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*A Magazine Devoted to the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism*

Editorial Board: V. J. JEROME, Editor, ABNER W. BERRY, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN,  
JACK STACHEL, MAX WEISS

## **Greetings to Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin on His Seventieth Birthday (December 21, 1949)**

ON YOUR SEVENTIETH birthday the National Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A., voicing the sentiments of the advanced workers and progressive-minded Americans, sends you heartiest congratulations and warmest greetings. Like the Communists and other true partisans of peace, democracy and progress in all lands, we hail your more than fifty years of sterling leadership in the interest of the international working class and humanity.

In their ardent quest for the road to peace, ever larger numbers of our fellow Americans who hate war and fascism, understand the supreme need for American-Soviet cooperation and amity. Growing millions see in the Socialist Soviet Union, advancing under the genius of your leadership, the chief bulwark and consistent champion of peace, na-

tional freedom and the friendship of nations.

The patient and resolute efforts of the Soviet Union under your guidance to build a common front against the fascist aggressor before the die was cast for World War II are not forgotten. The American people did not escape paying a price for the treasonous policy of the Munich Men and their Social-Democratic and labor-reformist help-mates. Failure to achieve collective security brought war both to the U.S.S.R. and to the U.S.A. Our people are forever indebted to your peerless strategy and leadership, which enabled the armed forces of the Soviet Union to strike the decisive blows against the common enemy and thus saved civilization.

Patriotic Americans will never cease to honor the heroes of Stalin-

grad, Moscow and Leningrad. In so doing, Americans honor the whole Soviet people, and you their leader, with whom we were allied and without whose leading role and matchless efforts the defeat of Hitlerism and Japanese militarism could not have been accomplished.

Increasing numbers of Americans are coming to understand that the liberation of Europe and Asia was possible because the U.S.S.R. is a Socialist country. It has changed man's age-old dream of freedom into a living reality. It has abolished the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, embodying in the Constitution which bears your name true democracy of, by and for the people.

Victory in World War II was achieved because the historic Five-Year Plans, organized and resolutely fulfilled at your initiative and under your guidance, prepared the Soviet Union for the epic test of the Great Patriotic War despite the efforts of internal and external enemies to disrupt them. This victory was possible because the multi-national peoples of the U.S.S.R. are united in the bonds of true brotherhood. Victory was guaranteed because the Soviet people and their state are guided by the Great Bolshevik Party, built by you and Comrade Lenin, and since Lenin's death continuing under your leadership to guide itself by the principles of Marxism-Leninism

which you have safeguarded and enriched.

The defeat of the fascist Axis brought into being new opportunities for attaining a long-term peace and advancing social progress. But these opportunities could only be realized through a concerted effort to fulfill the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam, and continue in the postwar period the cooperation of the victorious anti-Axis coalition.

Contrary to the interests and desires of our people, Wall Street and its bipartisan political spokesmen repudiated these sacred commitments entered into by our government. Under a Hitler-like anti-Soviet and anti-Communist smokescreen, the American imperialists launched their predatory and aggressive Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Pact. Driving at world domination, and preparing for a new world war, they also by-pass the United Nations or use it to increase international tension.

Wall Street's "cold war," supported by the servile misleaders of labor, is undermining the living standards of the American people, jeopardizing the trade unions, and threatening to destroy all democratic rights.

Undaunted by the threats of the war instigators, the U.S.S.R. steadfastly pursues its Stalinist peace policy and promotes cooperation with all who strive for peace. And the mighty world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by

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the Soviet Union daily becomes more powerful and is destined to triumph.

In our country, too, the organized peace forces among the workers, the Negro people, men and women of science and culture, are growing and will continue to grow in unison with the peace forces of the world. By waging a most active, determined and united struggle for peace, the peoples can frustrate the designs of the imperialist warmakers and the criminal intrigues of their Titoite agents and reactionary Social-Democratic lackeys.

The real America of the people, despite their financiers and militarists, fervently hope for the restoration of American-Soviet friendship achieved by you and President Roosevelt.

Your repeated declarations that the peaceful cooperation of capitalist and Socialist states is both possible and desirable have helped the American people to see that another world war is not inevitable. They favor acceptance by our government of your proposals for a Pact of Peace, for demilitarizing and democratizing Germany and Japan, for lessening the armaments burden and the danger of war by outlawing the atom bomb and adopting a program of universal disarmament. Faced with the developing economic crisis the American people envy and admire the Soviet Union's harnessing of atomic energy for peaceful construction; and they favor proposals to establish nor-

mal trade relations with the U.S.S.R., the Eastern European People's Democracies and liberated China.

The Soviet Union's support for the national liberation struggles of the Chinese and all colonial peoples, and its efforts to safeguard the sovereignty of all nations, are winning it new friends among the American people, Negro and white. All progressive Americans rejoice in the historic victory of the Chinese people after their long years of struggle against feudal reaction and imperialist intervention. They hail the bonds of friendship and peaceful cooperation established between the U.S.S.R. and the new Chinese People's Republic.

With full confidence in the American working class and people, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. exerts every effort to assure that by their united action they will check and help defeat the fascist-minded monopolists and warmongers. As this united action grows in influence and scope, it will bring its full weight to bear for the achievement of an American-Soviet pact of peace and friendship—the cornerstone for world peace.

Long life to you, Comrade Stalin, and to your great and enduring contributions to world peace, democracy, and Socialism!

National Committee,  
C.P.U.S.A.

William Z. Foster, *Chairman*  
Eugene Dennis, *Gen. Sec'y.*

# Leninism—Guide to Unity For Peace, Democracy, Socialism

by George Siskind

IT IS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS since the death of the genius of mankind, the great teacher of toiling humanity, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. Under the invincible banner of Leninism the Socialist state he founded marches confidently today to Communism. Inspired by Lenin's unbounded confidence in the masses, by his iron will and mortal hatred of all exploitation and oppression, the great state he founded stands forth today as the devoted sentinel of peace, democracy and national freedom for all nations and peoples. This great world role of the Soviet Union flows from the very nature of the state Lenin conceived. For, with the birth of the Soviet Union, there came into existence for the first time in human history, a truly democratic state, erected wholly and entirely for the benefit of the people and ruled by the people. Hence, the interests of the Socialist state cannot but at all times fully correspond to, and can never deviate from, the vital interests of the toiling people of all states and nations.

Guided by Lenin's all-powerful

doctrines, the Soviet state proved its indestructibility by emerging stronger from every trial, firmer and more consolidated from every ordeal. If the Soviet system demonstrated in the last war its immense superiority over the non-Socialist form of the organization of society, it is because the banner of Leninism has been held high, and advanced further, since Lenin's death, by his closest co-worker and great continuator, J. V. Stalin. It is because Stalin guarded the behests of Lenin as the "apple of his eye" and further enriched Leninism that the cause of Leninism is more potent and world decisive today than ever.

The facts of contemporary history attest to the all-conquering power of the advanced scientific doctrines of Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the world-wide transition from capitalism to Socialism. In the brief (from the viewpoint of world history) quarter-century since Lenin's death the adherents of Leninism have grown a thousandfold. A whole series of countries have broken away

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from imperialism, bringing to eight hundred million the people who have irrevocably left the orbit of world capitalism and are firmly set on the path of Lenin—the path of the construction of Socialism and the eventual transition to Communism. At the same time, there has been a decisive consolidation, both ideological and organizational, of mass Communist parties in Western Europe which stand guard over peace and zealously promote the unity of the working class, the decisive condition for social progress and advance to Socialism.

That the camp of peace, democracy and national independence possesses sufficient might today to stop the Anglo-American imperialist war incendiaries is due first of all to the inspiration and strength drawn by all progressive mankind from the mighty land of peace founded by Lenin and Stalin. It is no accident that the Socialist state established by Lenin and Stalin was able to bear the brunt of the anti-Axis war and to save mankind from fascist enslavement. It is no accident that the people of such a state proved capable of the immortal heroism of Stalin-grad.

#### MAIN LAWS UNIVERSALLY APPLICABLE

The wealth of experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the first to end capitalist exploitation and tri-

umphantly to build Socialism, provides an unflinching guide to the oppressed and exploited everywhere, charting the sure and true scientific Leninist course of social development through every maze of the jungle that is capitalism. Leninism, which enriched and further extended Marxism in the epoch of imperialism, is in its main laws and concepts universally applicable. It is as native to the United States as is the American working class, as the class struggle raging in our country.

The further development of Marxism by Lenin is based precisely on his scientific analysis of the characteristics, inner contradictions and motive forces of capitalism in its monopoly stage. This analysis, which represents a scientific generalization of the new features acquired by the capitalism of the twentieth century "in America and Europe, and later in Asia," is thus succinctly summed up by Lenin. "Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is threefold: imperialism is 1) monopoly capitalism; 2) parasitic or, decaying capitalism; 3) moribund capitalism. The substitution of monopoly for free competition is the fundamental economic feature, the quintessence of imperialism." What country has developed a more iron-clad, paralyzing domination of monopoly than the United States? "The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay

characteristic of *every* monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic republican and the reactionary monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinary rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods)."\*

With what remarkable accuracy this analysis fits present-day American imperialism! It is becoming clearer daily that the boasted strength of U.S. imperialism is tenuous. The enormous profits reaped by U.S. monopoly capitalism and the expansion of industry during the war do not eliminate the tendency to decay but in fact accelerate that tendency. As the developing cyclical crisis of over-production testifies, this very wartime expansion of production and unprecedented postwar monopoly profits at the expense of lowered living standards of the working masses at home, and the impoverishment and subordination of western Europe, enormously aggravate the market problem, further dislocate capitalist economy and sharpen all the contradictions of U.S. capitalism. What brings into bold relief the full extent of the parasitism and decay of U.S. capitalism is the serious under-utilization of productive capacity, with pro-

duction having suffered a catastrophic thirty per cent decline from the peak of 1943.

Lenin's deduction of the general laws of development and motive forces of the decaying, moribund, monopoly stage of capitalism basically applies to the United States, which is by no means "exceptional" or exempt from the fundamental contradictions of capitalism generally. Leninism sheds its powerful light upon our general path of historical development as it does for the world as a whole.

#### ROAD TO SOCIALISM ILLUMINED BY PARTY OF LENIN

It is attested by the leaders of the Eastern European People's Democracies that their road was illumined by the history and experience of the Bolshevik Party, that their state structures fulfill the functions, and constitute forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, first established by the Party of Lenin, and that their achievements were made possible by the unstinted economic, technical and cultural aid of the Soviet state. "We must learn from the land of Socialism" is the battle-cry of the Chinese working class as they work heroically to build the People's China. Mao Tse-tung, and the true proletarian internationalists in the leadership of the history-making Chinese Revolution, bear witness to the decisiveness of

\* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 748, 749.



the teachings of Lenin and Stalin as their unfailing guide, and to the experiences of the Bolshevik Party as their steady compass.

Every great and progressive achievement of our epoch is indissolubly linked with proletarian internationalism, whose acid test is recognition of the great role of the U.S.S.R. as the leader of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. Proletarian internationalism, based on cooperation with the Socialist state, is the only guarantee of true national independence and sovereignty, while bourgeois nationalism, whose hallmark is hostility to the Soviet Union, is characterized everywhere by national treason and capitulation to imperialist enslavement.

What perfidy then, is displayed by the fascist Titoite gang of imperialist spies who rant about building Socialism while betraying Leninism and fighting the Socialist state in alliance with imperialism! Certain liberals and individuals generally identified with the peace camp are deceived by the Titoite hirelings of Allan Dulles' Project X. They either do not realize or do not wish to realize the fundamental truth of our time that one cannot fight *for* democracy and peace against imperialist reaction and war except by fighting *with* the Soviet Union; and conversely, that one cannot fight *against* the Soviet Union without fighting *with* imperialist reaction and the fomenters of war. For the Soviet

Union is the main obstacle that stands in the way of the rapacious ambitions of American imperialism and its British junior partner to annihilate the forces of democracy and Socialism, to destroy the independence of all nations and inaugurate the "American century" edition of the new Hitler world order. This is why the Soviet Union is the main target of the bestial hatred and unrestrained slander of the imperialists and their Social-Democratic lackeys. And this is why the Socialist state is the powerful magnet that attracts the sympathy, support and friendship of enemies of imperialist reaction and partisans of peace everywhere.

To provide a justification for their rejection of the Soviet proposals for a great power peace pact, for outlawing atomic weapons and for general reduction of armaments, and as a cover for their criminal war preparations, the Anglo-U.S. imperialists deceive the people with the war-mongering theory that war is inevitable. As A. Y. Vyshinsky aptly puts it, the slanderers and warmongers have assumed the guise of "theoreticians." The Wall Street cartelist Austin and Washington's Lebanese stooge Dr. Malik, the "labor" flunkey of imperialism, Hector McNeil, and his Canadian "sterling" partner Martin turn to "quoting" Lenin at the United Nations, peddling the lie that Leninists hold the view that war between the Socialist and capitalist worlds is inevitable. With the sleight-

of-hand born of guilt, the fomenters of war distort into its opposite the teaching of Lenin on the need of a Socialist state, under conditions of capitalist encirclement, to defend its peaceful labor from imperialist attack. Thus, to paint the defenders of peace as instigators of war, and to carry on frenzied preparation for war in the name of security against the "aggression" of the forces of peace is the specific technique used by the Anglo-American monopolists to foment World War III. And if world public opinion should prove mistrustful of the open and uncamouflaged spokesmen of the imperialist war camp, the paid Titoite hirelings of Wall Street are put on the stage in an attempt to lend credence to the monstrous lie that the Socialist world holds the doctrine of the inevitability of war against capitalism. The specific role of the Tito-fascists in the imperialist war strategy is to confuse and disarm the peace camp by a so-called Socialist (sic!) state pointing to the U.S.S.R. and not to Anglo-American imperialism as threatening the peace. It goes without saying that the Tito-fascist spies who have converted Yugoslavia into a colony of Wall Street and into a hot-bed of imperialist war provocation will fool only those who wish to be fooled with their cry of Soviet "intervention" in that country. It requires the depths of depravity of hardened fascist spies to organize and plot assassinations, sabotage, military intervention and

counter-revolution in Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, etc., and yell at the same time about Soviet "intervention," Soviet "imperialism." The Communist Information Bureau rendered a lasting service to the cause of peace by unmasking the Titoite fascist instigators of war in the service of imperialism.

#### POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE EXPRESSED BY LENIN

The desirability and possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds has been consistently voiced by the leaders of the Socialist state. Stalin made this fact crystal clear when he stated, "Lenin was the first to express the idea of co-operation between the two systems. Lenin is our teacher, and we, Soviet people, are Lenin's disciples. We have never swerved, nor will we swerve, from Lenin's directions." It is clear to all who have eyes to see, that this, and not the position that war is inevitable, has been an unshakeable pillar of the foreign policy of the Socialist state in its thirty-two year history. One need but refer to the record: from the struggle for collective security and the anti-Axis war alliance with capitalist states to the concrete peace proposals of the Soviet spokesmen at the U.N. It has been a consistent record of efforts to implement the doctrine of peaceful co-existence with

the capitalist world by means of proposed peace pacts of the big powers, disarmament proposals, proposed accords for a durable peace with a de-Nazified, democratic, peace-loving Germany and Japan, etc.

To make peaceful co-existence a reality requires the unification of the forces of peace in determined struggle against monopoly reaction, and against their Social-Democratic labor reformist and Titoite propagandists of the inevitability of war. In the struggle to block the road to war, Leninism precludes reliance upon the spontaneous process of development.

#### NO UNDERESTIMATION OF WAR DANGER

Leninism, the only Marxism of the imperialist epoch, as the most advanced and only true science of social development, is many-sided and truly dialectical. While scientifically laying bare the ever-sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions, it rejects any conception that these contradictions automatically preclude a united imperialist front of aggression against the camp of democracy and Socialism. Leninism arms the partisans of peace with the dialectical understanding that it is precisely the sharpening contradictions, especially between British and American imperialism, that intensify their drive to war adventures in the desperate effort temporarily to solve their contradictions at the expense of the world

of Socialism and People's Democracy. The Leninist-Stalinist scientific teachings on the character and contradictions of capitalism, particularly in the epoch of its general crisis, form the theoretical basis of the profound and timely warning of the Communist Information Bureau resolution, when it says:

However, it would be erroneous and harmful for the cause of peace to underestimate the danger of the new war now being prepared by imperialist powers headed by the United States of America and Britain.

