongers. The peace front is the natural expression of all the peaceful and progressive interests of the peoples. In contrast to this, the imperialist front is predatory and aggressive. It constantly threatens peace, and, in addition to its own people, wants to exploit other peoples also.

Millions of honest people in all countries wholeheartedly support the Stockholm appeal, because the demands put forward in the appeal are in line with the vital interests of all peoples and all who desire a stable and durable peace. This



struggle will be crowned with success if all honest people in the world, irrespective of race and nationality, political or religious convictions, take their place under the banner of active fighters for peace, against the imperialist warmongers.

As for the international working class, it is doubly interested in preserving peace, for it cannot permit war to retard the powerful uplift of mankind for Socialism. The cause of peace will triumph, because it is protected by the great and mighty Soviet Union which stands at the head of the peace camp and which is guided by the standard-bearer of peace, the brilliant leader of progressive mankind—Comrade Stalin.

From this fundamental difference between the two camps follows also the difference in their attitude towards vanquished Germany.

## I.

The policy of the Western imperialist powers resulted in the dismemberment of Germany. The imperialists of Western powers disrupted the **economic** unity of Germany by grossly violating the Potsdam agreement by a number of separate measures and by establishing a separate currency reform in the Western zones. With the formation of the Bonn separate State and of its puppet Government, the **political** unity of Germany was disrupted. As a result of this splitting policy the basis for the existence of a united German national State was frustrated. Danger hangs over the independence and sovereignty of the German nation.

The German democratic forces welcomed the historic Potsdam decisions because they enabled them to draw lessons from German history and completely to eliminate the old aggressive Germany. If the Germans recognise the obligations placed on them by the Potsdam decisions, they also claim, from the viewpoint of international law, the guarantees given to

them. We are now insisting, as we did before, on the fulfilment of the Potsdam decisions; regarding them as our absolute national right. The attitude of the Anglo-American bloc in Germany will not make us give this up.

For the German working class, for the peasants, the intelligentsia and for the broad sections of the middle strata, there arises the task—honestly to fight against national suppression, together with all forces ready for this, and to form an all-German National Front of Democratic Germany. The National Front of Democratic Germany by no means infers that we want to restrict it in any narrow framework. On the contrary, we are ready for co-operation with all German patriots for whom the interests of Germany constitute their vital interests. Not a single German patriot, who is ready to fight for the just national interests of the German people, can be excluded from the National Front of Democratic Germany. This refers both to former officials, generals, officers and men of the German army, to industrialists, merchants, former members of the Nazi Party and to all men and women who are participating in economic and cultural life. The present attitude of each German in this great national liberation struggle of the German people and not his former membership of this or that organisation is the decisive criterion.

The conditions for co-operation in defending peace which we now put forward are: love for peace, denunciation of the atomic weapon, and an effective struggle against the U.S.-British instigators of a new world slaughter.

The course of the development of Western Germany has proved irrefutably that the revival of imperialism in Germany leads to a new war; that the anti-democratic policy of the Western occupation powers and of the traitors Heuss, Adenauer and Schumacher is aimed at perpetuating the dismemberment of Germany and is leading to the destruction of the vital basis of the German people. Such a policy of the

Western occupation powers evokes the wrath and indignation of the German people.

“Under an outwardly calm surface”, says the Resolution of the Third Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, “the mounting national resistance is boiling. Without any desire to do it, the Anglo-American invaders are pushing the masses onto the path of national resistance; are filling them with hatred for the invaders. This growing internal resistance is much more dangerous for the imperialists than it would seem at the first glance. The invaders, and their German accomplices, feel they are sitting on a volcano.”

If, despite these favourable objective conditions, our comrades from the Communist Party of Germany succeeded in getting only a small number of votes at the election, they must find and thoroughly analyse the real reasons for this. The explanation for this can only be that the Party made a number of mistakes and slips in main questions of policy. The comrades from the Communist Party of Germany allowed the enemy to draw them too much into that sphere of struggle in which the enemy wanted and was ready to meet them; namely, into the thicket of trifling daily issues. In this thicket the comrades lacked the determination and orientation to fight successfully. The strategic aim should never be lost from sight because of tactical issues. It is necessary resolutely and tirelessly to expose the warmongers—the Anglo-American imperialists, who are actively preparing in the West of our Fatherland for a military conflict. Every night, tanks are dispatched from Hamburg to the Lüneburg region, and the roads along the Rhine, which has been praised in song, and along the legendary Lorelei Rock are mined so that in the event of a retreat, Western Germany could be made one huge flooded wasteland. Adenauer humbly begs permission from the High Commissioners to form an army of German mercenaries, and at the same time, jointly with France, is realising the “Schuman

Plan” whose object is nothing more than the formation of a world coal and steel trust serving the aim of preparing war.

From all this follows the expediency of the measures which the National Front should carry out in Western Germany, The national movement is a matter for all the German people and must therefore be developed in all parts of Germany. In doing this, the specific nature of the position of the population in various parts of the country and also the geographical peculiarities should be taken into account alongside the great national questions of unity and peace. It might be that on the Rhine different questions will arise from those in Hamburg, in Hamburg different from those in Bavaria, in Bavaria different from those in Wattenstedt-Salzgitter. Everywhere the question should be put concretely.

## II.

Hampered in its national development and threatened with a new war, new hardships and suffering, the German nation is coming into motion. The National Front is entering a new phase of struggle. Whereas at the beginning it was *a period of an ordinary national protest*, in the second phase it turned into **national self-assistance** so that today, in the third phase of struggle, **it has risen to national resistance** to the policy of dismemberment, colonisation and war pursued by the U.S.-British imperialists and their German accomplices. National resistance must be developed along all lines. If workers and peasants in Western Germany are concerned about maintaining contact with the workers and peasants in Eastern Germany they must resolutely ignore the orders of the reactionary leadership in their organisations.