The enormous growth of the forces in the camp of democracy and Socialism should not give rise to any complacency in the ranks of genuine champions of peace.

It would be a profound and unforgivable delusion to think the danger of war has diminished.

Historical experience teaches that the more hopeless things are for imperialist reaction, the more it rages and the greater danger of military adventures.

Only the greatest vigilance of the peoples, and their firm determination actively to fight by all means and ways for peace will secure the failure of the criminal designs of the instigators of a new war.

Complacency and the reliance upon the spontaneous historical process is the road to defeat and disaster for the partisans of peace and social progress, for the working class and all progressive forces. Peace must be actively fought for. The war plots of the profit-greedy Wall Street cartel-

ists and Pentagon militarists must be fought daily, hourly, by all who cherish peace and value human dignity and freedom. The key to peace is unity of the people, of *all* sections of the people who abhor war and fascist slavery, regardless of ideological and doctrinal differences on any other question. But the decisive condition for a united people's peace front, powerful enough to stop the war makers, is a united working class in the van of the militant partisans of peace, daily resisting every reactionary encroachment on the living standards and political rights of all sections of the people.

#### UNITED WORKING CLASS CRUCIAL TO PEACE

On the eve of the first imperialist war, when he was gathering the forces of the working class and uniting their ranks in the struggle for peace and for socialism, Lenin wrote these remarkable words, so instructive for the American labor movement today:

The workers really need unity. And the thing that must be understood above all else is that apart from the workers themselves, *no one* will "give" them unity. . . . Unity must be *won*, and only by the workers themselves; the class-conscious workers themselves are capable of achieving this by stubborn and persistent work.

Nothing is easier than to write the word "unity" in letters a yard high, to promise unity, to "proclaim" oneself

an adherent of unity. But in reality, unity can only be advanced by work and by the organization of the advanced workers, of *all* class-conscious workers. . . .\*

The Leninist principle of working-class unity equips the proletariat with an indestructible and all-conquering weapon. The struggle led by Lenin for working-class unity within Russia and in the world labor movement put an end to the first imperialist war and breached the front of imperialism on one-sixth of the earth. The Stalinist tactic of the United Proletarian Front and United People's Anti-Fascist Front laid the basis for the glorious anti-fascist resistance, and was consummated in the triumph of the People's Democracies. Organic unity of the Communist and Socialist parties proved a determining factor in the defeat of native big-bourgeois counter-revolution and imperialist intervention and in consolidating the positions of the People's Democracies, guaranteeing their transition to Socialism. Today, the growing danger of imperialist war being feverishly prepared by U.S. and British imperialism raises anew but with special acuteness the question of the unification of the ranks of the working class. This is why the resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties "regards as the cardinal task of the Communist Parties a tireless struggle

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 408. Russian edition, cited by Dimitroff, *The United Front*, p. 215.

to unite and organize all forces of the working class in order to render a powerful rebuff to the insolent claims of Anglo-American imperialism; to frustrate its calculations on a new world war; to safeguard and consolidate the cause of peace and international security; to doom to failure the onslaught of monopoly capital on the living standards of the working masses."

But working-class unity is not an abstract and separate slogan by itself. In every phase of the class struggle, in each concrete correlation of class forces, Leninism poses the question most concretely: Unity for what, unity against whom? The struggle for the mobilization of the forces of democracy and peace, and for unification of the working class, means a relentless struggle against the forces of disunity and immobilization in the working-class and people's ranks—namely, the reactionary Social-Democratic and labor reformist agents of imperialism.

#### UNITY OF WORKING CLASS GRAVEST THREAT TO WAR-MAKERS

On an international scale, declares the Resolution of the Communist Information Bureau, "The unity of the working class can only be won in a resolute struggle against these Right-wing Socialist disrupters and disorganizers of the working-class movement." The Marshallized Right-

wing Social-Democrats in Western Europe and the venal labor imperialists in the United States are the most deadly enemies of peace and the most violent foes of democracy and Socialism. The labor lieutenants of imperialism, the Murrays, Careys, Wolls, Dubinskys and Greens, completely subordinate the labor movement to the war program of the cartelists. The State Department is understandably dismayed at the imposing unity of the forces of peace. It sees world trade-union unity being firmly cemented by the World Federation of Trade Unions which already numbers over 70 million. It sees the mighty force of the world's women thrown on the scale of peace with the International Federation of Democratic Women, numbering 80 million. It sees the world's youth, 60 million strong, uniting their ranks in the crusade for peace and life. Fully aware that united labor movements in Western Europe and the U.S.A. constitute the gravest threat to their Hitlerian ambitions for world domination by means of world war, the Wall Street cartelists are in desperate need of the services of their labor flunkies whom they assign the task of splitting and dividing the ranks of labor in order to strangle resistance to the warmakers.

The Murray-Carey reckless splitting, expulsion and union-busting policy in the C.I.O. is directed by the State Department and brass hats as an integral part of their war pro-

gram. And the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. bureaucrats, competitors in the well-paying business of betraying the wage demands, living standards and political rights of the American workers, become the exponents of a united world labor movement! The war-mongering Dubinskys and Browns, Careys and Wolls, unite in violent hatred of Socialism, democracy and peace with their blood brothers, the British "labor" imperialists, to found a pro-war, anti-working class trade-union federation, completely in the vest pocket of the Pentagon.

The so-called new international federation of "free" trade-unions was conceived in treachery and born in deceit. It is neither an international nor is it "free." It is the height of hypocrisy for the C.I.O. top bosses who institute police-state regimes of loyalty oaths, thug rule and political dictatorship in the unions they control, to become the exporters of "free" unionism! Bound hand and foot to imperialism, the Dubinsky, Murray, Woll international federation is a cynical, splitting imperialist war instrument.

Unification of the labor movement must be a struggle to unite the masses *below* against the splitters and disrupters, against the labor agents of imperialism, reaction, impoverishment and war. "Unity from below—such is the most effective way to consolidate all forces of the workers to defend peace and the national independence of their countries and to

defend the economic interests and democratic rights of all working people" (Information Bureau Resolution on Working-Class Unity).

#### STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IS STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

But the concept of unity has nothing in common with sectarian aloofness or with mere propagandist denunciation. The struggle for unity is the struggle *for the masses*, which requires the most patient, persistent, and tireless day-to-day activity among the masses, particularly in the shops and trade unions, among the Negro people, the youth and women. "A well-tryed method to effect the unity of the working class is the unity in action of its various detachments. Coordinate joint actions at individual enterprises, in whole branches of industry, on a town, district, national and international scale; mobilize the broadest masses to fight for their immediate and most easily understood demands and thus help establish permanent unity in the ranks of the working class." Establishing firm contact with the masses in the shops, trade unions and all mass organizations of the working people, is the first condition for mobilizing "the broadest masses to fight for their immediate and most easily understood demands." To unfold the united front of struggle for higher wages, for jobs, for civil rights, for peace and social security requires

that the Communists be at all times alert and sensitive to the needs of the masses and learn how to express their demands in clear and understandable slogans of action. It is in the course of the struggle for the day-to-day needs of the masses that the relation of their needs to the struggle against imperialism, fascization and war can most effectively be made clear. While concentrating on the workers in the most highly monopolized plants of basic industry, the struggle for peace requires a vast broadening of Communist activity. Serious attention must be devoted to Catholic workers and to the unorganized who constitute the majority of the American working class today. Development of the most flexible and clearly thought-out united front forms, slogans, methods and approaches will unleash this vast reservoir of power which, together with the Negro people, constitute the most

exploited sections of the American toiling population.

The ideological and organizational mobilization of all Communists and the rallying of all class-conscious workers to a full realization of the Leninist concept of the struggle for the unity of the working class, and the implementation of this consciousness in persistent devoted work among the masses is the key to victory over reaction and the fomenters of war. It is the link in the chain we must seize in order to advance the whole chain of social development toward mass socialist consciousness. Leninism, applied as a guide, on the basis of the specific American development, traditions and level of consciousness of the working class is that indestructible doctrine which assures victory over U.S. capitalism, the most predatory imperialist capitalism today, the gravest menace to democracy, peace and security everywhere.

# Stalin—Champion of Lasting Peace\*

by Henry Winston

## COMRADES:

The *Daily Worker* of December 21 carries the statement of Comrades Foster and Dennis, in the name of the National Committee, greeting the 70th birthday of the great leader of the working class of the world—Comrade Joseph V. Stalin.

You have undoubtedly read this statement, which profoundly voices our deep love and profound regard for Joseph Stalin. I am confident that this statement, which ends, "Long life to you, Comrade Stalin, and to your great and enduring contributions to world peace, democracy and Socialism," expresses your thoughts and feelings on this great day and meets with your unanimous approval.

## PEACE: A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALISM

The occasion of Stalin's 70th birthday inevitably turns the thoughts of our fellow-Americans to the issue of peace or war. This is true not only of those who, like ourselves, know the Soviet Union to be the mighty

bulwark of world peace. It is also true of many who have been temporarily deceived by bipartisan anti-Soviet propaganda.

In the Soviet Union, the word *peace* is freely spoken by the workers and common people. But in our country the struggle for peace is considered by those in high places to be akin to treason. Those who use the word *peace* without putting it in quotation marks are accused of being "Soviet agents" and charged with threatening the peace.

We may ask: What is the meaning of this imperialist slander? How can the advocacy of American-Soviet friendship become a threat to peace? How can the struggle to outlaw the atom bomb threaten the peace? How can the fight for universal disarmament also be a threat to the peace?

There is method to this madness, whose frenzied deception suits a system that defies logic and common sense.

Our accusers give no honest answers to honest questions. They assert with brazen demagoguery that all American advocates of peace, and we Communists in particular, follow a "pro-Soviet" policy which veers from peace to war according to "how the

\* A speech delivered on the occasion of the 70th birthday of J. V. Stalin, December 21, 1949, in Webster Hall, New York City, at a city-wide meeting of Party functionaries held under the auspices of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party.



wind blows from Moscow."

Those who thus slander all peace-loving Americans, in order to cover up their own aggressive and anti-American war schemes, seek to hide from the people a fundamental truth. This is the truth that the struggle for peace, which is in the interests of all peoples, is a cardinal principle of Socialism, the system destined to end forever war and the danger of war in the world, as it has already ended forever capitalist and national oppression in the U.S.S.R.

For fifty years, first as Lenin's co-worker and then as the great continuator of Lenin's work, Joseph Stalin has been the architect of this new society, which is the cornerstone of the peoples' world-wide peace front.

In honoring Stalin tonight, we honor all, in our own country and elsewhere, who struggle for peace; we celebrate the growing strength and achievements of the world front against the warmakers.

The plain people of the world, in their millions, are beginning to see and value Stalin's role in history. But the head of the Soviet state is portrayed as a sinister "mystery" by the makers of American foreign policy.

James Reston, a leading political analyst of the *New York Times*, recently reported an impending crisis in the State Department due to the fact that it is about to lose its longtime "expert" . . . *in reading Stalin's facial expression!*

Over and over again we are told the same story: The Soviet Union, and Stalin, are a mystery—a riddle—an "Oriental enigma"—beyond the power of the "Western mind" to fathom.

What is this mystery about the Soviet Union, now 32 years old? Certainly, marvelous and unprecedented things have happened there—under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

In 1918, soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin stated that that land had five different social-economic forms: "(1) patriarchal, *i.e.*, to a considerable extent natural, self-sufficing peasant economy; (2) small commodity production (this includes the majority of those peasants who sell their grain); (3) private capitalism; (4) state capitalism; and (5) socialism."\* Of these five forms, said Lenin, the preponderant element was small commodity production. How explain the enigma of this extremely backward country, which in so short a period of time emerged as the most advanced industrial country of Europe, with a stable economy in which the so-called "normal" period of capitalist crisis and mass unemployment is unknown?

The "experts" who look for the explanation in Stalin's "facial expression" do not find it. But is it not a fact that this feat was accomplished by a working class and its Commu-

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 361.

nist vanguard, which freed the people from capitalist and national oppression?

How explain the mystery that the simple workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, having ousted from power the factory owners, financiers, and kulaks, are able to manage the affairs of state, produce and run automobiles, airplanes and tractors, draw up and fulfill epic Five-Year Plans? Why do people work, without the incentive of capitalist profit-making? How can a country forge ahead without capitalists, landlords, and speculators? The "experts" of Wall Street and Washington have no answer. But the answer is simple, and simple working people have no trouble in grasping it.

A basic, revolutionary change took place. Political power was attained by the working class, led by the Communist Party. A new type of state, a Socialist, working-class state, was erected which, to quote Lenin, is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic capitalist state. The mills, factories, and railroads, together with the land, were taken out of the hands of the parasitic capitalists and landlords and converted into the property of the whole people, into socialized property. What greater incentive could there be for workers and peasants than to build a better life for themselves?

How explain the enigma of a country which has rid itself of Czardom's centuries-old system of pogroms,

anti-Semitism, and Great Russian chauvinism? How could it so quickly become a multi-national state in which all peoples enjoy full equality and live in friendship? Our white supremacists and their apologists say you "can't change human nature." *Outlaw* anti-Semitism? Nonsense, they say, it can't be done—any more than you can outlaw Jim Crow in Dixie!

But Stalin, the outstanding theoretician of the national question, taught the Soviet people that it could be done, that it must be done. *And in the U.S.S.R. it has been done!* Nor can the Soviet abolition of anti-Semitism and all forms of racial and national hatred be undone by the stroke of a poison pen in the hands of an anti-Soviet "expert." In the U.S.S.R. the equality and friendship of the peoples is an indestructible reality. And all over the world—in Africa, in Southeast Asia, in our own country—oppressed peoples and nations draw renewed faith and inspiration in their liberation struggles from the shining example of the Soviet Union. The Negro masses in the United States are beginning to draw fundamental conclusions about the Soviet Union, about Socialism, about Stalin. For these are a land, a social system, a man, for whom equal rights are not pious words but a genuine principle to be implemented in every walk of life. Peekskill, U.S.A., which has become among decent-minded men and women in all corners of the globe a by-word

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for fascist violence, was the site of a projected lynching spree, sanctioned by a "free press" and by State and local officials of "democratic" America, against the great Negro artist and fighter for the rights of his people, Paul Robeson. But either Moscow or Leningrad, it has just recently been announced, will be the site for "shooting" a full-length film on the life of that great champion of the Negro people, of oppressed and exploited everywhere, and of world peace.

The wise men of the Pentagon and their "experts" are still worrying over the greatest enigma of all. How did it come to pass that the "invincible" Nazi hordes failed to overrun and conquer all Russia in six weeks? What went wrong with the predictions of the "experts"? How unravel the mystery of the defense of Moscow, the riddle of the siege of Leningrad, the historic enigma of Stalin-grad, which turned the tide of World War II?

Can it be because there are no banker-generals in the Soviet Union? Can it be that the working class in power can perform miracles in war as well as in peace? Can it be that a people fighting to save, not only their own Socialist land, but also all progressive mankind, is truly invincible? Can it be because the principles, strategy and tactics of the working-class world outlook and social science—Marxism-Leninism—guided every phase of this titanic struggle, that the miracles were ac-

complished? Yes—that is a fact—yes, that is all true.

Our "experts" who pretend to be looking for answers in Stalin's "facial expression" are trying to hide the *real* answers. The real answers are to be found in Stalin's leadership of the Soviet working class and people.