Merchants and employers in Western Germany who wish to trade with the German Democratic Republic, should do so despite the orders of the Western occupation authorities. The

intelligentsia in Western Germany—which is fighting against the development of American barbarity in culture—should show that it does not intend to allow the cultural unity of Germany to be split nor permit the elimination of the great German cultural heritage. The entire population in Western Germany should rise in struggle against the dismantling which is being carried out contrary to international law; to prevent its vital economic basis from being sacrificed to the interests of the profits of U.S.-British monopoly capital.

Carrying out the policy of enslavement the Western occupation authorities are referring to the Declaration adopted in connection with the defeat of Germany, and to the “Decisions Concerning the Control Council”, which say: “The German authorities and German subjects must carry out all orders of the Allied representatives”.

Today the Western allies, in general, cannot base their orders to these decisions because Section III of the Potsdam Agreement, the point which concerns political principles, says that the higher government power in Germany will be effected **jointly** and **for the whole** of Germany on the questions concerning the entire country by Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces who will act as members of the Control Council’. Following this, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Western armed forces in general cannot lawfully decide all-German questions because, first, they do not decide them jointly, and secondly, they decide them not as members of the Control Council because they themselves have frustrated and rendered impossible the work of this Council.

Moreover, they are pursuing a policy which, on all points, runs contrary to the Potsdam Agreement. Thus, no one in Western Germany is any longer lawfully bound by the orders of the occupation authorities. In this lies our right to national resistance, since this is resistance to a position in which we have no rights.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany seeks to play the first fiddle in the chorus of disrupters, hypocrites and slanderers. The attitude of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany confirms the correctness of the characteristics given to Right Socialists in the Information Bureau Resolution in November 1949.

It must be said of the Social Democrats of the Schumacher type that they are acting more and more shamelessly and insolently. They have prohibited the struggle for peace in the trade unions—removing the functionaries who work in the peace committees—and are acting openly, shoulder to shoulder, with reactionaries in order to expel Communists—members of factory councils—from enterprises and to organise terror. They hamper in every way the achievement of united action by the working class, and are deepening the split and organising a fratricidal struggle between the workers. Our task is to expose the shameless and treacherous role of the Right leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and to explain to the rank and file Social Democrats their real political aims.

### III.

Nine months have passed since the formation of the German Democratic Republic. During this period the government tried to carry out its tasks. For the first time in the history of Germany we have seen a government whose programme has merged with the vital national demands of the broad democratic popular movement. Since this popular movement—the movement of the National Front of Democratic Germany—has gone far beyond the framework of parties and mass organisations, the government too, developed energetic activities which went far beyond the activities that had been carried out in Germany by coalition governments

engaged in parliamentary machinations by various parties. Thus, the government became a really People's Government.

The German Democratic Republic has become the most firm basis for the National Front of Democratic Germany. The government is inspiring the masses in the struggle for the unity of Germany and is supporting those participating in this struggle. The government is strengthening and guarding the really democratic system. By signing agreements and treaties of friendship, the government brings the German people had, into the family of peace-loving peoples. The government improves the living standards of the population and, inspiring the working people to new successes, is seeking to raise further the standard of living of the population.

American imperialism is the worst enemy of the German people and also of the German working class. If the German working class, unites with all progressive Germans on the basis of the national interests, it will gain allies in its struggle for social liberation, and its struggle will be more successful.

In our Party there are, unfortunately, comrades who do not see the wood for the trees. There are also Party members who have found themselves prisoners of the form to such an extent that they are unable any longer to understand the reality, and there are comrades who still fail to rid themselves completely of the views of Social Democratism, opportunism and all kinds of sectarianism.

These phenomena stem from ideological confusion and mistakes. The questions of peace and of the National Front are, today, the two most important links in the chain of development, links which should be seized upon in order to keep the entire chain and to be able to prepare conditions to achieve strategic successes.

The paramount and urgent tasks of today are the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation and the unity of democratic Germany. These two urgent tasks are now the

centre of attention. The remaining urgent tasks are being realised according to the programme of the National Front of Democratic Germany. These tasks are clear. They are: to secure and improve living standards, build our peaceful economy, democratize Germany, create a united German national State, sign a peace treaty with Germany, to secure the withdrawal of all occupation troops, to develop genuine and close friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and all other peace-loving peoples.

The more vigorously and energetically the Party embarks upon this work in the National Front of Democratic Germany, the sooner the German Democratic Republic will become an attractive centre in the National Front. Proceeding from this, we must arouse a new, democratic attitude towards the State. Unfortunately, there are still comrades who fear the very appeal for a new attitude towards the State and who have not yet understood that our State has nothing in common with the old State of the capitalist exploiters.

When we speak about the national task we so not have in mind a nationalist task. After the utter defeat of Hitler, nationalism in Germany suffered a fiasco. The content of German nationalism in the past was the world, outlook of monarchism, capitalism and imperialism. This nationalism was hateful to the whole world because it was so infinitely conceited, and as aggressive and bellicose to all other countries. The entire world knows well enough the results brought about by this nationalism. We have for ever, done away with this junker, bourgeoisie, fascist nationalism. There is no going back!

The National Front categorically reject the seizure of other countries; it strives for friendship with other countries, It does not want to oppress other peoples but comes forward for the right to self-determination. It wants not a split but unity. It wants not occupation statutes but a peace treaty. It wants not



enslavement but national freedom. It wants unity, peace and the withdrawal of all the occupation troops. By this we do not oppose ourselves to any other nation.

We link, indissolubly, the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary practice. From this there arise tactics in relation to the urgent events of the day, tactics which rely on a firm basis of principle and which have been developed in the practical application of dialectical materialism. For this we need a Party of a new type. And it is clear to us: on the side of Stalin, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the success of our just cause is ensured.

# **HOSTILE ACTIVITIES OF FASCIST TITO CLIQUE AGAINST PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA. Mehmet Shehu, Secretary of Central Committee, Albanian Party of Labour**

Of all the People's Democracies, Albania has been the country against which the hostile activities of the fascist Tito clique have revealed themselves in the most open and brutal forms. This has happened because Albania is the advanced outpost of the Socialist camp in the rear of the imperialist camp. This is what makes Albania the target of constant hostile attacks from its hostile neighbours in general and of the fascist Tito clique in particular.

The hostile activities of the fascist Tito clique against the Albanian people began in the early years of the national-liberation struggle of the Albanians against Mussolini's troops. As has now been established, Tito was even then an imperialist agent, and seeing that, as a result of the victory of the Soviet Army and of the patriotism of the Balkan peoples, who had risen in struggle against the fascist invaders, the national liberation movement was developing on an ever-increasing scale, and also wishing to subordinate it to his control, Tito worked out a plan for the creation of the "Balkan Staff" under his leadership, a staff which was to have embraced the national-liberation movements in Albania, Greece and Bulgaria. In case the "Balkan Staff" failed, Tito had ready another string to his bow: to implant by all possible means his agents in the leadership of the national-liberation movement in these countries in order that later—with the help of these

agents—he could “capture the fortress from within.” Pursuing this aim, Tito, in 1943, seconded to the General Staff of the national-liberation movement in Albania, Vukmanovic (Tempo), a member of the Central Committee of the “Communist” Party of Yugoslavia and a notorious British intelligence agent, who spared no effort to convince the leaders of the national liberation movement of the need for a “Balkan Staff”—with Tito at its head. Vukmanovic travelled to Greece for the same purpose. However, this plan of Tito’s met serious resistance and failed completely.

Before his departure from Albania, Vukmanovic tried to operate the second variation of Tito’s plan: he recruited as a Titoite agent, Koci Xoxe, who was then Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania which directed the entire national-liberation struggle of the Albanian people. With the help of Koci Xoxe, the Tito clique reckoned on capturing the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party.

In 1941 Albanian partisans effected the release from one of the concentration camps of Miladin Popovic, a Yugoslav citizen and Communist-internationalist. Following his release, Miladin Popovic used his experience to help, in so far as was possible, the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party. His views differed radically from those of Vukmanovic and the Tito clique. He was opposed to the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership in the internal affairs of the Albanian Communist Party, and strictly condemned it.

The Tito clique regarded Miladin Popovic as a serious obstacle to the realisation of their plans for, colonising Albania and therefore, late in 1944, Tito had Miladin Popovic recalled to Yugoslavia and there squared accounts with him. Miladin Popovic was assassinated by UDB agents.

Just before Albania was liberated, Tito delegated Colonel Velimir Stoinic, his personal agent, as representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to

the Albanian leadership for the alleged purpose of helping to acquire Yugoslavia's experience. Stoinic zealously began to continue the work begun by Vukmanovic, striving to place at the head of the people's government and Party, the main Titoite agent Koci Xoxe; to supplement the Titoite agents in Albania with new cadres; to remove those elements resisting Titoite intervention in Albania and who stood for co-operation with the Soviet Union—elements who refused to reconcile themselves to the anti-Soviet views of the Yugoslav leadership; to inculcate in the Party and State apparatus an anti-Soviet, trotskyite spirit. Leaning on Koci Xoxe, Sejfulla Maleshova and the trotskyite, Pandi Kristo—all of whom were members of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party at the time—Stoinic achieved his aim and at the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party, held in Berate in 1944, the correct line of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party—carried out in the war period—was condemned and a blow was delivered at the Marxist-Leninist elements of the Party leadership headed by Comrade Enver Hodja, while the trotskyite Titoite elements were promoted to important posts. Koci Xoxe, apart from the post of Secretary of the Central Committee for cadres, received the post of Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of State Security; Pandi Kristo and Sejfulla Maleshova were worked into the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania.

However, this “success” of the Tito clique at the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania could not irrevocably seal the fate of the new Albania. Genuine Communists and fighters for the freedom of the people who had rallied round Comrade Enver Hodja—the General Secretary of the Communist Party—could not allow the peoples' Albania created in difficult and bloody struggle, to end its existence as a Yugoslav colony. They resisted Titoite

interference in the internal affairs of Albania and did not cease, even for a moment, their struggle in defence of the correct line of the Communist Party of Albania.

At that time, the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania did not, as yet, know that Tito was an imperialist agent; it could not discern, in the person of Tito and his clique, its bitter enemies—it had great faith in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, always coming up against injustice from the Tитоites in relation to Albania, the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania regarded the line of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as incorrect and resisted the pressure of the Tитоite camarilla. While being the most youthful Communist Party in the world (it was created in 1941), the Communist Party of Albania was, and is, a strong, united Party because it was forged in the flames of the national liberation struggle of the Albanian people and draws all its strength from that inexhaustible source boundless faith in the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and the great Stalin. This faith has never been abandoned by the Albanian Communists, despite all the efforts of the Tito clique to undermine it.

Every act of the Tito clique in relation to Albania was glaringly hostile and pursued only one aim—that of colonising Albania. The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance, signed in 1946, conventions, protocols, and all the economic and cultural treaties and agreements concluded by Tito Yugoslavia with our country, aimed at the enslavement of Albania by the fascist Tito clique. With the help of these conventions and treaties the Tito clique prepared the ground for endless intervention in and for seriously influencing the internal affairs of Albania. Tito was able to achieve all this first because of the strife sown in the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party; because of the support given to the Tитоite elements headed by Koci Xoxe, and because of the struggle against the Marxist elements who stood for co-operation with

the Soviet Union and who resisted the intervention of the trotskyite Tito clique in Albania's internal affairs; secondly, because of the misuse and abuse of the confidence of Albanian Communists and the Albanian people which they entertained for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

In a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania early in 1947, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia openly accused the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party of pursuing an anti-Yugoslav policy. The fascist Tito clique regarded all who stood for sincere co-operation with the Soviet Union as enemies of Yugoslavia. However, despite all the efforts of Koci Xoxe, who insisted on the approval of the letter, the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party rejected it and declared it to be slanderous. As a result, the struggle between the Tito clique and the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party sharpened considerably and Titoite intervention in the internal affairs of Albania became more open and fierce.