Following in the path of Lenin, in the face of bitter internal and external opposition, Stalin led in the transformation of the country from an agricultural into an industrial country through the epoch-making Five-Year Plans, and in the achievement of the victory of Socialism in all branches of the national economy. On the basis of Socialist industry, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party abolished exploitation in the countryside, and led the millions of small peasant owners to see the superiority, and voluntarily to take the path, of collective farming, the path of Socialism.

These victories prepared the Soviet Union for the epic test of World War II, which it met so magnificently under the leadership of Stalin. As Comrades Foster and Dennis declared in the name of the National Committee of our Party in their cablegram of greetings to Stalin: "Our people are forever indebted to your peerless strategy and leadership which enabled the armed forces of the Soviet Union to strike the decisive blows against the common enemy and thus saved civilization."

Stalin's greatness is evident not only in the sphere of economic politi-

cal and military strategy and tactics. It is above all to be seen in his relations to people, in his love for the people, in the fact that Stalin regards the people, the common man, as the maker of history. Thus he has taught:

... As long as the Bolsheviks maintain connections with the broad masses of the people they will be invincible. And on the contrary, as soon as the Bolsheviks sever themselves from the masses and lose their connection with them, as soon as they become covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all that strength and become a mere cipher.\*

Stalin not only said this; he practiced it throughout his life. That is the secret of his great strength. He has maintained the closest personal ties at all times with the people, working, meeting and fighting together with them, teaching the masses and learning from them, listening attentively to their views, receiving letters from them on matters of state and on the "petty" affairs of daily life.

"What I particularly noted during my meetings with Comrade Stalin was his extraordinary simplicity and modesty, the sympathy and attention with which he treats us simple folk. Only a man who has himself come from the people can display such tender solicitude for people." So writes the chairman of a local

\* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 362.

organization, the Starozhilov District Executive Committee.

To understand Stalin's genius one must believe in the capacity of the working class to produce leaders equal to the tasks of guiding it in the performance of its historic destiny—the building of Socialism.

It is only on the basis of such an understanding of what Socialism is that one can fully appreciate its role in the struggle for peace. The working class is on a world scale the spearhead and organizer of the struggle for peace. That is why the state in which the working class has consolidated its power has been since its birth the unflagging champion of world peace and the friendship of nations.

By its very nature, such a state is not and could not be aggressive or imperialistic. Its interests unite it with the working people of all lands. Such a state cannot be indifferent to the strivings of world humanity for peace, security and social progress.

Thus, it is international working-class solidarity, the opposite of imperialist expansion, that explains the "mystery" of the fraternal bonds uniting the Soviet Union with the New Democracies of Eastern Europe, the new People's Republic of China, and with all movements of national liberation and social advance.

#### STALIN IS NO "ENIGMA"

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Soviet Union that Washington employs "experts" to read mysteries into the Soviet land, into Stalin's facial expression.

The story of one of these "experts" is currently in the news, and it is worth recounting. George Kennan is a man little known to the American people, but he is for that reason no small fry. *Time* magazine dubs him an "expert's expert." It tells us that his thinking was the basis of most of U.S. political strategy in Europe since the war, and was woven into the speeches of the President and Cabinet members.

The British correspondent Ralph Parker knew George Kennan in Moscow, where he was attached to the U.S. Embassy staff. In his recent book, *The Conspiracy Against the Peace*, Parker recalls Kennan looking down on the happy throngs that crowded the Moscow streets on V-E Day. He recalls also Kennan's words as he turned from that moving sight and said grimly, "They think they are celebrating the end of the war, but it has just begun."

According to *Time* magazine, Washington first paid some heed to George Kennan in 1946, when, as a Russian-speaking career diplomat in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, he took the time and trouble to learn to read the basic texts of Soviet Communism at a period when most of the State Department was playing foreign policy by heart and ear.

Here is what *Time* says:

Kennan's findings were so drastic that they were first cautiously published in *Foreign Affairs* under the pen name "X" before they became, in effect, the primer of U.S. policy. Mr. "X" proposed "containment" to counter Communist successes in Europe, and suggested that if the U.S. could successfully restrain the Russians with the "adroit and vigilant application of counterforce" for ten or fifteen years, the Soviet Union might collapse from powerful internal pressures, possibly at the time of Stalin's death.

What an indecency! — this "cold war" policy, whose basis is speculation about the "collapse" of Socialism, and the death of Joseph Stalin!

*Time* continues:

When Secretary of State George Marshall wanted a chief policy planner, Kennan was tapped for the job as the State Department's brightest authority on Russia. Marshall's successor, Kennan's old friend Dean Acheson, leaned heavily on the "X" analysis . . . and made Kennan counsellor of the department.

It is not to *Time* but to the *New York Times'* James Reston that we are really indebted for letting us in on the sources from which this "bright authority" draws his incomparable wisdom.

Reston's story in the *New York Times* of December 13 carries this headline: "ACHESON SEEKS A NEW MAN WHO CAN RUN A CRYSTAL BALL. WITH KENNAN HOPING FOR A YEAR

### OFF, U.S. NEEDS EXPERT EVALUATOR OF STALIN'S FACIAL EXPRESSION."

Reston explains that Kennan has been the

Official prophet, philosopher and fortune teller of the Department of State, a combination of Joseph, Joshua, Habakkuk and Malachi, who is supposed to see the world in a grain of sand. . . . To answer crucial questions of foreign policy, Mr. Kennan has the aid of a small and intelligent staff, the reports of the President's missions overseas, a large file of the *New York Times*, and the usual paraphernalia of all prophets: shadows between the lines of history, books, hunches, and tea leaves.

Here you have it from the horse's mouth, comrades. This is the fakery of the Stalin "mystery," the "aggressive" Soviet Union, and the "inevitability" of a third world war.

The "shadows between the lines of history" are painted in to lengthen the shadow of the war threat hanging over all mankind. Books are put on trial in Foley Square, to convict, not only the leaders of our own Communist Party, but all who subscribe to the world-liberating science of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Out of the "tea leaves," the dregs of their own evil minds, the imperialists brew a poison potion of "Oriental mystery" for the purpose of drugging the American people and dragging them to the catastrophe of suicidal war.

Comrades, what is behind all this

obscurantist nonsense about tea leaves and crystal balls? Isn't this a sign that the imperialist warmongers are having nightmares? Of course, they are! They are terrified that peace will break out. They are scared to death that the peoples will thwart their schemes for launching an anti-democratic and counter-revolutionary war.

Thus far the world peace forces have restrained these would-be atomic warriors and upset their time table. Therefore, the imperialists are saying, "If we can't at this moment have a hot war, let us at least make the most of our cold war." And so they coldly prepare for the day when they hope to launch the attack. In view of this, the peace movement cannot rest content with preventing the "hot war." It must bend every effort to put an end to the whole war policy, cold or hot. It must return our country to the path of peace, whose course lies with the restoration of American-Soviet cooperation.

What is this cold-war policy which our people must repudiate and reverse?

It is the betrayal of the solemn agreements entered into at Yalta and Potsdam and the substitution for them of the Marshall Plan and the aggressive Atlantic War Pact.

It is the encirclement of the globe with military bases and outposts, violation of the sovereignty of other nations, and revival of the spirit of military aggression in Germany and Japan.

It is a huge armaments programs,

burdening the American and other peoples with war budgets that rob them of needed social services and tend to distort our own and other nations' economies into war economies.

It is imperialist intervention into the affairs of other countries. It is support to reaction and fascism everywhere. It is counter-revolutionary espionage, intrigue and insurrectionary sabotage, making use of the Tito-Rankovic gang of spies and murderers. This mercenary gang, which has set up a fascist state in the interests of Anglo-American imperialism, will not long remain in power. It is being exposed daily as betrayers of the national independence of Yugoslavia and of the cause of the people. The masses of the Yugoslav people, led by the working class and the true Communists, will succeed in ousting this clique and restoring Yugoslavia to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The cold-war policy is a policy of making war on the democratic rights of all peoples. At home, it is conspiracy against the Bill of Rights, an effort to relegate it to the archives along with the cynically violated 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, and to turn the U.S. Constitution into an instrument solely for safeguarding monopoly profits.

#### THE COLD WAR AGAINST LABOR AND THE PEOPLE

It is a policy of war against the

people's living standards, aggravating the developing economic crisis and preparing to shift its full burdens onto the backs of the workers and those in the lowest income groups.

It is a policy that strengthens reaction and paves the way for fascism. And we know that fascism is war — hot war — not only against other peoples, but against our own.

This is what the policy of the cold war adds up to.

Will the American people go for such a policy? Is this what they want? To ask the question is to answer it — and you have given the answer: it is NO!

If we know this, so does President Truman, so do these Big Business circles which give him his marching orders and their support. And so do his Social-Democratic brain-trusters and "labor" advisers.

Faced with the problem of how to sell this cold war to a people who want peace, the bipartisans have resorted to an old merchandising trick popularly known as "packaging." They have wrapped up their cold war with promises of a few stingy concessions, and labelled this gold brick the "welfare state."

The cold war is the heart and soul of this "welfare state." Along with it go promises of civil rights for all, promises of economic security for all, promises of social security for all, peace for all.

The cold war and the people's welfare are mutually exclusive. How can

they be "packaged" together? What a cruel fraud!

Our Marxist-Leninist science, of which Stalin is the foremost living exponent, enables us to see the relationship between politics and economics. Politics, Lenin taught, is concentrated economics. A state which advances the predatory aims of the Wall Street monopolists cannot possibly be a "welfare" state.

We know that the majority of the American people still have illusions about Truman's "welfare state." They see that the Republicans are against it. They don't yet understand that the G.O.P., and the monopoly circles around it, are moved by partisan motives, and are playing the old two-party skin game.

The big talk and fake debate about a "welfare state" are sheer demagoguery designed to divert the people from the monstrous fact that the present bipartisan-controlled state is a war-economy state, a state that is preparing to plunge the country into war, a reactionary state that is trampling on the democratic rights of labor and the people, a state that serves the welfare of the monopolists and plunders the people through its colossal military budgets and its high taxes on a scale unprecedented in our history. The Republican Party attack on so-called statism is therefore bluff, because that party fully supports the program of the war economy. The Republicans fear only Truman's type of demagoguery.

We Communists call on our fel-

low-Americans, regardless of political differences, to stand firm against the whole demagogic by-play. Let labor and the people join forces in a real and independent struggle for civil rights, economic and social security and peace!

Let the Social-Democrats and the labor reformists who are ballyhooing the "welfare state" answer a few blunt questions.

How do they explain away the relation between the huge war budget and the failure to appropriate Federal funds for unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, a Federal education and health program?

Will the A.D.A.'ers please explain how there can be civil rights for all—and at the same time a "cold war" against the progressive, labor and Communist movements inside and outside of the United States?

How can there be peace for all—if our government rejects every peace offer made by the Soviet Union, and goes full-steam ahead with its preparation for all-out war?

It is by forcing the Social-Democrats and the labor supporters of the "welfare state" to debate these questions before the masses of the people that we can best expose the hypocrisy of their claim that they are fighting for civil rights, security and peace.

The Social-Democrats do not fight for civil rights and economic advancement. While pretending to be against both "extreme Right" and "extreme Left," and while allegedly taking a "middle" position, actually



the Social-Democratic and labor reformist leaders are carrying through a policy that coincides fully with the interests of extreme reaction. They fully support the bipartisan war program of imperialism, split the unions, abandon and oppose the fight for wage increases, help to speed up the workers, connive in the betrayal of the fight to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and by their rabid anti-Soviet, anti-Communist campaigns, as well as undemocratic actions in the unions, help the whole drive against civil rights.

The Social-Democratic and reformist labor misleaders are in the vanguard in trying to sell the bankrupt American capitalist system to world labor and to conceal the proved superiority of the system of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The contrast between capitalism and Socialism, however, is more and more forcing itself on the attention of the American people, despite the dollar curtain which is drawn to prevent them from learning the truth about the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union there is neither unemployment nor the threat of unemployment. There, economic crisis, depression and even "recession" have forever been abolished. But for all his demagoguery, Truman does not dare even suggest that every American worker can be assured of his right to work.

In the Soviet Union, atomic energy has been harnessed to constructive peace-time use. It is put to work

moving mountains, changing the course of rivers, opening up new vistas of man's mastery over nature. Here, we have a stockpile of atom bombs.

In our country, security for young and old, for the sick and needy, remains in the "promissory" stage. But in the land of Socialism, security is the birthright of all, and with security goes full equality of opportunity.

Certainly, the Negro people, who are fed up on promises, will be the first to understand the differences between the false promises of the "welfare state" and the glorious reality of national liberation secured to all peoples in the U.S.S.R.

#### STALIN—CHAMPION OF LASTING PEACE

And, finally, our comparisons lead us to the question of peace for all. Is it not plain for all to see that we Americans can assure peace only through cooperation and friendship with the mighty nation which heads the world camp of peace?

G. M. Malenkov, one of the outstanding leaders of the Soviet Union, proved that the answer must be yes when he said on November 6:

Our peace policy arises from the very foundations of our Socialist system and from the interests of the Soviet people. Having completely abolished in our country the age-old exploitation of man by man, we have eliminated the reasons and conditions which, in the capitalist world, give rise to the policy

of exploiting and enslaving other peoples.

Having created a model of fraternal cooperation among peoples of different races and nationalities, unparalleled in human history, we have abolished forever the policy of basing the welfare of one state on the suppression of other states.

Comrades: The thesis of those who support the "cold war" is that its policies are essential to prepare for the "inevitable" third world war which would be fought with atomic and other weapons of mass destruction.

Is this third world war really inevitable? Is it inevitable because the two radically different social systems—Socialism and capitalism—cannot peacefully co-exist in the same world?

Stalin has many times answered this question, bluntly and honestly. His answer is, "Of course they can." This was the answer Stalin gave to Harold Stassen in April 1947. He said:

The difference between the two systems is not of essential importance insofar as cooperation is concerned. The systems in Germany and the United States are the same, yet war broke out between them. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. systems are different, but we have not waged war against each other and the U.S.S.R. does not propose to. If during the war they could cooperate, why can't they today in peace?

And Stalin continued:

Let us not mutually criticize our systems. Everyone has the right to follow

the system he wants to maintain. Which is the better will be said by history.... To cooperate one does not need the same systems. One should respect the other system when approved by the people. Only on this basis can we secure cooperation.

The gist of what Stalin said to Harold Stassen had been said many times before, by Stalin himself and before him by Lenin. It has been said many times since by Stalin and by representatives of the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

This view is wholly consistent with our understanding of the Marxist-Leninist theory that we live in the epoch of imperialism, and that imperialism breeds war. Capitalism and especially imperialism tends toward war. But this tendency toward war is opposed by another force, represented by the working class, by the whole camp of democracy and Socialism, headed by the working-class state—the Soviet Union. This camp grows steadily in strength and power. As Comrade Dennis told the jury in Foley Square, the old gray mare of capitalism ain't what she used to be, and what is bred by imperialism is no longer sure to hatch.

It is the prophets of doom, pretending to see the future in a crystal ball, who cry that a third world war is inevitable. They seek to spread fear and despair, to dull the vigilance of the people. Their tea-leaf tales are told to disrupt and prevent the or-

ganization of a people's front for peace.

Fortunately for our people and for the peoples of the world, there exists a Marxist-Leninist science which enables us to look at the world of real people and understand the real laws of social development. This science equips us, not only to understand events, but to organize masses and influence events. Ours is the science which helps stimulate hope, instill courage, and unite millions of men and women in an unbreakable, united effort to move the wheels of social progress and check the drive to war.

In the beacon light of this science, of which Stalin is the greatest living master, we see that the end of World War II and the military defeat of Nazi-fascism and Japanese militarism brought about a new relationship of forces. A new democratic and Socialist advance was begun by the peoples of Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union, despite its enormous material and human war losses, leads this advance. It is moving from the consolidation of Socialism toward the historic task of building Communism.

The People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, now resolutely taking their own path to the same goal, have established the warmest fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. They were not bullied into this friendship. They owe their liberation from Nazi occupation and age-old tyrannies to the Soviet people, the Red Army and the victorious war strategy of Stalin.