Early in 1948, the Tito clique succeeded in launching its penultimate blow against the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and the Albanian people. This was at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania. This Plenum, organised by Rankovic and Koci Xoxe, condemned the pro-Soviet line of the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party and adopted the Titoite thesis of co-operation between Albania and Yugoslavia under the Tito slogan of "alliance and fraternity". Titoite elements, headed by Koci Xoxe, won a temporary victory: Albania was promptly heading for "alliance" with Yugoslavia; for transformation into a Yugoslav colony. This circumstance greatly inspired Tito-trotskyite elements in Albania. After the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, Kristo Themelko—former member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of Albania and head of the Political Department of the Army,—who was also one of Koci Džozde’s closest associates, vigorously insisted before the Politburo that the Albanian Army be merged with that of Yugoslavia. Tito’s insolence went to the length of proposing that the Government of the People’s Republic of Albania should call in Yugoslav divisions on Albanian territory for the alleged purpose of defending Albania from the threat of the Greek monarchofascists. The People’s Republic of Albania stood face to face with a deadly crisis. On behalf of the Albanian Government, Comrade Enver Hodja categorically rejected Tito’s demand for Yugoslav divisions to enter Albanian territory. The intensity of the struggle between the Tito clique and the Albanian leadership had reached its apex.

In those exceedingly critical days for the independence of the Albanian people, the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin ripped the mask from the Tito clique and exposed in full its real face. Tito’s plan collapsed. The People’s Republic of Albania was saved! As in 1945, when the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin rid the world and Albania of the fascist, Hitlerite yoke, so, in 1948, they again freed Albania from the fascist Tito yoke.

With the publication of the letters of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Resolution of the Information Bureau “On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”, the Communist Party of Albania, having in the light of these historic documents, analysed all its work, and its relations with Yugoslavia, began to make an historic turn, resolutely purging itself of Tito-trotskyite elements and firmly taking the Marxist-Leninist path. The Albanian Government denounced all the conventions, and economic and cultural treaties and agreements signed with the Tito Yugoslavia. All the Yugoslav “technicians” and “advisers” were chased out of

Albania.

After the Resolution of the Information Bureau “On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”, there began a new stage in the hostile activities of the fascist Tito clique against Albania. Enraged by the failure of its heinous plans in relation to our Republic, the fascist Tito clique resorts to every possible means in order to inflict a mere telling blow against Albania. In these hostile activities it collaborates closely with the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Italian neo-fascists. It will be recalled that as far back as 1947, Moche Pjade, on Tito’s instructions, held a secret meeting with Tsaldaris and discussed with him the question of dividing Albania between Yugoslavia and Greece. The programme for the meeting between Pjade and Tsaldaris was that of collaboration between the fascist Tito clique and the Athens monarcho-fascist clique on the question of dividing Albania, and both Belgrade and Athens are working hard to realise this programme.

How does Tito intend to effect this aim? Naturally, neither Tito nor the Athens monarcho-fascists are in a position to attack Albania openly and then to divide it between them. They are fully aware that Albania is not alone, that it is an indivisible part of the Socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union, which is the guarantee of peace and democracy throughout the world. However, both the fascist Tito clique and the Athens Monarcho-fascists—with the considerable assistance of the government of de Gasperi and their common Anglo-American bosses—are sparing no effort or means to “capture the fortress from within”, i.e., to overthrow the people’s power in Albania by means of an armed uprising of internal reaction.

There has not been a single broadcast from Belgrade which did not contain conspicuously poisonous fascist propaganda against the People’s Republic of Albania. At the same time, the fascist Tito clique wages intensive illegal propaganda against our country. Thousands of pamphlets and leaflets, printed in



Yugoslavia in Albanian and Italian, and directed against Albania, the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp, are illegally brought and are still being brought into Albania by groups of trained and armed Rankovic saboteurs and spies. The Yugoslav mission in Tirana was converted into an espionage and propaganda centre against Albania. These hostile activities on the part of Titoite “diplomats” are exposed and they were forced to leave Albanian territory.

The hostile activities of the fascist Tito clique against Albania have been revealed in unbridled legal and illegal propaganda; in organising, equipping and leading Albanian reactionaries who had found refuge in Titoite Yugoslavia; in organising armed provocations in order to violate the territorial integrity of Albania; in sending saboteur groups into our country; in organising espionage, terror and sabotage; in pressure and blackmail.

All these forms of struggle, which the Tito clique employs against our People’s Republic, aim at the definite purpose: the overthrow of the existing People’s power; in order to transform Albania into a Yugoslav colony; to eliminate it as the outpost of the Socialist camp in the rear of the fascist-imperialist powers. To achieve this, the fascist Belgrade clique entered into close co-operation with the Anglo-American imperialists and with all foreign agents in Albania. At present, hundreds of war criminals who fled from Albania and whose hands are smeared with the blood of the Albanian and Yugoslav peoples (such as Cen Elezi, Daen Kaloshi, Nik Sokoli, Tahir Hocha and hundreds of others) are enjoying the hospitality of Yugoslavia. All these war criminals are being organised by the fascist Tito clique; they have set up a committee, headed by the notorious British counter-intelligence agent, Hani Cruasiu. This fascist committee has its staff with headquarters on Albanian territory and its business is to organise the infiltration of saboteurs into Albania.

Hani Cruasiu, whom Tito sent last year with U.D.B. officers to Trieste, took part in the secret conference held there which was attended by other war criminals who had fled from Albania and who had found refuge in Greece and Italy. This conference, held under the supervision of the British Brigadier-General McLean and U.S. officers, adopted important decisions for co-ordinating the activities of those States which had representatives at the conference—activities directed against the People's Republic of Albania.

Albanian Government organs have facts and documents testifying to the fact that groups of Albanian reactionaries and war criminals, organised and armed by Greek and Yugoslav fascists, in the summer of last year, had to start a revolt in the rear of the Albanian army at a time when the monarcho-fascist troops prepared an attack on Albania's southern border. However, these groups of enemies of the people were exposed in time and rendered harmless. From early in 1949 to the end of June this year, Titoite armed forces have been guilty of more than 150 land, air and naval provocations, violating the territorial integrity of Albania. It is interesting to note that between April and August 1949, the number of armed provocations against our country by the fascist Tito clique has progressively increased. This is by no means fortuitous. The Titoite clique did all this in the hope that it would succeed, by mean of provocation on the Northern border of Albania, to boost morale in the ranks of the criminals and saboteurs hiding in Albania. This was the most appropriate moment for rendering effective Titoite assistance to home reaction since in August 1949 the monarcho-fascist government planned to carry out an armed large-scale provocation on Albania's southern border. In this concrete form there was to have taken place (and actually did take place) collaboration between the fascist Tito clique and the Athens monarcho-fascist clique against the Albanian People's Republic.

In the summer of last year, when the monarcho-fascist troops were openly waging battle with the Albanian forces on our southern border, the fascist Tito clique began a series of large-scale operations for “purging” the Albanian zonal border of anti-Titoite and internationalist elements. The purpose of these operations was also to strike fear in the Albanian population and thus facilitate the monarcho-fascist military operations on the southern Albanian border.

After the publication of the Resolution of the Information Bureau “On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”, Titoite agents intensified considerably their work of extending their network in Albania and in the organisation of disturbances, panic, sabotage and terror. Large-scale sabotage on the railways; the assassination of the chairman of the Hajmeli local council; the assassination of Comrade Bardhok Biba, secretary of the District Party Committee in Mirdita; the assassination of the secretary of the local Party organisation in Dode, etc.—all this is the work of the Titoite agents.

The fascist Tito clique is barbarously terrorising all the peoples of Yugoslavia and particularly the Albanian national minority composed of approximately 800,000 Albanians. The Albanian population in Kossove and Metohi (regions which are within the territory of Yugoslavia) have been slaughtered by the fascist Tito clique to an even worse degree than during the Hitlerite occupation. Thousands of innocent Albanians in Kossove have, without trial or questioning, been shot down *en masse* by U.D.B. bodies, both during and after the war. The fascist Tito clique is very much afraid of the patriotism and fighting spirit of the Albanian population of Kossove; therefore, as far back as the beginning of last year, Rankovic gave the order to remove from Kossove all Albanian males capable of carrying arms, mobilising them against their will into the so-called “volunteer labour brigades” and sending

them for labour to remote districts of Slovenia and Croatia, far from their homes.

The hostile activities of the fascist Tito clique, in relation to the People's Republic of Albania, are not abating but, on the contrary, are becoming more open and intense. However, all Tito's intrigues against Albania collapsed infamously. The same fate awaits them in the future too, because the Albanian people, no matter how small, is a glorious and peaceful nation, and also because, at the head of the Albanian people stands its Party of Labour—forged in the flames of the war for liberation, loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teachings, and unreservedly faithful to the cause of Socialism; because the People's Republic of Albania forms an integral part of the Socialist camp, and because it is defended by the glorious Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin-Stalin, and by the great Stalin.

# **FIFTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF URUGUAY. Eugenio Gomez, General Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay**

The recently held Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay has gone on record as an outstanding event in the history of the struggle of the working class and of the people in our country for peace and national and social liberation. Congress was timed to be held on the anniversary of the victorious battle fought against foreign invaders in 1811 under the leadership of the national hero, Jose Artigas, who is highly honoured this year by all Uruguay on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his death.

The Congress had the following basic tasks to perform: First—The drawing-up of a programme for a united front for national regeneration and the methods by which such a programme should be applied, which programme was formulated by the Party under seven main points, with emphasis on the first point, namely, the struggle for peace and national liberation; secondly, the development of the unity movement of the masses: the unity of the working class, the alliance with the peasantry and the unity of the people in the struggle for national liberation; thirdly, the drawing-up of the six points which form the basis of the Party's organisational work; fourthly, the reform of the Programme and the Rules of the Party.

The Congress analysed the international situation which is characterised by the growing war danger and by the consolidation of the peace camp headed by the Soviet Union.

Congress, also considered the problems relating to the internal situation in the country. This situation is characterised

by the growth of the forces of the working class and the people, which has found expression in the powerful strike movement headed by the 100,000 proletariat of Uruguay's capital—a strike movement that went on for five months.

The further process of the subordination of the country to the U.S. monopolists has aggravated even more the country's economic crisis which is developing on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. Hence the slump in agriculture, the driving of the leaseholders from the land, the growth of partial and full unemployment, the rising prices and impoverishment of the masses caused by the fall in the purchasing power of the peso, the steadily swelling State debt and the budget deficit.

The sharp deterioration in the internal situation is the direct outcome of the handing over of the ruling of the country and the subjection of the leadership of the bourgeois and Right Socialist parties to the control of the imperialists, particularly, of the U.S. imperialists. The military pact signed in Rio de Janeiro and the trade treaty imposed on the Uruguay Government by the U.S. imperialists, have led to an increased war danger and to the colonisation of the country, Washington has been talking for a long time about the role of the Latin American countries, in the event of a new war, as being that of a source for "raw materials, for military strategic bases and human potential" (that is, of cannon fodder), and of "manpower for the mines and for agriculture".

In view of the international and internal situation of the country, Congress approved with great enthusiasm the declaration adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay in March 1949 which says that "fighting against imperialism, we Communists, will always, under all circumstances, be on the side of the Soviet Union."

Congress sharply criticised the underestimation of the struggle for peace and decided that this struggle, particularly the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal, is the

main, urgent and decisive task of the Party as a whole, of the working class movement and the mass organisations.

Particularly large mistakes were revealed in the work of creating working class and trade union unity; although the results achieved testify to the great possibilities in this field. Here, workshop “theories” and the “theory” of retreating before imperialism, had flourished. The bearers of these “theories” waged propaganda against the struggle of the trade unions for peace and for a united programme of the General Union of the Working People, against the formation of trade union committees in factories. Congress resolutely condemned these “theories” brought into the Party by imperialism and its agents.

Congress also noted and criticised the considerable lag in our work in the countryside—which is quite inadmissible in an agrarian country such as ours where the **winning of peasantry, of the working masses in the countryside, is one of the main questions in the struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialism and for the abolition of the remnants of feudalism.** Congress recognised it as being essential immediately to help the peasantry—the natural ally of the proletariat—in its organisation, unity and struggle.