The historic defeat of the Kuomintang warlords and of American and British imperialism in China has been followed by the establishment of the new People's Republic, which unites 450,000,000 Chinese under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the glorious Chinese Communist Party. This great victory of the Chinese people opens a new, brilliant chapter in the liberation struggle of the nationally oppressed peoples in all countries. This tremendous new force for peace has also strengthened its fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union through Comrade Mao's visit to Stalin.

Recently, the establishment of the new Democratic German Republic in the Eastern Zone of Germany brought new strength to the peace camp, and, as Stalin said, struck a decisive blow against all schemes to embroil Europe in another imperialist war.

More than 800,000,000 people are embraced in this leading sector of the world camp of peace and Socialism, at whose head stands the invincible Soviet Union. These are people who not only ardently desire peace, but struggle for it unitedly and in an organized way. These are people whose struggle for peace is waged, not only through their trade unions and popular organizations, but with and through their governments as well.

But the peace camp, like the people's desire for peace, extends far beyond the boundaries of these ad-

vanced countries. In the capitalist countries and the oppressed colonies some 450,000,000 more men and women are organized for peace in powerful united fronts of which Communists are the integral part.

Here in the United States, the organized peace front, though still far short of what we would desire to see, is rapidly growing. Such movements as that initiated at the Chicago Labor Conference for Peace, and now being carried further in the Ohio Labor Peace Conference, prove to us that the masses of trade unionists will not for long follow the cold war policies of their misleaders. The Negro people of America are a powerful force for peace, and they are organizing to increase their influence. Among the Protestant groups, particularly the Quakers, conscious and organized struggle for peace is developing. This is true also among the women, the youth, the intellectuals and professional groups.

This peace movement in our country is not yet master of the situation. But it is here. It has still to attain its full potential strength and unity. But it is already a force to be reckoned with. That it will continue to broaden and extend its unity and scope we may be sure.

Yes, we can say with confidence that the overwhelming majority of the masses of mankind want peace and are organized for peace. Hundreds of millions in all parts of the world are waging an organized struggle for peace. And this tremendous,

world-wide force for peace is headed by a great world power which resolutely pursues the Stalinist policy of peace.

No wonder the would-be warmakers in Wall Street and the Pentagon have nightmares.

But while the enemy is having nightmares, we must not let ourselves be lulled into sweet dreams of peace being won without struggle.

The very strength and growing invincibility of the peace camp enrages the imperialists and tempts them to desperate military adventures.

Living under the shadow of the developing new economic crisis, and harassed by sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions, the men of Wall Street and Washington find themselves on the horns of an ever more uncomfortable dilemma. They fear peace like the very plague. And with every day that passes they have more and more reason to fear the consequences to themselves and their doomed system that would follow the launching of a criminal atomic war.

*The desperateness of their plight is what sharpens the war danger today and makes it ever more necessary to step-up and intensify the people's united struggle for peace.*

#### A SLOGAN FOR THE PEACE FORCES

Comrades, I think this occasion of Stalin's 70th birthday would be a good time to revive an old slogan,

well known and much honored by American workers. This is the slogan, "organize the unorganized," which could appropriately be revised to read, "Organize the unorganized forces of peace!"

I think this is a good slogan because, in the first place, it is a *working-class* slogan. And the working class is the core, the spark-plug and the leader of any effective struggle for peace. Without struggle for the unity of the working class the struggle for peace is only wishful thinking.

Secondly, I think the slogan "Organize the unorganized forces of peace" is a good slogan because it is a *united front* slogan. It does not presuppose agreement on all issues, or on fundamental issues. And without the united action of men and women, Negro and white, of varied political and religious beliefs, talk of effective struggle for peace is only empty talk.

Thirdly, I think this is a good slogan because it is a slogan that meets the needs of the times, and therefore a slogan which can successfully be applied as a slogan of action. Toward this end, our policy of concentration must be geared to the working class, especially to *every shop, factory, mine, and local union*, to form a front for peace embracing A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent unions which will lead the whole people and save our nation from a disastrous war.

This great movement for peace,

which must embrace tens of millions from all walks of life, can be forged only if the Communist Party, as vanguard of the working class, will play its full role. History has placed upon us in the United States a special responsibility. It is that of leader, organizer and uniting force of the working class and the people to prevent, check and defeat fascist reaction and imperialist war incendiarism. Our Communist Party, like all Communist Parties in the capitalist and colonial world, will defend the interests of our class, our people, our nation, remaining true to its principles of working-class internationalism.

#### OUR PARTY WILL MEET ITS TASKS UNFLINCHINGLY

Comrades: Stalin was Lenin's co-worker in many historic undertakings. An all-determining achievement of Lenin and Stalin was the building of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik). This Party is the world's first party of a new type, the revolutionary party of the working class, a party founded on Marxism-Leninism from the very beginning. The glorious Bolshevik Party has gone through enormous struggles and experiences which have served as a great storehouse of knowledge, inspiration and guidance to the Communists of all lands.

Our Communist Party is an American Party; it stems from the American working class. We are proud that

our Party has been formed on the scientific, working-class principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party is basically different from the parties of capitalism. The Communist Party is the only political party which, by virtue of its science of Marxism-Leninism, is able to lead the working class and the people out of the horrors of capitalism with its dangers of fascist reaction and imperialist war. This is the only party that can achieve Socialism in our country and put an end to exploitation and all oppression. It is the party that is indestructible because it is flesh and bone of the American working class. To destroy the Communist Party, the working class must be destroyed, and it is impossible to destroy the working class.

Ours is a party of a new type — and that is why it cannot be destroyed, though a thousand capitalist courts “convict” its leaders. It cannot be destroyed because it bases itself on the working class and leads the people’s militant struggles against the monopolists and their program of reaction, fascism and war. It cannot be destroyed because it is the Party destined to lead the working class in its historic mission of building Socialism.

Our Party cannot be destroyed because it helps build and lead broad united-front movements of the people, democratic coalitions of labor, the farmers, intellectuals and the Negro people against the pro-fascists and warmakers.

Our Party cannot be destroyed because we are establishing as we must, the closest bonds with the workers and trade unions in the basic industries.

Our Party cannot be destroyed because it is itself organized and united on the principles of working-class democracy and self-discipline.

And finally, our Party cannot be destroyed because it struggles against opportunism, both Right and “Left,” and keeps sharp the weapon of self-criticism, explains its mistakes to the masses of the people and corrects them in the full light of day.

In paying tribute to Stalin tonight, we pay tribute to the science of Marxism-Leninism, of which he is the greatest living master.

We will not abandon our working-class principles to please our enemies. On the contrary, with the help of those sterling American Marxists, Comrades Foster and Dennis, we will continue to deepen our understanding of those principles and apply them to the specific conditions of American life.

And we are not only going to defend our Party successfully against every attack—we are going to build our Party bigger and stronger than ever.

We are full of courage and fighting spirit, comrades, and we are not going to flinch from the rough times we know lie ahead.

Facing many problems and difficulties, we may tonight fittingly re-

call the words spoken by Comrade Stalin in Batum in the year 1902:

Dawn is nearing, life will be bright for us in the future, when we win all rights and escape from the clutches of this unbearable situation. If we do not live to see that happy day, then our children and grandchildren will see it. When that day comes there will no longer be exploitation of workers, no longer will there be class struggle, and universal labor and happy life will triumph.

These words were uttered some 47 years ago in the period of intense Czarist repression and reaction. But 15 years later the first Socialist state was established under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

Let us remember, comrades, that we are part of a world-wide movement that represents the arising and developing, as against the dying sys-

tem of capitalism. And even though our class and people and our Party are today faced with trials and tribulations, we declare in spite of all terror and persecutions, as we said in our greetings to Stalin:

With full confidence in the American working class and people, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. exerts every effort to assure that by their united action they will check and help defeat the fascist-minded monopolists and warmongers. As this united action grows in influence and scope, it will bring its full weight to bear for the achievement of an American-Soviet friendship—the cornerstone for world peace.

Yes, comrades, our Party's fight for peace is the fight for the highest truth; we fight on the side of truth. And in this struggle, which is shaping the fate of humanity, we say with confidence that we will win.

# Defense of Peace and the Struggle Against the Warmongers\*

by M. Suslov

## COMRADES:

A little more than two years have passed since the first Information Meeting of the representatives of a number of Communist Parties was held.

The Declaration issued by this Meeting gave a profound analysis of changes which had taken place in the international situation as a result of World War Two and during the first postwar years. It revealed the formation of two camps in the world arena and the contrast of their aims and tasks; it exposed the aggressive plans of the imperialist camp headed by the U.S.—plans aimed at establishing world domination of Anglo-American imperialism and destroying democracy; it laid bare the treacherous role of the chieftains of Right-Wing Social Democracy as accomplices of imperialism in all its anti-popular activities.

\* Report submitted to the Meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties held in Hungary in the second half of November 1949, as published in *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!* December 2, 1949.

The entire course of events for the past two years has fully confirmed the correctness of the estimation of the international situation given by the first Meeting of the Information Bureau, and of the perspectives and tasks of the anti-imperialist camp as outlined by that Meeting.

Estimating the significance of the decisions passed by the first Meeting of the Information Bureau, and also of the Resolution concerning the "Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" passed by the second Meeting of the Information Bureau, it can be boldly said today that these decisions are really historical decisions; that they played an outstanding role in mobilizing, organizing and consolidating the ranks of the international working-class movement; in mobilizing the masses to rebuff world reaction and the instigators of a new war; in further increasing and strengthening the forces of democracy and Socialism throughout the world.

During the period that has elapsed since the first Meeting of the Infor-



mation Bureau, considerable changes have taken place in the international situation.

### I. CONSPIRACY OF THE AGGRESSORS AGAINST THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES

For the past two years, two lines in world policy have become even more clear and sharp—the line of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the U.S.S.R.—the camp waging a persistent and consistent struggle against imperialist reaction, for peace between peoples and for democracy, and the line of the imperialist, anti-democratic camp headed by the U.S.—the camp which has as its main object the enslavement of other countries and peoples, the forcible establishment of Anglo-American world domination, destruction of the forces of democracy and the unleashing of a new war. The struggle between these opposite camps has sharpened. The aggressive nature of the imperialist camp has further increased.

Whereas the first Meeting of the Information Bureau stated that the U.S. and Britain were going over to the policy of preparing new military adventures, at present the ruling circles of the United States and Britain heading the imperialist camp openly pursue the policy of aggression—the policy of preparing and unleashing a new world war.

Having taken the path of mili-

tary-political conspiracy against peace and the security of the peoples, the ruling circles of the U.S. and Britain drive at full speed preparing a new war and are declaring with increasingly cynical shamelessness and insolence, their claims for world domination, the “American leadership of the world,” reviving the insane plans of German fascism and forgetting the historical lessons given to crazy pretenders for “world domination.”

The entire policy of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc serves the aim of preparing a new world war. It finds expression in the unrestrained economic, political and military expansion carried out by the U.S. on all continents in an attempt to seize military-strategic raw materials and other resources essential for war preparations. The U.S. imperialists are netting the entire globe with military, naval and air bases, and are preparing springboards for a new war.

The support rendered by the Anglo-American imperialists to all out-moded reactionary regimes (the Franco Government in Spain, the monarcho-fascist Government in Greece, Chiang Kai-shek in China, and so on), to the remnants of the destroyed exploiting classes, spies, saboteurs and murderers in the People's Democracies, to reactionary forces all over the world—all this serves the aim of preparing a new

war. U.S. imperialism has become the center and mainstay of world reaction.

Imperialist circles of the U.S. and of Britain have openly trampled under foot the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, aimed at a just solution of the German problem and to transform Germany into a democratic peace-loving State. After pledging themselves to regard Germany as a single unit, they pursue a policy of splitting Germany, crowning this policy with the establishment of the puppet Bonn "Government."

Instead of democratizing and demilitarizing Germany, the Governments of the U.S., Britain and France are restoring war industry in Western Germany and the dominant position of the reactionary monopolies, junkers, militarist elements who, in the past, were the bulwark of German imperialism and Hitlerism. At the same time, they frustrate in every way the preparations for a peace treaty with Germany, seeking to turn the temporary occupation into permanent and undivided colonial domination in Western Germany.

All honest people see that such a course in relation to Germany is determined by the desire of Wall Street magnates to use Western Germany for their imperialist ends and, above all, as a springboard, and to use its population as cannon fodder in the realization of their aggressive plans.

The insolent design of the U.S. imperialists to utilize the German people as cannon fodder was quite recently blurted out by [W. R.] Poage, member of the House of Representatives, who suggested that the U.S. should create 25 divisions of German mercenaries.

Not being sure that the Germans would shed their blood in the interest of the magnates of U.S. capital, this warmonger suggested that all ammunition of these mercenaries should remain "in American hands" and that the "entire senior officer staff should be composed of Americans."

With boundless cynicism, Poage declared that in the event of war he does not intend to send American boys to fight since he hopes to buy cannon fodder at an extremely low price, paying for it, said this trader in blood, only a small share of the wages paid to American soldiers. Concluding, Poage said that the United States should try to create similar mercenary forces in Japan.

Such are the shameless plans of the U.S. imperialists in relation to the peoples of Germany and Japan.

The policy of war preparations also found expression in the so-called Marshall Plan. The Information Meeting of the Communist Parties held in September 1947 revealed the real aims of the Marshall Plan as a plan for the economic and political enslavement of Europe by U.S. imperialism.

Life has been most unkind to those

who believed in the beneficent role of the Marshall Plan.

As a result of nearly two years of Marshall Plan "assistance," the economy of the Marshallized countries in Europe, instead of being revived, has been reduced to a state of complete disorganization.

This has now become so obvious that it has been registered by the Secretariat of the United Nations Organization in the Report on the World Economic Situation in 1948, published in July 1949.

Even the most ardent supporters and troubadours of the Marshall Plan are today forced to recognize its failure.

Subordinating and placing the economy of the Marshallized countries in the service of the interests of U.S. monopolies, flooding the West-European markets with unwanted goods for which there is no sale in the U.S., imposing on these countries the disastrous policy of discriminatory trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe—the Marshall Plan, in effect, accelerates and sharpens the economic crisis which increasingly grips the capitalist economy of Europe and America.

The onslaught of the United States of America on the disorganized economy of the Marshallized countries has recently intensified. Taking advantage of the devaluation of West-European currencies which was carried out on their orders, the U.S. imperialists strive to take the

economy of the countries of Western Europe completely into their own hands.

Today, when life itself has ruthlessly cast the peacock attire from the Marshall Plan, this Plan appears in its true colors as an economic, political and military lever with the help of which U.S. imperialists subordinate the economy of Western Europe to their control and dictate, striving to turn it into a colonial adjunct of the United States of America.

The Marshall Plan was soon supplemented by military-political aggressive blocs of imperialist powers such as Western Union and the North Atlantic Bloc.

At present the North Atlantic Bloc is the main weapon of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the U.S. and Britain aimed at preparing a new war. As pointed out in the statement by the Soviet Government of January 29, 1949, which exposed the real military-political essence of the North Atlantic Pact, the aims of this Pact are to enable the ruling circles of the U.S. and Great Britain to take into their hands the reins of the greatest possible number of States, depriving them of the possibility to pursue an independent national foreign and home policy and utilizing these States as auxiliaries to realize their aggressive plans aimed at establishing Anglo-American world domination.

The North Atlantic Bloc is aimed at suppressing the resistance of the

peoples of Europe to the U.S. onslaught against their vital rights, national freedom and independence, at turning Western Europe into a semi-colony of U.S. imperialism, into a base and springboard for preparing a new war.

The North Atlantic Bloc has in view direct aggression against the democratic States in Eastern Europe and, above all, against the Soviet Union as the main force in the democratic camp, a reliable mainstay of peace, security, freedom and independence of peoples.

Finally, one of the most important aims of the North Atlantic agreement and of its projected branches—Mediterranean, Near East and Far East agreements—is to prepare the destruction of the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries, and to combat the People's Republic of China and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea which have won a great victory over foreign imperialists and home reaction.