The struggle for the unity of the people as a whole—on the basis of the unity of the working class—has also been poorly developed. Certain positive steps have been taken: a single Presidential candidate for the Republic was advanced on the basis of the programme of struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and general wellbeing; the agreement of various parliamentary sections concerning a number of laws (beginning with the law for higher wages and ending with that for the extension of trade relations with the U.S.S.R and the People’s Democracies) was achieved; a campaign by the different sections of the population against the signing of a trade agreement with the U.S. was developed, and so on. But in many cases, because of a defeatist attitude to

imperialism, because of a misunderstanding of the tasks of the proletariat at the present stage of the revolutionary movement in Uruguay and of misunderstanding regarding the need for the broadest, unprecedented mobilisation of the masses in the struggle for peace—all these factors led to sectarian distortions of the Party line.

Raising questions of ideological struggle against opportunism, Congress stressed particularly the existence in our country of favourable conditions for the unity of the working class, for worker-peasant unity, for the consolidation of all working people and progressive sections, youth, women, intelligentsia and so on, in a united anti-imperialist front of struggle for peace.

Congress also gave special consideration to questions regarding the organisational building of the Party. As established in previous discussions, our main weakness lay precisely in organisational work. Congress formulated under six points the organisational tasks which would form the basis of all Party organisations, from top to bottom. These points should be concretized, together with the aims of the programme, and should also be extended to mass organisations according to the specific features of each local Party organisation. Congress condemned the tendency to carry out organisational work just for the sake of organisational work and defined the aims of this work as being that of strengthening and multiplying the ranks of the Party in order that it can take the lead in the struggle of the working class and of the people.

Stressing the need to develop inner-Party democracy, collective methods in work, criticism and self-criticism, Congress also found it essential to intensify revolutionary vigilance, to improve education and strengthen the discipline of Communists.

“The experience of the fraternal Communist Parties”, says the political report to the Congress, “especially in the struggle



against the imperialist agents of the foul trotskyite-fascist Tito gang operating also in our country, but who must be resolutely exposed and destroyed, serves for us—like our own experience in the struggle against the enemies who have penetrated into our ranks—as both a warning and a guide.”

Congress also stressed the importance of intensifying the work in Party education and propaganda. Congress sharply Criticised the lag in these spheres.

As far back as the October 1948 Plenum, of the National Committee of our Party, the incorrect “theories” of certain leading comrades were revealed; “theories” directed against the development of mass struggle and the organisational building of the Party. These mistakes, which constituted a mixture of Right-Wing “crawling” opportunism and of the most harmful “Leftism” capable of bringing the Party to suicide, had one common source-over-estimation of the strength of the enemy and the underestimation of or own strength. Those who wished to escape the most fierce witch-hunt, of the imperialists sought to cover their cowardice with such “theories”. Hence, the justification of all kinds of concessions to imperialism and the preaching of fatal defeatism; lack of confidence in the fighting capacity of the masses; isolation from them; the abandonment of the struggle for immediate demands under the pretext that, on the one hand; it is allegedly, almost impossible, during a crisis, to fight for such, and on the other, that it is allegedly not worthwhile fighting for immediate demands since it is impossible to win them until the proletariat and its allies take power in their hands, and so on. Hence also the proof less statements that the masses allegedly did not learn anything during the war, that the worse the conditions of the masses, the better for the revolutionary movement, etc.

These “theories” slurred over the leading role and the independence of the working class movement, deprived trade unions of a class ‘line and frustrated their struggle for peace,

national and social liberation. Such “theories” caused enormous damage to the Party and to the entire working class movement; facilitating, especially in trade unions, the activities of the splitters and all enemies of the proletariat.

The Fifteenth Congress signified a new, considerable step forward in eliminating all kinds of expressions and remnants of opportunism, and in the ideological consolidation of the Party as a whole.

The approaching general election demands that the Party Congress should determine its tactics. It was decided to make the struggle for peace, for working class unity, for worker-peasant unity, the unity of the people and for immediate demands the basis of our electoral campaign. Because our Party’s proposals for unity during the electoral campaign have been rejected, we, Communists, will put forward our own candidates for all government seats as candidates of the unity of the working class and the people. We are forming committees of unity and struggle for Communist candidates who have distinguished themselves in the struggle for peace, for the realisation of the programme of national regeneration, for the struggle for immediate demands.

The changes introduced in the Party programme correspond to the need clarify our general line and strategy at the present stage of historical development of the country and in conformity with the new tasks.

The Fifteenth Congress showed that our Party is a militant Party which is increasingly consolidating its positions in the factories and in the main industrial centres, a Party which is steadily growing, absorbing young and fresh forces and which is rallied around its general line and around its leadership.

Extremely significant are the figures showing the social composition of the delegates to the Congress: workers, 66.56 per cent; employees, 12.04 per cent; students, 7.02 per cent; peasants, 3.60 per cent; teachers, 0.66 per cent; others, 10.13

per cent. Of the 25 members of the National Committee of the Party, 18 are workers, 2 are peasants, 2 are specialists and 3 are journalists.

The results of the Fifteenth Congress make it possible to state that the Communist Party of Uruguay—which will celebrate its 30th anniversary next September—will be able to carry out its responsible tasks in the struggle for peace and for national and social liberation.

## **PROTESTS AGAINST PERSECUTION OF MAX REIMANN**

Acting on the instructions of their Anglo-American bosses, the Bonn reactionaries have deprived Max Reimann, Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, of his Deputy's immunity. Fisch, Communist Deputy, who protested against this arbitrary act, was deprived of the right to participate in the forthcoming thirty sessions of Parliament. Such is the Bonn "democracy", fashioned on the model of American dollar "democracy".

The reason why Max Reimann was deprived of his Deputy's immunity was, because the Bonn puppets, carrying out Wall Street orders, decided to enforce silence upon one of the outstanding fighters for peace and the democratic unity of Germany.

This arbitrary act of the Bonn puppets and their bosses has aroused a storm of protest from all progressive German men and women. The "Hands off Reimann!" slogan occupies the front pages of progressive German newspapers and is more and more frequently heard in all parts of Germany.

"The reactionaries will never succeed in forcing silence upon such a fighter as Max Reimann, because through him speak the people of Germany" writes "Neus Deutschland."

## **STRUGGLE OF FRENCH WORKING PEOPLE AGAINST THE “SCHUMAN PLAN”**

The strike of the miners of Pit No. 7 in Auchel (Pas-de-Calais Department) has now continued for several days. The miners are striking against the closure of the pit. The pit is to close following a Government decision adopted in conformity with the “Schuman Plan” which provides for the gradual liquidation of the French coal industry—since Lorraine iron ore will be refined in the Ruhr with local coke. Auchel miners have occupied the pit. The population and the working people in the district are rendering the strikers considerable assistance. Three hundred and forty seven traders in the city signed a Petition demanding the withdrawal of the order for closing down Pit No. 7. In addition, they are supplying food to the working people in the pit and are making cash contributions to the solidarity fund for the miners. The agricultural workers trade union is also supporting the strike. Thirty-three mayors in the region, including several Socialists, and also five Catholic priests are participating in the Committee for struggle against the closure of the pit and are members of the delegation which has lodged a protest with the organs of authority. Fourteen thousand miners from neighbouring pits have held a solidarity strike in support of the miners of Pit No. 7.

## **ITALIAN PEASANTS ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR RIGHTS IN ORGANISED FASHION**

An intense struggle for the distribution of agricultural products has been developing recently in Italian villages, particularly in the Provinces of Central Italy (Toscana, Umbria, Marche) where the share-crop system prevails. Despite the fact that, as a result of fierce struggle during the past few years, Parliament passed a law authorising a 53 per cent distribution of products to the peasants, a number of landlords, relying on the police, refuse to give the peasants, the share of the crops to which they are entitled. The struggle has become particularly fierce in the Perusa and Siena Provinces where all share-croppers unanimously held a 24 hour strike, ceasing all field work. In the Perusa Province carabinieri undertook a night raid on the Citta della Pieve village, arresting 15 peasants. However, this only intensified the resistance of the peasants. Scores of demonstrations were held in villages throughout Central Italy and as a result the landlords had to retreat. In many places workers held demonstrations in solidarity with the peasants.

# POLITICAL NOTES

## CONCERNING EVENTS IN BELGIUM

Yankee kings are obviously out of luck! Crowned heads such as that of Leopold III, and uncrowned heads, such as that of Syngman Rhee, have suffered the fate of many other king-dictators—rejection by the people.

In Belgium, by “referendums” and a number of “general” elections, the Americans have succeeded in rallying the obedient majority in parliament. The parliamentary majority repealed the law prohibiting Leopold from ruling the country, and the king, at the will of the Yankees, after six years of exile, was prepared to ascend the throne in order later to recompense Wall Street with uranium ore and other resources from the Belgian Congo, recompense the Vatican by enforcing strong Catholic Party influence in the country, and both by an armaments drive, by the persecution of democrats and by the establishment of a fascist regime on the model of the Truman-Hitler “democracy!”

However, Truman supposes but the people dispose. The Belgians by no means greeted the King with flowers. Leopold returned to the country secretly, stealthily through the back yard. The aerodrome where the plane, carrying the King from Switzerland, had to land, was guarded by machine-guns and tanks, and its location was kept a great secret. Yet the king could not reign from underground. He addressed the people over the radio, insolently demanding that they should recognise him .. their king. And the people replied. Throughout the country and particularly in the industrial areas of Liege,

Charleroi, Borinage, Antwerp and in Brussels there developed a powerful nationwide protest movement. The workers declared a general strike. Economic life in the country was paralysed. Powerful demonstrations began. The working people—Communists, Socialists and Liberals—acted in a united front, solidly and in an organised manner. Under the pressure of the masses the Spaaks had no other choice but to join the movement of the masses.

But strange to say, the police, who beat up the demonstrators, aimed its truncheon blows, above all, against the Communists: thus Edgard Lalmand, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, was brutally handled while Mr. Spaak, who continuously marched through the streets of Belgium, remained unscathed.

In Liege and other cities, working people erected barricades. In a number of instances, Belgian occupation troops, called in from Western Germany, refused to fire on the people. Hundreds of thousands of working people marched to Brussels. The people demanded: Out with the fascist king from Belgium, bridle reaction, improve conditions for the working people!

The Americans of course, did not expect such a turn of events. They reckoned without the people. Nor was this turn anticipated by the Spaaks gentlemen (and with them, the Bevins). And when they saw that the movement had gone too far: that the people demand not only the removal of the American king but also of curbing reaction as such, the Spaaks backed out. Within one night an agreement between Socialist, Liberal and Catholic leaders was framed by which the king relinquishes his “rights” in favour of his son Baudouin, and until Baudouin comes of age (September, 1951) Leopold remains the head of the State, i.e., he will not and at the same time, will be king—a purely Spaak-like formula! Such is the real face of the Right Socialist traitors.



But a fact is a fact. Leopold reigned but six days. He established a kind of record in this respect. Acheson's "Total Diplomacy" received from the Belgian people a clear-cut reply: U.S. king-dictators are not in favour.

However, the most important conclusion to be drawn from the Belgian events is the fact that the unity of the working class, originating from below; the militancy of the people, resolutely upholding their rights, is capable of breaking any provocations earned out by the imperialist warmongers. The general political strike, as shown by the Belgian proletariat, is a mighty weapon in the hands of the people. The success of the popular movement depends upon the timely exposure and disruption of the treacherous manoeuvres of the Spaaks—the loyal lackeys of the imperialists who joined the popular movement for no other purpose than to betray it at the crucial moment and to reach agreement with the enemies of the people.

**Jan MAREK**

## **STATEMENT OF A GROUP OF AMERICAN WAR PRISONERS IN KOREA**

Many U.S. men and officers, participating in the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists against the Korean people, are realising more and more clearly the criminal adventure into which they have been drawn by their rulers. For example, Floyd A. Roy, Sergeant in the 21st Regiment of the 24th American Infantry Division, recently broadcast, over the Pyongyang radio the following statement of a large number of American prisoners of war:

“We were moved to Korea with the explanation that we were to help the supposedly freedom-loving South Koreans to defend their Republic and restore peace and order.