Thus, the North Atlantic imperialist alliance under the aegis of the U.S. represents a menace for the whole of progressive mankind. And quite justly is this latest evil, imperialist conspiracy likened to the notorious anti-Comintern Hitler-Mussolini Pact signed before the fascist aggressors hurled themselves against the peoples of Europe to crush their freedom and independence.

Similar to the Anti-Comintern

Pact, the North Atlantic agreement, clothed in the tattered banner of anti-Communism, is a program of aggression and war, a program of stifling national independence and democratic rights of peoples.

Thus, the facts show that with the imperialists of the United States in the forefront, the imperialists prepare a new world war into whose hell they are ready to throw the majority of peoples and countries of the world in order to achieve the selfish aims of a handful of multi-millionaires.

For the sake of these aims, U.S. ruling circles turn Western Germany into their military springboard in Europe and strive to draw the German people into the slaughter-house of a new war.

For the sake of these aims they, with the direct complicity of British Labor leaders, turn Britain into their aircraft and naval base and intend to make the British people their cannon fodder.

A similar role is prepared by them for the peoples of France, Italy and other European States.

For the sake of their predatory aims, U.S. imperialists make Japan their springboard for aggression against the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China, North Korea and the peoples of the Pacific basin, striving to utilize the Japanese people to this end.

In the Near East, U.S. imperialists create military bases and strong points in Turkey, Iran and Iraq,

turning these countries into their satellites and striving to make the Turks, Persians and Arabs fight for the profits of U.S. monopolists.

In other words, the strategy of U.S. imperialism, as now quite clearly defined, is aimed at preparing the conflagration of war in all parts of the world and to make the peoples of all continents fight on the orders, and in the interests of, U.S. multi-millionaires.

The most outspoken of the U.S. chieftains, such as Congressman Poage, mentioned above, or General Bradley, openly and cynically declare their intention to "fight with other hands" and to use the soldiers of other nations as cannon fodder for the U.S.—which will supply only arms and rake in the profits.

However, these adventurous calculations are made without the master. The peoples of the countries which the U.S. and British imperialists want to force to fight are not the least interested in war, which cannot bring them anything but heavy sacrifices, desolation and the destruction of their countries.

The peoples neither need nor want war. Nor is war needed by the mass of the people in the United States, whose monopoly circles stand out as the main instigators of war.

Despite the stream of false propaganda circulated by the imperialist aggressors and their accomplices, the common people in the U.S. are becoming increasingly aware that war, if unleashed by the warmong-

ers, would bring to them, the common people, only soldiering and death in far-off countries, that war would come also to the American continent, bringing with it the horrors of modern bombing and the destruction of the results of the labors of many generations.

Having taken the open course of unleashing a new world war, the organizers of the North Atlantic agreement disrupt international cooperation and, above all, cooperation with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. They try to undermine the United Nations Organization, seeking to turn it into an instrument of their predatory designs and frustrate the decisions of the U.N.O. General Assembly concerning prohibition of the atomic weapon and reduction of armaments.

The policy of disrupting international cooperation led to the notorious "cold war," to whipping up war psychosis and hysteria, to an artificial development of international tension which is utilized by the arms manufacturers and by licentious warmongers.

The Budapest trial of the Rajk-Brankov espionage gang revealed a large-scale international conspiracy organized by the Anglo-American imperialists against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, against peace and democracy.

This imperialist conspiracy was aimed at realizing far-reaching plans: to overthrow the democratic system in Hungary and other People's

Democracies with the help of the fascist, espionage Tito clique which has become an agency of international reaction; to wrest these countries from the camp of peace and democracy; to restore there reactionary fascist regimes; to turn the countries of South-East and Central Europe into puppets of the imperialists and springboards for aggression.

A direct result of the policy of aggression and preparation for a new war is the unrestrained armament race which falls as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working class and on all the working population in the capitalist countries.

It is sufficient to say that U.S. military expenditures in the next fiscal year will amount to 22 billion dollars, that is, twenty times more than before the war.

According to E. Nourse, former Chairman of the Economic Council under the auspices of the U.S. President, the weekly military allocation of the U.S. Federal Government exceeds the annual allocation for education. The sum appropriated for military purposes each week would fully cover Federal annual expenses for the public health service.

Thus, engaged in a fierce armament race, the Truman Government spends annually 26 times more on war preparations than on the country's education and public health services put together.

In Britain, military expenditure is now three times greater than in 1939. The policy known as the Hit-

ler slogan of "Guns before butter" is carried out also in other Marshallized States.

It stands to reason that this policy, accompanied by an exorbitant growth of taxation, leads to a sharp deterioration in the economic conditions of the working people in all capitalist countries.

Preparing for war, the capitalist monopolies undertake a violent onslaught against the living standards of the working class and all working people. This finds expression in increased exploitation of workers by the intensification of labor, in the reduction of wages and in mass dismissals of workers in non-military branches of industry.

The preparations for war are also accompanied by increased attacks on the democratic rights of the working people.

To pave the way for their foreign-policy ventures and for unleashing war, the imperialists try to strangle the working-class and general democratic movement, to open the way for fascization and complete militarization of the internal regime.

As far back as 1927, Comrade Stalin said imperialism could not prepare a new war without suppressing the opposition against war, without suppressing the masses.

To wage war, said Comrade Stalin, it is not sufficient to pile armaments and organize new coalitions. It also calls for strengthening the rear in the capitalist countries. Not a single capitalist coun-

try can wage a major war without preliminary consolidation of its own rear, without curbing "its" workers, without curbing "its" colonies. Hence, a gradual fascization of the policy of bourgeois governments. (J. Stalin, *Selected Works*, Volume 10, p. 282. Russian Edition.)

The "crusade" against Communism, the persecution and open terror against Communist Parties (the U.S., France, Australia, India, countries of Latin America and of the Middle East, etc.), anti-labor and anti-trade-union laws (the U.S., Greece, Turkey, and others); the creation in the Marshallized countries, at the behest of Washington, of reactionary regimes kow-towing before dollar imperialism; revival of fascism in Western Germany; the utilization of the espionage fascist Tito clique to carry out subversive work in the People's Democracies—all these are links in one and the same chain of preparing war.

Under the flag of anti-Communism, the warmongers form a kind of "holy" alliance of the forces of imperialism, fascism, the Vatican and Right-wing Socialists.

Simultaneously, the imperialist camp has unfolded, on a great scale, the ideological preparations for a new war. New means are sought to prepare public opinion, to stupefy the masses with rabid propaganda of racial and misanthropic ideas, and fomenting atomic psychosis and war hysteria.

All means of psychological influ-

ence have been brought into operation: press, literature, radio, cinema, Church.

The ideological make-up of the propaganda of the warmongers and their accomplices is extremely simple. This, however, does not mean that it does no harm.

In the main, it consists of boosting the "American way of life" and bourgeois democracy; of propagating the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race; of erupting streams of unbridled lies and slander against the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving States; of propagating cosmopolitanism and the abandonment of national sovereignty which is aimed at undermining the will of people to resist the encroachments of the Anglo-American imperialists.

One of the important means of ideological preparation in the "Americanized" countries is the flooding of these countries with American crime literature and Hollywood films, in which gangsters, murderers, sadists, corrupters, bigots and hypocrites invariably appear as the main heroes. Such "art" and "literature" poison and stupefy both reader and spectator.

The propaganda of a new war streams widely from the columns of the U.S. press and from the reactionary press of other countries. Although the second session of the U.N.O. General Assembly passed a special decision condemning war propaganda, the ruling circles of the U.S. and Britain, far from taking measures to bridle the warmongers and

war propagandists, are, on the contrary, obviously inciting them.

Alongside the venal hackwriters of the reactionary press and radio, a whole cluster of official statesmen—members of the Truman Government, Congressmen, Generals, Admirals, and British peers—now appear, openly calling for war.

Thus, similar to the fascist aggressors before World War Two, the Anglo-American imperialist bloc prepares a new war in all directions: military-strategic measures, political pressure and blackmail, economic expansion and enslavement of peoples, ideological stupification of the masses and intensification of reaction in all spheres of public life.

Ruling circles in the U.S. and Britain cherish the crazy idea of subordinating the entire world to their domination by military means, threatening mankind with a new world slaughter.

That is why the aggressive, military-political conspiracy of the Anglo-American imperialists constitutes a tremendous menace for the destiny of the world, for the life and welfare of millions of ordinary people, for the national independence and democratic gains of all peoples.

## II. FORCES OF THE CAMP OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM GROW IN STRENGTH AND NUMBER

It would, however, be profoundly wrong to think the feverish activity displayed by the imperialist camp is

evidence of its strength, evidence of the impossibility of preventing war.

The past two years were years of the further weakening of the camp of imperialism, of the dropping out of new links from its chain, of the sharpening of all its internal and external contradictions.

At the same time, the forces of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism steadily grew in number and strength during this period. That is why, despite such wide preparations for war by the imperialist camp, there now exists a powerful and daily growing barrier in the way of the warmongers.

While the camp of imperialism, led by the U.S., prepares for military adventures, the anti-imperialist camp consolidates all its forces to render a resolute rebuff to the bellicose imperialist aggressors, and it persistently fights to isolate the instigators of a new war and to foil their monstrous designs.

The democratic forces of the world grow incomparably faster than the evil forces of the warmongers. The correlation of forces in the international arena has radically changed and continues to change in favor of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The growth and consolidation of this camp are evident, above all, from the further growth of the might of the Soviet Union which marches at the head of the struggle for a stable peace. Consigned to oblivion are the hopes of imperialist circles that the



U.S.S.R., which bore the main brunt of the war, would not overcome the difficulties caused by the war and the destruction wrought by the German fascist invaders on a part of Soviet territory.

The Soviet Union is experiencing a powerful upsurge in all spheres of national economy and culture. Let Messrs. Imperialists give thought to the data on the fulfilment of the postwar Five-Year Plan, data published in the Soviet Union.

Last October output of Soviet industry exceeded the average monthly output of the prewar year 1940 by over 50 per cent and surpassed the average monthly level of production envisaged by the Five-Year Plan for 1950.

Whereas the economy of the capitalist countries presents the picture of maturing crisis and decline, increasingly aggravated by the burden of exorbitant military expenditure, the economy of the Soviet Union is steadily on the upgrade, year after year, month after month.

During the ten months of 1949, the increased targets for industrial output were surpassed. Gross industrial output went up 20 per cent compared with the corresponding period of last year.

Agriculture also marches confidently forward. In the current year, the gross crops of cereals are greater than 1948 and surpass those of prewar 1940. Crops of cotton, flax and many other industrial crops are better than last year and exceed the

prewar level. Socially-owned cattle breeding has considerably extended.

On the basis of the development of the national economy, the material and cultural level of the life of the Soviet people rises further, which, in turn, inspires them to achieve new successes.

It is quite clear today that the selfless work of the free Soviet people, the work of the millions of Stakhanovites, will ensure the carrying out of the postwar Five-Year Plan to develop the national economy of the U.S.S.R. ahead of schedule.

This will mean, not only a further consolidation of the might of the Soviet State, but also the strengthening of the entire camp of the champions of peace and democracy.

The great vitality of the Soviet Socialist system finds expression also in considerable technical progress achieved in the Soviet Union. New technique is being developed, mastered and put into operation.

One example of this technical progress and of the development of science in our country is the mastery of the secret of atomic energy in a short period of time, depriving the United States of America of the monopoly of the atomic weapon.

The Tass statement of September 25, 1949, that the Soviet Union had mastered the secret of the atomic weapon and had this weapon at its disposal as early as 1947, reduced to ashes the "prophecies" of the ruling circles of imperialist powers—and of the bourgeois scientists kow-towing

before them—who, more than once, declared that the Russians would not have the atomic weapon earlier than 1952.

This Tass report caused bewilderment and confusion in the camp of the imperialists and warmongers, weakened this camp, and delivered a crushing blow at the Truman and Churchill "atom diplomacy" based on monopoly of the atom bomb and on blackmail of weak-nerved people by this weapon.

At the same time, all peace supporters enthusiastically welcome the Soviet Union's possession of the atomic weapon as a victory in the cause of peace, for they know that the Soviet Government is faithful to its peace policy and, despite the fact that it possesses the atomic weapon, it adheres to its former position of unconditional prohibition of its use.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as well as the foreign policy of the People's Democracies, is a powerful factor strengthening the camp of peace and democracy. Corresponding to the vital interests of the common people all over the world, it inspires and consolidates the ranks of all fighters for the cause of peace and strengthens their will for victory.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Government arises from the very essence of our Socialist society in which there are no classes interested in wars.

The Soviet State is a resolute enemy of the policy of national and racial oppression, and its foreign pol-

icy is based on respect for the rights and independence of all peoples of the world, large and small.

The Soviet people are imbued with the great idea of building Communism and are directly interested in preserving peace. Our people are deeply confident that the Socialist system of society created by them ensures victory in peaceful competition with the capitalist system.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Government in its relations with capitalist States proceeds from the possibility of the co-existence of the Socialist and capitalist systems and of peaceful cooperation between them. As far back as 1934, Comrade Stalin outlined this policy with complete clarity and precision:

Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war, blow for blow.

The proposals made by the Soviet Government at the recent session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization to condemn preparations for a new war being carried out in a number of countries, particularly in the United States of America and in Great Britain, to take practical measures to prohibit unconditionally the atomic weapon

and also to sign a Pact of Five Great Powers to strengthen peace—these proposals constitute a valuable contribution to the struggle for peace, a new blow at the camp of the instigators of war.

The growth and consolidation of the forces of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism are also evident from the great successes achieved by the People's Democracies, which have firmly taken the path of building Socialism.

The rapid economic and cultural advances in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Albania; the successful realization of national economic plans; the improvement in the material welfare of the people; the consolidation of the internal forces in the People's Democracies; the formation of united Marxist-Leninist workers' parties marching in the vanguard of the struggle for Socialism; the strengthening of friendship and mutual political, economic and cultural cooperation and mutual assistance between the peoples of South-Eastern Europe; the strengthening of their economic and cultural relations with the U.S.S.R.—all these are major contributions to the common cause of consolidating the might and unity of the forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp.

The economic, political and cultural successes of the People's Democracies serve as a clear example to other peoples how, without resorting to enslaving bargains with imperial-

ism, but by relying on their own forces, on mutual cooperation and fraternal help from the Soviet Union, and by preserving economic and national independence, it is possible to heal in a short period of time the wounds caused by war and fascist domination and to secure a rapid advance of industry and other branches of economy and culture.

The exposure of the treacherous Tito clique at the Budapest Rajk-Brankov trial, and the failure of the insidious calculations of world reaction to restore capitalism in the People's Democracies, testify to the strength and firmness of the people's democratic systems.

The growth and consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces are further borne out by the great successes of the national liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries.

A historic victory was won by the Chinese people, who overthrew the Kuomintang regime of national betrayal, colonial exploitation and feudal oppression.

The creation of the People's Republic of China strikes the most severe blow at the predatory designs of U.S. imperialism which planned to make China its colony and a springboard for new military aggression; it makes another huge breach in the system of imperialism and opens a new chapter in the national-liberation struggle of all peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The inclusion of China in the family of democratic, peace-loving States

signifies a further change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of the camp of democracy and peace and extends and consolidates the front of peace.

A great success for the camp of peace and democracy and a new defeat for the imperialist camp is also the formation of the German Democratic Republic, described by Comrade Stalin in his message of greetings to Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl as a turning point in the history of Europe.

This historical act expresses the growth and consolidation of the democratic forces of the German people, forces which struggle for a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany, forces which draw correct conclusions from the two world wars and no longer wish to be used as pawns by the pretenders for world domination.

The victory of the democratic forces in Germany, who are taking the destiny of the country into their hands, strikes a new defeat at the Anglo-American warmongers.

As Comrade Stalin points out, "there can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving, democratic Germany, side by side with the existence of a peace-loving Soviet Union, excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe and makes impossible the enslaving of the European countries by the world imperialists."

The growth of the forces of the democratic camp and the weakening

positions of imperialism are also proved in striking fashion by the advance of the democratic, and particularly of the working-class, movement headed by the Communist Parties—an advance observed everywhere.

Proof of this is the increased influence of Communist Parties among the people, despite the rabid anti-Communist witch-hunt carried on by the entire camp of world reaction, and also the increase in the strike movement of the working class in all capitalist countries of Europe, America and Australia.

The ever-growing and consolidating strength of the camp of peace and democracy is vividly borne out by the powerful movement of the partisans of peace, which has already embraced hundreds of millions of people.

For the first time in the history of mankind, an organized front of peace emerged, a front which aims to save mankind from a new world war, at isolating the clique of the instigators of a new war and securing peaceful cooperation between peoples.

This movement reflects those cardinal changes which took place in the world as a result of the liberation war waged by peoples against the menace of fascist enslavement. It also signifies an unprecedented growth of the political consciousness of the masses, and the fact that peoples have drawn lessons from the bitter experience of two world wars and are firmly determined to prevent a new war, to defend the cause of

peace, to frustrate the evil designs of the warmongers.

Peoples who passed through the severe experience of the past decades now take the cause of defending peace into their own hands—this is one of the important characteristic features of the movement of the partisans of peace.

No matter how the warmongers and their accomplices rave, the historical situation today differs radically from that in which World Wars One and Two were prepared.

The horrors of the recent war are too fresh in the minds of the people, and the social forces standing for peace are too great for the Churchill disciples of aggression to overcome them and turn them toward a new war (J. Stalin).

Saving the world from another war is not a Utopian dream but a real possibility under present concrete historical conditions.

If peoples are vigilant, active and united in their struggle for peace, if they display steadfastness and tenacity in defending the cause of peace, the warmongers will fail to realize their sanguinary design of lighting the fires of a Third World War.

The strength of the movement of peace supporters lies in the fact that it embraces hundreds of millions of people from among the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and middle urban strata, irrespective of race, nationality, religious or political convictions.

The strength and power of the

peace movement lies further in the fact that it has assumed an organized character. The champions of peace increasingly consolidate and organize themselves on a local, national and international scale.

The movement of the partisans of peace came into being as a movement of protest of the masses against the Marshall Plan and the aggressive Western and North Atlantic Unions. Millions of people in France, Italy and other countries raised their voices against the policy of U.S. imperialism, taking part in protest strikes and demonstrations and collecting signatures for peace petitions.

Of great significance in unfolding the movement of the fighters for peace was the Wroclaw Congress of Cultural Workers in Defense of Peace; the World Congress of the Democratic Women's Federation held in Budapest (autumn 1948), and particularly the World Peace Congress, held in Paris and Prague on April 20-25, which represented 600 million organized fighters for peace.

The movement for the defense of peace constantly extends and consolidates. The Second World Trade Union Congress, held in Milan in July, approved the Manifesto issued by the Paris Congress and drew up a concrete program of action for the 72 million trade unionists organized in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

National peace congresses were held in a number of countries. The wave of strikes, popular demonstra-

tions and meetings of protest against the ratification of the North Atlantic agreement swept the whole of Western Europe.

In many countries, national committees in defense of peace were formed, and the organization of peace committees in towns, factories and offices began.

The movement of the fighters for peace also gains ground in the United States of America and Great Britain, whose peoples increasingly experience the burden of the disastrous, aggressive policy pursued by their ruling circles.

Thus, comrades, a short review of the international situation shows that, in the struggle against imperialism and war, the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have grown in number and strength.

The further growth of the might of the Soviet Union; the political and economic strengthening of the People's Democracies which have taken the path of building Socialism; the historical victory of the People's Revolution in China; the formation of the German Democratic Republic; the strengthening of the Communist Parties and the growth of the democratic movement in capitalist countries; the great scale of the movement of the partisans of peace—all these signify a great extension and consolidation of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp.

At the same time, the imperialist and anti-democratic camp loses one position after another.

The victories of the camp of democracy and Socialism, the oncoming economic crisis, the further sharpening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the sharpening of all external and internal contradictions of this system—testify to the increasing weakening of the imperialist camp and to the historical doom of the entire capitalist system.

Contradictions between imperialist powers in the camp of world reaction itself are sharpening and cannot but sharpen, no matter how these contradictions are camouflaged by unity of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist policies of these powers.

The colonial nature of the U.S. policy in relation to the "Marshallized" countries; the policy of enslaving Western Europe and other capitalist countries by U.S. imperialism; the fierce competition for markets and for the exploitation of colonies, particularly under conditions of economic crisis—aggravate the contradictions between the capitalist countries and, above all, the contradictions between the U.S. and Great Britain.

Contradictions inside the capitalist countries also sharpen and cannot but sharpen. Contrary to all prophecies of the bourgeois "quack-curers of economic storms," an economic crisis inevitably matures both in America and Europe.

Output is falling, exports and home retail trade decline. Unemployment is steadily creeping higher. The number of fully and partially unemployed in capitalist countries reaches the

enormous figure of 40 million.

In view of the armament race, the working people shoulder an ever-growing tax burden. The wages and entire living standards of the working class are progressively going down.

Devaluation of currencies, carried out in the majority of capitalist countries, constitutes a new plunder of the working people, for with their already meager wages they can now buy even less of the necessities of life. The material conditions of the working people become unbearable.

Such a situation cannot but lead to the sharpening of internal political conditions in capitalist countries, cannot but give rise to serious class battles.

All this weakens and will continue to weaken the forces of the imperialist camp, the forces of the warmongers. The adventurous foreign policy of Wall Street and the City imperialists, in its turn, further weakens the anti-democratic camp.

This policy suffers defeat after defeat. The fiasco of the "atomic diplomacy"; the failure of the Marshall Plan; the failure of the imperialist subversive plans in South-East Europe and Central Europe; the bankruptcy of U.S. policy in China: these are but an incomplete enumeration of the failures suffered by the foreign policy of the imperialists.

Certainly, the sharpening of all contradictions of capitalism and the weakening of the forces of the imperialist camp are inherent in the very

nature of capitalism. And the adventurous foreign policy of the Anglo-American imperialists accelerates this process.

### III. COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN THE VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WARMONGERS

The weakening of the anti-democratic, imperialist camp should not lead to the conclusion that the danger of war is lessened. Such a conclusion would be profoundly erroneous and harmful.

Historical experience teaches that the more hopeless the position of imperialist reaction, the more it rages, the more danger of military adventures on its part.

The change in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of the camp of peace and democracy provokes new outbursts of rabid fury in the camp of imperialism and the warmongers.

The Anglo-American imperialists hope, by means of war, to alter the course of historical development, to solve their external and internal contradictions and difficulties, to consolidate the positions of monopoly capital and to gain world domination.

To frustrate the plans of imperialist aggression the greatest vigilance by the peoples is essential, also the further extension of the front of peace and the further consolidation and active struggle of all forces standing for peace.

The present anti-war movement testifies to the will and readiness of the broadest masses of the people to safeguard peace and to prevent the aggressors from plunging mankind into the abyss of another slaughter.

The task now is to turn this will of the masses into active, concrete actions aimed at foiling the plans and measures of the Anglo-American instigators of war.

The entire historical experience of the anti-war movement on the eve of World War One, and particularly of World War Two, shows that it is not sufficient to desire peace, it is necessary actively to fight for it, to operate all forces and levers counteracting the preparations for unleashing war.

Under conditions of the growing menace of a new war, the Communist and Workers' Parties bear a great historical responsibility. The Communist and Workers' Parties must utilize all means of struggle to secure a stable and lasting peace, subordinating their entire activity to this, which is now the central task.

It is necessary to work even more persistently to consolidate and extend the movement of the partisans of peace, drawing new sections of the population into this movement and making it the universal and irresistible movement of the day.

This movement can and should embrace all who treasure peace, honor, national freedom and the sovereignty of their country, regardless of their political convictions, religious

views or party affiliation.

Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into the peace movement trade unions, women's, youth, cooperative, sport, cultural-education, religious and other organizations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary and other political and public leaders who act in defense of peace and against war.

Of decisive significance for further development of the movement of the partisans of peace is the ever more active participation of the working class in this movement, its consolidation and the unity of its ranks.

That is why the cardinal task of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to draw the broadest sections of the working class into the ranks of fighters for the cause of peace; to effect firm working-class unity; resolutely to combat the Right-wing Socialist disrupters and disorganizers of the working-class movement; to organize joint actions of various sections of the proletariat on the basis of a joint platform of struggle for peace and for the national independence of their countries.

The trade unions of the working class already hold an honorable place in the camp of the fighters for peace, against the warmongers.

The World Federation of Trade Unions emerges as an active champion of peace and international cooperation, and the organizer of millions of factory and office workers



for the struggle against the instigators of a new war.

Trade-union bodies affiliated to the W.F.T.U. play a great role in organizing peace supporters. In many countries they are the initiators of the national peace movement and of the formation of national committees in defense of peace.

Trade unions have taken a leading role in the organization of strikes and demonstrations of protest against the aggressive North Atlantic agreement, and also in the organization of popular petitions and other mass measures in defense of peace, national independence and freedom of peoples.

Trade unions, however, can do much more to develop the universal struggle against the instigators of a new war and to further the activity of the camp of the partisans of peace.

Peace committees at factories and offices, for the formation of which the Paris Peace Congress and the Milan Trade Union Congress call, can and should become the central link in the activity of trade unions in this sphere. Such committees have already been set up in many enterprises in France, Holland, Britain and other countries.

Rallying factory and office workers, irrespective of their nationality, party or trade-union affiliation, the peace committees must become centers of struggle for universal unity of the working people in defense of peace, democracy and the vital

interests of the mass of the people exploited by capitalism.

Numerous facts, such as the petition to the U.N.O. General Assembly in support of the proposals to prohibit the atomic weapon and to reduce armaments of the great powers—a petition carrying signatures of eleven million women from Italy, Czechoslovakia and the Eastern Zone of Germany—also the participation of women's organizations and of the World Federation of Democratic Women in the Paris and Prague Congresses, show what a serious force in the struggle for peace are women and their organizations.

The democratic youth of all countries demonstrated its will for peace and the readiness to struggle for it at the World Conference of Working Youth held in Warsaw in 1947 and at World Youth congresses and festivals in 1948 and 1949. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, rallying in its ranks over 60 million young men and women, actively champions the cause of peace.

The task of the working class, of the Communist and Workers' Parties, is to head the peace struggle of all mass public associations, to give it purposeful and effective direction.

To unite broad sections of the population in the fight for peace, various forms and methods should be used: mass demonstrations, meetings, rallies, drawing up of petitions and protests, questionnaires, forma-

tion of peace committees in towns and in the countryside, which, for example, is widely practiced in France and Italy.

In carrying out measures in the struggle for peace it is obviously impossible to act according to standard. It is necessary to proceed from the concrete conditions in each country, skillfully combining various forms and methods of the movement with the general tasks.

Having no support among the masses, the warmongers, as we have seen, seek to deceive peoples with all manner of slanderous propaganda. Because of this, the exposure of the warmongers' propaganda and the circulation of truthful information concerning their anti-popular activity, should not be in the nature of a short campaign but should be conducted day in and day out.

The Communist and Workers' Parties should counteract the false and misanthropic propaganda of the aggressors and their hired gangsters of the pen with the broadest propaganda of a stable and lasting peace between peoples, ceaselessly exposing the aggressive blocs and military-political alliances.

It is necessary widely to explain that a new war would bring enormous disasters and unprecedented destruction to the peoples, that the struggle against war and the defense of peace is the cause of all peoples of the world.

The forces of peace, and above all, the Communist Parties, should seek

to secure that the propaganda of war and the advocacy of race hatred and enmity between peoples carried out by the agents of imperialism, should meet with sharp condemnation from all sections of democratic public opinion; that not a single act of the provocateurs of a new war should remain unanswered in any of their various forms—including mass boycott of films, newspapers, books, journals, radio companies, organizations and leaders propagating war.

The preparations for a new war are indissolubly linked with the enslavement of the countries of Europe and of other continents by U.S. imperialism.

The Marshall Plan, Western Union, the North Atlantic Pact—all these links in the evil conspiracy against peace are, at the same time, links in the chain placed by transatlantic monopolists around the neck of other peoples.

The duty of Communist and working-class parties in capitalist countries is to merge the struggle for national independence with the struggle for peace; tirelessly to expose the anti-national, treacherous nature of the policy of bourgeois governments which have become direct lieutenants of U.S. imperialism; to rally and consolidate all democratic, patriotic forces in each country round the slogans of eliminating the shameful U.S. bondage, and the adoption of an independent foreign and home policy corresponding to the national interests of the peoples.

The Communist and Workers' Parties should carry high the banner defending the national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

The Communist and Workers' Parties should also rally broad masses to defend democratic rights and liberties, tirelessly explaining to them that the defense of peace is indissolubly linked with the defense of the vital interests of the working class and of all working people, that the struggle for peace is, at the same time, the struggle against poverty, hunger and fascism.

Particularly important tasks confront the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and other countries whose peoples the U.S. imperialists wish to use as cannon fodder in realizing their aggressive plans.

Their duty is to develop, with even greater energy, the struggle for peace to frustrate the criminal designs of the Anglo-American instigators of war.

Alongside the exposure of the imperialist warmongers and their accomplices, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union face the task of further consolidating the camp of peace and Socialism in defending peace and the security of peoples.

A complete exposure of the leaders of the Right-wing Socialist Parties continues to be the urgent task of Communist Parties. The course of events has fully confirmed the cor-

rectness of the estimate by the first Meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, of Right-wing Socialists carrying out the foul role of imperialist agents, accomplices of the instigators of a new war, betrayers of the national interests of the people, traitors covering their despicable activity with socialist phrasemongering and cosmopolitan rubbish.

That is why, while tirelessly fighting for peace, the Communist and Workers' Parties should daily expose the Right-wing Socialist chiefs as the worst enemies of peace.

At the same time, it is necessary to develop and consolidate, by all means, both cooperation and united action in the struggle for peace with the basic organizations and rank and file of the Socialist Parties; to support all genuinely honest elements in the ranks of these parties, explaining to them the disastrous nature of the policy pursued by reactionary, Right-wing leaders.

A significant role in realizing their aggressive plans, particularly in Central and Southeastern Europe, is assigned by the Anglo-American imperialists to the Yugoslav Tito clique in the espionage service of the imperialists.

Therefore the task of defending peace and combatting the warmongers calls for further exposure of this clique which deserted to the camp of the worst enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism, to the camp of imperialism and fascism.

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Comrades, during the war against fascism, the Communist Parties were the vanguard of the people's resistance to the invaders. In the postwar period the Communist and Workers' Parties constitute the vanguard fighters for the vital interests of their peoples, for the cause of peace throughout the world.

Guided by them, all the opponents of a new war, people of labor, science and culture, rallied in the powerful front of peace, are capable of frustrating the criminal designs of the imperialists.

The forces of democracy and the forces of the partisans of peace are

vastly superior to the forces of reaction.

The task is now to consolidate and develop, even more, the powerful movement of the partisans of peace, to try to make this movement universal and ceaselessly to increase the vigilance of peoples in relation to the machinations of imperialist aggressors.

It is necessary to mobilize all forces of the people for active defense of peace and for the struggle against the warmongers. To solve this task means finally to win the sacred battle for a stable peace and for the security of peoples throughout the world.

# Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Murderers and Spies\*

by Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej

## I.

### COMRADES:

More than a year has passed since the publication of the historic Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The course of events in Yugoslavia during this period, the Budapest trial, and the provocative activity of the Tito delegation at U.N.O. have fully confirmed the correctness of the Resolution and the value of this remarkable theoretical and practical document for the world revolutionary movement.

The resolution exposed with particular force and profundity the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist nature of the Yugoslav leaders, and also the fact that they had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or the principles of proletarian internationalism.

\* Report submitted to the Meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties held in Hungary in the second half of November 1949, as published in *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!* December 2, 1949.