“Upon our arrival in South Korea we noticed that the majority of the South Koreans indicated a strong desire to unite themselves with the North Koreans in order to create a unified and independent nation. They have clearly demonstrated that they want to be left alone to settle their internal problems themselves, and that they hate foreign intervention in Korea, bearing in mind that foreign interference has been the cause of trouble to Koreans for centuries.

“In view of these desires of the Korean people, it is the belief of this group of prisoners that all foreign elements be immediately removed from Korea and, the Korean people be permitted to resolve their own internal problems...

“We, as prisoners of war, are being treated in a most humanitarian way.”

The statement was signed by the following:

Of the 21st Regiment of the 24th Division: Second

Lieutenant Johnson Cox; First Class Sergeants Harvey N. Bailey and Martin A. Strahan; Sergeants Floyd A. Roy, Michael M. Poskouich, Harvey T. Vawn and Larry B. Hidalgo; Corporals Calvin Taylor, Joseph A. Walintukonis, Marvin E. Talbert, Ernest J. Deharles, John P. Gartin, William E. Wilburn, Samuel E. Cosby, Earl W. Shewalter, Ernest Fortunam, Jaime O. Domenech, Oliver Cline and Leo A. Denton; First Class Privates Tomio Tadaki, Charles L. Hedding, Max Myer, Harold S. Fancher, Grady Flook, Raymond B. Mellin, Johnnie Eldridge, Billie J. Holland, John S. Lycan, Thomas Berardi, William C. Fleming, Alfonso T. Natere, Robert D. Furlow, Karl F. Connick, William K. Hollang, Clyde T. Rockwell, Patrick Cress, Jack Goodwin, Clyatt R. Dubose, Beechar Mefford, Florentino Gonfalez, Albert Vincent, John T. Crespo, George P. Pavis, Ralph E. King, Sidurd Olson and Samora Anselmo; Privates Alfred C. Bordeau, Charles L. Fronapfel, Benjamin Ferguson, Wilbur Colford, Myron E. Gloss, Calvin A. Vanwinkle, Raymond C. Simpson, George E. Buskirk, A. Ray Thompson, Neil R. Scott, O. C. Clark, William R. McRill, Robert Helmich, Joe Talbert, Tamaya Goichi, Kermit Koch, Lewis J. Patterson, Robert J. Stanley and Earl Colbey.

Of the 24th Regiment of the same, Division: Corporal John D. Sanders; First Class Private Benito J. Anguino.

Of the 34th Regiment of the same Division: Major John Joseph Dunn; First Lieutenant Herbert E. Marlatt; First Class Sergeant Henry G. Leerkamp; Sergeants Merlin J. Hamilton and Jay Rye; Corporal Omer L. Anderson; First Class Privates Charles William Adams, Basil Varney Jr. Raymond Rogers, Edward E. Estes, Adelbert Blue, Lacey Jennings Jr., Jack Browning, Glenn L. Pratt. Albert E. Rose, Paul P. Strauser, Lee B. Reed and Zzumu Scinagawa; Privates Gedney Roberts, Harold Gustafson, Martin G. Tullio, Lewis Cheff, Robert Murphy, George Torhan, Fred H. Rager, Jackie L. Murdock,

Renneth L, Skinner, Thomas A. Cammarano, Leonard D. Hallum, Clayton Christopuloe, Walter McNary, Frank Martinez, Tony Apodaca Edward Sori, Cecil R. Glass, Leonard L, Pieroe, Richard P. Swanson, William C. Sweitzer, Jackson Mays and John McDonnell.

Of the 22nd Regiment of the same Division: Captain Ambrose H. Nugent. First Class Privates Jesse I. Sizemore, Melvin J. Hill and Robert D. Stephens.

Of the artillery of the same Division: First Class Private Edward King; Private Richard Cummings.

And of the 8th Flight of the 5th Air Force: First Lieutenant Donald S. Sirman.

## **DEMONSTRATION OF FRIENDSHIP OF GERMAN AND CZECHOSLOVAK WORKING PEOPLE**

A monster demonstration of peace and friendship of the German and Czechoslovak working people was held recently in Plauen in the German Democratic Republic. Thirty thousand people took part in the demonstration, including a delegation of working people from Western Germany. Four hundred and sixty of the best trade union functionaries from the enterprises in the Karlovy Vary region arrived from Czechoslovakia to take part in the demonstration.

The town was decorated with the flags of the German Democratic Republic and of Czechoslovakia, and with slogans in the German and Czech languages calling for the fight for peace throughout the world.

The meeting was addressed by Herbert Warnke, Chairman of the Free German Trade Unions.

“One great aim unites us and our Czechoslovak friends—we want peace and friendship between our peoples!”, said Warnke.

“Dear friends from Czechoslovakia, we will never abuse your confidence! We will not allow the power in our country to be attained once again by those who plunged us into two wars! Never should there be a war between our peoples!”

A representative from the working people of Western Germany said that the peace demonstration in Plauen will infuse new strength in the working people of Western Germany in their struggle for the unity of Germany.

## **U.S. IMPERIALISTS SUPPLYING ARMS TO TITO CLIQUE**

Quoting absolutely reliable sources, the Vienna newspaper “Oslerreichische Volksstimme” reported on July 30, that a few days before, two big trainloads of American and British arms and ammunition labelled for Yugoslavia, passed through Austria.

The first trainload (No. 2567/3567) left for Yugoslavia from Salzburg via Villah on July 24. The train was composed of 41 wagons, eleven of which carried guns and 30 ammunition.

The second train passed along the same route on July 25. It bore the number 1969 and consisted of 38 wagons carrying guns and various ammunition.

The newspaper points out that such trains as these have passed through Austria on their way to Yugoslavia before. The trains were most carefully guarded while passing through Austrian territory.

### **EDITORIAL BOARD**

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