With brilliant foresight, it revealed the sources of subsequent events in Yugoslavia, pointing out that "such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence, and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries."

The same scientific insight we find in the Resolution's elucidation of the question of the economic consequences of the demagogical and adventurous measures taken by Tito's clique with the aim of compromising Socialism.

The Resolution gave powerful support to the healthy, revolutionary, internationalist elements in the Yugoslav Communist Party in the struggle against the Tito-Rankovic fascist dictatorship.

The spirit of the Resolution has penetrated deeply and still makes itself deeply felt among the masses of the Yugoslav people who learned from their own experience the correctness of the estimation of the sam-

guinary butchers, who gained control of the helm of State.

The Information Bureau Resolution was an historic turning point in the orientation and activity of the entire world revolutionary movement.

Thanks to its Marxist-Leninist ideological clarity and exactitude in relation to the class struggle under the conditions that took shape after World War Two—particularly in the People's Democracies—the Communist and Workers' Parties were able successfully to combat nationalist deviations in their own ranks and consolidate their ideological unity.

The world revolutionary movement was directed with great determination along the line of proletarian internationalism.

Communists and the working class became imbued even more with the ideology of proletarian internationalism and with the sense that devotion to the homeland of Socialism—the Soviet Union—is the touchstone and criterion of internationalism.

The resolution concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party provided the basis for numerous victories of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

With its help, the Communist and Workers' Parties orientated themselves in the struggle against nationalist deviations and to strengthen proletarian internationalism, and outlined a clear and resolute policy

on the issues of peace and war.

Comrade Stalin rendered great assistance to the international Communist movement. With brilliant insight, he warned us of a number of ideological deviations and confusion and helped us to fight them successfully.

This help of Comrade Stalin was the salvation of many Marxist parties. It enabled them to avoid numerous mistakes in their practical and theoretical work.

In their declarations on the stand of the Communist Parties in the event of imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, outstanding leaders of the international working-class movement—Maurice Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, Foster and others—expressed the readiness and determination of the working people of their countries to fight together with the liberating Soviet Army against imperialist aggressors.

This resolute stand against the Anglo-American warmongers met with a wide response throughout the world and was an important stimulus in the struggle of the masses for peace.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau resounded as a powerful call for revolutionary vigilance. It was a reminder of the danger attending those taking the path of bourgeois nationalism, those sinking into the mire of anti-Sovietism, a danger of which Comrade Stalin warned as long as 22 years ago.

An internationalist is he, says Comrade Stalin, who unreservedly, without any hesitation, and unconditionally, is ready to defend the U.S.S.R. because the U.S.S.R. constitutes the base of the world revolutionary movement, and to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement is impossible without defending the U.S.S.R. He who thinks in terms of defending the world revolutionary movement without the U.S.S.R., and against it, goes against revolution and inevitably finds his way into the camp of the enemies of revolution. (J. V. Stalin, *Selected Works*, Volume X, p. 51, Russian edition.)

How profoundly appropriate these words of our great teacher sound today! The dialectics of the class struggle are merciless.

The shameless and hypocritical attempt of the Tito clique to conceal its anti-Soviet and anti-Communist position from the world revolutionary movement and from the working class and working people of Yugoslavia, with phrases about building Socialism and about the so-called "independent line" in relation to the two camps into which the world is now split, has suffered complete failure and evoked the greatest disgust.

The Tito clique has openly switched over to the imperialist camp of the warmongers and is in the service of the U.S. imperialists.

The logical consequence of this anti-Communist and anti-Soviet pol-

icy was the Tito clique's change-over to fascism.

This clique has bartered Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav peoples to the U.S. monopolists, liquidated State sovereignty, national independence and the last remnants of freedom, establishing a brutal, Gestapo-type regime.

The facts revealed at the Budapest trial, and in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in the Romanian People's Republic and in other People's Democracies, clearly show that Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Pijade, Gosnjak, Maslaric, Bebler, Mrazovic, Vukmanovic, Koca Popovic, Kidric, Neskovic, Zlatic, Velebit and others, and also Rajk, Brankov, Traicho Kostov, Patrascanu and their ilk are the agents of Anglo-American imperialist intelligence services.

Even during World War Two these despicable spies and traitors helped the Anglo-American imperialists to prepare footholds to realize the plan of world domination.

This gang of spies and traitors was brought like the Trojan horse, into the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Carrying out the orders of their masters, they pursued the criminal aim of seizing leadership in the Party and in the State in countries where the working class came to power, of suppressing the revolutionary movement and securing the restoration of bourgeois domination.

In the Central and Southeastern

countries of Europe, liberated by the Soviet Army, the bourgeois parties and bourgeois politicians emerged from the war seriously compromised.

The people's revolutionary forces exposed them and destroyed them politically. World reaction fiercely defended its bourgeois agents in these countries.

But it did not restrict itself to this, for the bourgeois parties and the Right-wing Social-Democrats were no longer able themselves to fight against the people's forces led by the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The imperialists began to look for new reserves to restore the capitalist regime, to split the working class and democratic movement and to sow confusion in its ranks.

Lenin drew attention to the fact that the bourgeoisie, which has great political experience, tries to find, even in its most difficult moments, when it seems exhausted, new and unexpected reserves to save itself from death.

The change-over of the Tito clique to fascism is not fortuitous. It was effected on the order of their masters, the Anglo-American imperialists, whose mercenaries, it is now clear, this clique has been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, obeying the will of the imperialists, undertook to form in the People's Democracies political gangs consisting of reactionaries, nationalists, clerical and fascist elements, and relying on

these gangs, to bring about counter-revolutionary coups in these countries, wrest them from the Soviet Union and the entire Socialist camp and subordinate them to the forces of imperialism.

The Tito clique transformed Belgrade into an American center for espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

Even during the war, in 1943, the B.B.C., which had supported Mihailovich and the emigre ex-King Peter's Government, sharply changed its tone in favor of Tito.

Afterwards it became known that there was a British military mission attached to the Tito headquarters and that Tito appointed Colonel (now General) Velebit, an agent of the British intelligence service, as his representative in London.

The imperialist intrigues began to come to the surface.

At that period, the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party issued a political declaration—nationalist in essence—in relation to Macedonia, calling upon the Macedonian patriots, at the height of the struggle, to desert the E.A.M. and place themselves at the disposal of Tito.

Tito's emissaries, including Vukmanovic, immediately began, in Macedonia, subversive activities in the Greek Communist Party.

Churchill sent his son Randolph with a special mission to Tito. Later, the old reactionary and mortal enemy of the U.S.S.R. met Tito personally. Even at that time Tito and his clique



enjoyed the particular attention and confidence of the imperialists.

On the other hand, the exposures by the Yugoslav, General Popivoda, showed in a true light the conciliatory attitude of Tito, Rankovic and others with regard to the Hitler invaders and the Gestapo, and also to their foul betrayal of Yugoslav partisans during the most critical periods of the war.

All this fully explains the subsequent behavior of the Tito clique. For the experience of the working-class movement teaches us that those who are once recruited by the bourgeois police are at its disposal for the rest of their lives.

The Anglo-American imperialists popularize the foul stand of the Tito gang, recommending it as an anti-Communist recipe on an international scale.

They also tried to bring the Communists of other countries under the influence of Tito. But the plan of the imperialists turned into a fiasco. The ears of the spies of international capital protruded from beneath the "Marshal's" hat.

When all genuine friends of peace, democracy and Socialism see in the U.S.S.R. a powerful fortress of Socialism, a faithful and steadfast defender of the freedom and independence of nations, the principal bulwark of peace, the Tito-Rankovic clique, having attained power under the mask of friendship with the U.S.S.R., began, on the orders of the Anglo-American imperialists, a

campaign of slander and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilizing the most vile calumnies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler.

All the endeavors of the imperialist bourgeoisie to extend the Tito anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, subversive policy beyond Yugoslavia, collapsed before the iron unity of the world proletarian revolutionary movement.

After the Resolution of the Information Bureau had been issued, the Belgrade fascist monsters began to complain that they were allegedly the victims of injustice.

But their sole aim was to conceal, as long as possible, their shady past and their contact with Anglo-American imperialism. The Budapest trial came as a thunderbolt to the Tito clique.

The facts proved that the question was not one of mistakes, but of a deliberate counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist policy carried out by a gang of spies, professional informers and agents-provocateur with a long record of service in the police and in the apparatus of the bourgeois intelligence service.

A large number of the present Yugoslav leaders were sent by the Gestapo to Yugoslavia from concentration camps in France as long ago as 1941.

The exposure of the Rajk-Brankov gang, the trial and the sentence, should be regarded as a serious success for the front of Socialism and

Democracy against the designs of imperialism.

The facts exposed at the Budapest trial completely stripped the mask from Tito and his clique, revealing them before the peoples of Yugoslavia and of the world in their true colors as old spies and agents-provocateur who penetrated the ranks of the working-class movement as hired agents of the U.S. and British imperialists.

The plans of the U.S. imperialists aimed at intimidating and undermining the People's Democracies, at creating an anti-Soviet bloc in Central and Southeastern Europe — a bloc in which the Tito clique would play the role of storm detachment: these are part of the general strategical plan of imperialism aimed at fanning a new world war.

That is why the exposure of this plan was a tremendous defeat for the warmongers and a victory for peace.

The transformation of the Tito-Rankovic clique into a direct agency of imperialism and accomplices of the warmongers culminated in the lining up of the Yugoslav Government with the imperialist bloc at U.N.O., where the Kardeljs, Djilas and Beblers joined in a united front with American reactionaries on vital matters of international policy.

The foreign policy of the Tito clique is an anti-Soviet policy of the most foul brand. The Belgrade counter-revolutionary agency carries out the tasks of the imperialist ag-

gressors and the instigators of a new world war.

The fascist tyrants try to conceal the nature of the Atlantic Pact from the Yugoslav people—a pact they would like to join.

Their actions, exposed at the trial in Budapest, provide overwhelming proof of their active participation in the realization of the military plans of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Analyzing the tendencies in the foreign policy of the Tito clique, the Communist and Workers' Parties long ago pointed out that one should not be surprised if, to curry favor with his masters, Tito would shortly create a new theory whereby, not capitalism and its contradictions, nor imperialism, but Socialism and Communism, are the cause of wars in our epoch.

And indeed, this has now become the main slogan of the foreign policy of the Yugoslav Government. All foreign-policy declarations of the Belgrade fascist gang pursue the single aim—to slander and smear the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

There are no imperialists in the world for the Tito clique. Every assault of the Tito clique breathes hatred and malice against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

The Anglo-American masters demanded that their agent Tito should be more active at the recent session of U.N.O.

The immense prestige won by the Soviet Union worries the imperialists. The role assigned by the imperialists to the Tito emissaries in U.N.O. is to try to discredit the main force of peace—the Soviet Union—and to create a smokescreen which would make it impossible to see that the Anglo-American imperialists are the instigators of war.

The subversive Tito emissaries spare no efforts to compromise the mutual relations of a new type—the Socialist mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, based on equality and community of interests.

These relations become a center of attraction for all peoples who desire peace and freedom, for the peoples of countries now the subordinate vassals of U.S. imperialism.

But the raving Tito clique proves to be impotent when faced by facts.

It was thanks only to Socialist assistance from the U.S.S.R. that "the People's Democratic Republics have entered that phase when the people, having experienced the joy of a free and independent life, feel themselves masters of their country, and dedicate all their energy to promoting its strength and progress" (G. M. Malenkov, Report [delivered at the Meeting of the Moscow Soviet on the occasion of the 32nd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution], November 6, 1949).

At the same time the economy of the U.S. faces a catastrophic crisis which will drag down with itself

all countries that cast their lot with it, including also Yugoslavia.

At the recent session of U.N.O. the Tito clique fully revealed itself. It became clear who stands behind it and whom it serves.

Tito zealously carries out all orders of his masters. There are no national interests which Tito would not betray on the orders of Washington.

In an article entitled, "United States of America will demand political concessions from Tito," the Belgrade correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* declared, as long ago as last June, that changes would take place in the stand of the Yugoslav Government on the question of demands to Austria, on Trieste and the Greek partisans.

The imperialist servant, Judas Tito, carried out the orders of his masters, to the dot. He abandoned Slovene Carinthia and hampers a just solution of Yugoslav interests in Trieste.

As for Greece, Acheson in his speech at the opening of the U.N.O. General Assembly, stressed the change in the attitude of the treacherous Yugoslav Government.

This compelled the London *Times* to point out that in his foreign policy Tito had removed some obstacles which hampered the establishment of economic relations with the Western powers.

In the language of the capitalists this means that it is possible to send Tito the dollars requested by him.

In home policy, the chief outcome of the activity of the treacherous Tito-Rankovic clique is the actual liquidation of the People's Democratic system in Yugoslavia.

Due to the counter-revolutionary policy of the Tito-Rankovic clique which usurped power in the Party and in the State, an anti-Communist, police state, fascist-type regime has been installed in Yugoslavia.

The social basis of this regime consists of kulaks in the countryside and capitalist elements in the towns. In fact, power in Yugoslavia is in the hands of anti-popular, reactionary elements.

Active members of the old bourgeois parties, kulaks and other enemies of People's Democracy, are active in central and local government bodies.

The top fascist rulers rely on an enormously swollen military-police apparatus, by the aid of which they oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia.

They have turned the country into a military camp, wiped out all democratic rights of the working peoples and trampled on any free expression of opinion.

The Yugoslav rulers demagogically and insolently deceive the people, alleging they are building Socialism in Yugoslavia.

But it is clear to every Marxist that there can be no talk of building Socialism in Yugoslavia when the Tito clique has broken with the Soviet Union, with the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, thereby

depriving Yugoslavia of the bulwark for building Socialism, and when it has subordinated the country economically and politically to Anglo-American imperialists.

Recent events show that the Yugoslav Government is completely dependent on foreign imperialist circles and has become an instrument of their aggressive policy, which has resulted in the liquidation of independence of the Yugoslav Republic.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government of Yugoslavia have merged completely with imperialist circles against the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, against the Communist Parties of the world, against the New Democracies and the U.S.S.R.

Tito and Rankovic wage a fierce terror in the country. Any free expression of progressive, democratic views brings with it a threat to freedom and life. All human rights are cruelly trampled upon.

Prisons are filled with Communists, with strikers, workers and peasants who refuse to carry out the compulsory, but so-called voluntary, work.

Torture chambers, beatings and a regime of starvation in prisons evoke horror throughout the country.

Murders and shootings are endless. Yugoslavia today is a country of sanguinary extermination and a prison of the peoples.

The Yugoslav hirelings of imperialism, having seized leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia,

unloosed a campaign of terror against genuine Communists loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and who fight for Yugoslavia's independence from the imperialists.

Thousands of Yugoslav patriots, devoted to Communism, have been expelled from the Party and incarcerated in jails and concentration camps.

Many have been tortured and killed in prison, or, as was the case with the well-known Communist, Arso Jovanovic, were dastardly assassinated.

The brutality with which staunch fighters for Communism are being annihilated in Yugoslavia can be compared only with the atrocities of the Hitler fascists or the butcher Tsaldaris in Greece or with Franco in Spain.

Comrades Djujovic and Hebrang and many other Communist leaders in Yugoslavia, many generals, colonels and other officers—heroes of the anti-Hitler struggle — outstanding Party officials, university professors, representatives of the progressive intelligentsia, workers and working peasants who love their country, who long to see it wrested from the clutches of imperialism and who also love the Soviet Union and Socialism—all have been thrown into prison and subjected to a regime of physical extermination.

Expelling from the ranks of the Party those Communists loyal to proletarian internationalism, annihilating them, the Yugoslav fascists

opened wide the doors of the Party to bourgeois and kulak elements.

As a result of the fascist terror of the Tito gang against the healthy forces in the Yugoslav Communist Party, the leadership of the Party is wholly in the hands of spies and murderers, mercenaries of imperialism.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia has been seized by counter-revolutionary forces acting arbitrarily in the name of the Party.

Recruiting spies and provocateurs into the ranks of the working-class parties, is, as is well-known, an old method of the bourgeoisie. In this way imperialists seek to undermine the Parties from within and subordinate them to themselves.

They have succeeded in realizing this aim in Yugoslavia. The fascist ideology, and fascist domestic policy, as well as the perfidious foreign policy of the Tito clique—completely subordinated to foreign imperialist circles—have created a gulf between the espionage-fascist Tito-Rankovic clique and the vital interests of the freedom-loving peoples of Yugoslavia.

Consequently, the anti-popular and treacherous activity of the Tito clique encounters ever-growing resistance from both the Communists who remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and from the working class and working peasantry of Yugoslavia.

We send Communist, militant greetings to all Yugoslavia comrades who courageously endure the blood-

thirsty terror in torture chambers and concentration camps of the butcher Rankovic.

The economic situation in Yugoslavia is becoming increasingly difficult for the working people. The state sector is not people's property; it is a sector of state capitalism placed in the service of foreign capital.

A Yugoslav worker does not work for himself or for his people. The surplus value produced by him is appropriated on an increasing scale by foreign banks and trusts.

The strikes which broke out at various factories, such as the Stura foundry, the car-repair shops near Maribor and the Trbovle mines were bloodily suppressed by the Rankovic thugs.

The fascist terror dictatorship of the Tito clique against the mass of the working people is carried out for the benefit of foreign capital and for the national bourgeoisie, both rural and urban.

Simultaneously, with the strengthening of the kulaks, the growth of urban bourgeoisie is taking place.

The Belgrade fascist demagogues try to conceal the measures to restore capitalism with talk about the "liquidation of exploitation" or about the "triumphant march of Socialism."

A year and a half ago the traitor Kardelj declared: "The days of all remnants of exploitation of man by man are numbered in our country."

Actually, capitalist exploitation has increased in the towns and country-

side of Yugoslavia. Kulaks and other exploiters bless their benefactor — Judas Tito.

As a result of the hostile policy against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, the Tito clique, having deprived Yugoslavia of the support of these countries, has completely doomed to failure the Five-Year Plan.

The working people of Yugoslavia increasingly realize what a base fraud is Tito's talk of "building Socialism" in Yugoslavia without, and against, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

In the countryside the conditions of the working peasants are more difficult than ever before. They are severely exploited by the kulaks and bear the burden of heavy taxes and compulsory labor.

The "producer cooperatives," forcibly set up and run by kulaks, constitute a new form of exploitation of the working peasantry.

Kulaks, who possess agricultural implements, exploit the labor of poor peasants in the so-called cooperatives far more ruthlessly than on their own farms.

Recently, the Tito clique resorted more and more to one of the most brutal forms of exploitation—unpaid, compulsory labor for the benefit of foreign capital.

It is called "voluntary work" in lumber camps, road building and so on. Thousands of people are forcibly taken to lumber camps.

The "voluntary work" to prepare timber for export to Britain and America, work carried out in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian forests, is characteristic in this respect. Recruitment for "voluntary" work is made without warning.

Representatives of the State come during dinner time or at night and forcibly take away the people whose names are on specially prepared lists.

Often these people do not fit the conditions outlined in the rules, that is, they are either too old (55 years) or too young (14 years).

Many of them are ill and disabled. The number of sick and old people reaches 20 per cent of the total number of people mobilized for work.

Even a medical certificate releasing a man from "voluntary work" is ignored. The working day is 10 to 14 hours.

Food is poor and consists of bean soup, 200 grams of bread and 200 grams of maize flour. People are not provided with clothing; they sleep on the ground in the forest, often in dirt and rain, since there are not even hutments.

Apart from the people, draught animals—horses and oxen—together with carts are "voluntarily" taken away. This compulsory work meets with an increasingly fierce resistance from the masses.

The national policy of the gang of spies and murderers now in power in Yugoslavia is a national-chauvinist race policy of fascist type, a policy of monstrous oppression of national

minorities, of depriving them of any right to free development.

Organizations of national minorities have been dissolved, their honest leaders arrested and exterminated in the prisons of the Yugoslav fascist butchers.

Since the press of national minorities in Yugoslavia, like the entire press, is in the hands of fascist elements, national minorities cannot freely express their aspirations in their native language.

The Yugoslav press has been placed completely in the service of U.S. imperialism and its agents—the Tito spies and murderers.

Yugoslavia has become a Marshallized country. Whereas in the beginning Tito and his clique trumpeted that they would manage without loans, and swore that U.S. dollars would not sully "their own forces" and their "specific road," today these political scoundrels openly appeal to U.S. banks for help.

It is known, however, that U.S. bankers are not content with interest alone.

The American [A.S.G.] Hoar, head of the commission sent to Yugoslavia by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, settled himself in Belgrade like a master.

He told journalists at a press conference that he would check how the credits supplied by the Bank were used. Yugoslav economic plans are delivered to this monopolist to be ratified.

All this is accompanied by a number of misfortunes suffered by the people, misfortunes arising from Marshallization. Foreign capital penetrates into Yugoslavia through numerous channels. Yugoslavia's economic independence has been eliminated.

The most foul role which the counter-revolutionary agent, Tito, took upon himself was to strike a blow at the Democratic Army of Greece. The hangmen of the Greek and Yugoslav peoples — Tito and Tsaldaris—reached complete agreement, arranging secretly to destroy the heroic Greek partisans.

While Tito issued instructions to his troops how to stab the Greek Democratic Army in the back, his henchman, Vukmanovic, wrote in *Borba* of the "mistakes" committed by the Greek Communist Party.

In these difficult days for the Greek patriots, he basely, and with unparalleled perfidy, attacked the leadership of the Party and Comrade Zachariadis.

Aware of the feelings of sympathy and solidarity which the Yugoslav peoples have for the Greek partisans, the Tito clique prepared a monstrous "justification" of its action.

The old provocateur, Vukmanovic, wrote that the battle "was lost due to an absolutely mistaken line of the leadership on vital questions (armed struggle, organization and training of troops, the question of power, relations with imperialists, and so on)."

These articles cannot conceal the

despicable action of the Tito clique, for, of all the crimes committed by it, the assistance rendered to monarcho-fascists against the Greek partisans is one of its most monstrous crimes.

All these facts provide a full estimation of the Gestapo regime and the fascist policy of the Tito clique. But the day is not far off when the peoples of Yugoslavia will settle accounts with this gang of spies, provocateurs and murderers.

## II.

What conclusions should be made on the basis of this analysis of the situation in Yugoslavia?

1. The espionage group of Tito expresses, not the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the will of the Anglo-American imperialists, and has therefore betrayed the interests of the country and abolished the political sovereignty and economic independence of Yugoslavia.

The struggle against the instigators of a new world war is inconceivable without struggle against the Tito clique. Consequently, the international significance of this struggle is clear.

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



The struggle against the Tito clique—hired spies and murderers—is the international duty of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

3. The main task in fighting the fascist Tito dictatorship falls to the working class and peoples of Yugoslavia, headed by revolutionary Communists.

The people of Yugoslavia have genuine sentiments of love for the Soviet Union which liberated them, and they desire heart and soul to return to the great family of Socialism and democracy.

The people of Yugoslavia deeply hate the Tito espionage clique and its masters — the Anglo-American imperialists. The desire and struggle of Yugoslav people to overthrow the fascist usurpers is growing.

It is the duty of Communist and Workers' Parties to help in every way the Yugoslav working class and the working peasantry, who struggle for the return of Yugoslavia to the camp of democracy and Socialism.

4. The struggle against the fascist regime of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia takes ever-sharper forms: strikes, passive resistance, (directed mainly against forcible mobilization for work), circulation of illegal leaflets, opposition to carrying out production programs at factories and against State agriculture quotas, and so on.

Yugoslav workers see more and more clearly that the growth of production serves the interests of the im-

perialists and they embark upon passive sabotage.

A necessary condition for the return of Yugoslavia to the Socialist camp is active struggle on the part of revolutionary elements, both inside the Yugoslav Communist Party and outside its ranks, for the regeneration of the revolutionary, genuine, Communist Party of Yugoslavia, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism and fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia from imperialism.

5. The working class in Yugoslavia, and the Communists who march at the head of it, should enjoy the complete solidarity of the international working class in building their Party. The work of the Yugoslav Communists begins to acquire an active and more coordinated form.

It is necessary to continue, with even more energy, the political and ideological campaign of exposing the Tito clique.

The anti-popular policy of this agency of imperialism should be unanimsly condemned by world public opinion.

The Tito-ites clamor at every corner that they are being expelled from all international democratic organizations. They betray their fear that they will not be able successfully to continue their espionage work and will be sacked by the U.S. masters.

Let us be ruthless and intolerant with this foul agency. Let them find nowhere the slightest foothold.

6. Every Communist and Workers'

Party is faced with vital tasks related to greater vigilance. The question is one not only of Party members but also of the mass of the working people who should be educated in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance.

The vigilance of the masses should take organizational forms. It is necessary to expose and eliminate bourgeois-nationalist elements and all kinds of agents of imperialism in our ranks, no matter what flag they use to cover themselves.

In the People's Democracies, of particular significance is State vigilance—the vigilance of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As is known, in the People's Democracies the old State apparatus was not smashed at once, as was the case during the Great October Socialist Revolution. This means that the vigilance of Communists in this direction should be particularly sharp.

Communist and Workers' Parties must draw all conclusions from the Budapest trial of the spies Rajk and Brankov.

It is necessary to bear in mind that despite the heavy defeat suffered by them at the Budapest trial, the Anglo-American imperialists have not given up espionage and conspiratorial work in the People's Democracies.

The conference of U.S. Ambassadors of Eastern Europe, held recently in London, was aimed precisely at reviewing the work of U.S. agents in this part of Europe in connection with the Budapest trial.

According to the Western press,

which no longer conceals the nature of the activities of U.S. diplomats, it was decided in London to establish an espionage center in Belgrade.

At the same time the State Department commission, presided over by Allen Dulles, the notorious chief of U.S. intelligence service, drew up a program of activities for the countries of Eastern Europe, a program containing new methods.

There can be no doubt that the main role in this nefarious work will be assigned to the old spies and agents provocateur of the Tito clique.

It will try to use people like Rajk, and use also the slightest weaknesses and opening in the ranks of the Parties and in the State apparatus, the disgruntled, nationalist elements and people with a doubtful past.

It should constantly be remembered, as Bolshevism teaches, that it is necessary to put an end to opportunist complacency arising from the erroneous supposition that as our forces grow the enemy becomes more tame and harmless.

Such a supposition is essentially incorrect. It should be remembered that the more hopeless the position of our enemies, the more willingly they resort to "extreme methods."

We should make intensified educational work the basis of increased vigilance. In view of this, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, synthesized the tasks of Communist and Workers' Parties in its article,

"Strengthened vigilance"

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"Strengthen Revolutionary Vigilance":

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

The most important lesson arising from the experience of the great Bolshevik Party is that to increase vigilance it is necessary to have Bolshevik order in our own Party house.

The chief means in this respect is verification of Party membership. This was applied in a number of parties in the People's Democracies and yielded positive results.

In our Party, for example, as a result of verification which is still going on, hostile and alien elements who penetrated into the Party when its doors were wide open for admittance are now being expelled.

This measure will, undoubtedly, make it much more difficult for the

enemy to find a foothold in our Party.

Communist and Workers' Parties should strengthen the ideological vigilance of their members.

They should display real Bolshevik irreconcilability to any deviation from proletarian internationalism, should intensify ideological work to educate Communists in the spirit of loyalty to proletarian internationalism, irreconcilability to any deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of faithfulness to People's Democracy and Socialism, to the international Socialist front headed by the U.S.S.R.

In science, literature, painting, music and cinema a sharp vigilance and irreconcilable attitude are essential against any tendency alien to the working class and, in relation to the propaganda of cosmopolitanism.

Let us raise higher still the victorious banner of proletarian internationalism, increasing our devotion to the Soviet Union—the first land of Socialism, the base of the world revolutionary movement, the main bulwark in the struggle for peace and freedom of peoples, to the great Bolshevik Party—leading force of the world revolutionary movement—and to the brilliant teacher of toiling mankind and leader in the peoples' struggle for the cause of peace and Socialism—Comrade Stalin.

# Jerusalem, National Independence and Peace

by Alexander Bittelman

THERE STILL EXISTS a good deal of misunderstanding in progressive and anti-imperialist circles on the true meaning of the struggle around Jerusalem. But while the situation is complicated, the issues are relatively simple. For the anti-imperialist and peace camp everywhere, the camp headed by the Soviet Union, the fight around Jerusalem is a fight for peace and national independence. It is part of the worldwide struggle against the aggressive, expansionist drive of American imperialism and its junior partner and rival, British imperialism.

It is no secret that the Truman Administration, fulfilling the will of the Wall Street monopolies, is driving for control and domination of the oil resources and strategic positions of the Near East. And it is also no secret that American imperialism and its government are now making a determined effort to secure control of Jerusalem as a major position in that drive. The Truman Administration is planning to use control of Jerusalem, together with Wall Street's steady economic and political penetration of Israel, for two main purposes: 1) to facilitate and speed up the turning of Israel into a semi-

colony or outright colony of Wall Street; and 2) to promote further the preparations for unleashing world War III by turning Jerusalem and Israel into a military base.

Naturally, American imperialism comes here into conflict with British imperialism. While both pursue the same objective of suppressing the national freedom and liberation movements of the Jewish and Arab peoples, the Anglo-American imperialist rivalries in the Near East, as elsewhere, are growing sharper. This is due to the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism—the shrinking of the imperialist spheres of influence, etc.—and to the further development of the oncoming economic crisis.

The general sharpening of these Anglo-American rivalries shows itself also in the fight around Jerusalem as it develops in the United Nations. U.S. and British imperialism are both seeking a larger share of control in that area, especially oil and strategic positions. At the same time both pursue the objective of completely nullifying the United Nations decision of November 1947 regarding Palestine. Both seek now to do away totally and formally with that deci-

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sion, just as they have right along sabotaged and prevented its full realization. Why? What is the explanation for this policy of American and British imperialism?

The November 1947 decision of the United Nations on Palestine provided for: (a) the establishment of an independent Jewish state in one part of Palestine; (b) the establishment of an independent Arab state in the other part of Palestine; (c) the establishment of economic unity between the two states; and (d) the setting up of Jerusalem as a separate entity under the administration and control of the U.N. Trusteeship Council.

When this decision was made, it was generally recognized in all progressive and anti-imperialist circles that under the existing conditions and relation of forces this was the best, most democratic and just solution of the Palestine problem. It was in accord with the principle of national self-determination and in the best interests of both the Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine. It also provided certain opportunities for combating Anglo-American imperialism in that area and for advancing the fight for peace.

That is why British imperialism fought against that decision to the very end, has never accepted it and has never ceased sabotaging it. That is why American imperialism also maneuvered against the adoption of the partition decision by

the United Nations and has sabotaged its realization ever since. The fact that the American delegation voted in favor of the partition decision in 1947 was generally understood by most informed people as a maneuver to pacify public opinion in the United States and to prevent the Soviet Union from being the only great power supporting the partition decision. It was very clear that while the Soviet Union was waging a sincere and consistent fight for the national independence and freedom of the Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine and supported the partition proposal as the best solution under the given circumstances, American imperialism—the Truman administration—was opposing the national liberation of Palestine, was seeking to foist Wall Street domination over that country, and was only maneuvering with the issue of partition in order to hide its imperialist ambitions.

These are the reasons that American and British imperialism are now seeking to do away with the U.N. partition decision altogether and formally. Consequently, a *new menace* now confronts the state of Israel, the Arab peoples and the cause of world peace. Unfortunately, this new menace is not yet understood by certain progressive and anti-imperialist circles in the United States.

What is this new menace arising from American and British imperialist conspiracies in the Near East? It

is to be found first, in the fact that American imperialism will get into a position to use Jerusalem, and the whole of Israel, transformed into a semi-colony, for further conquests in the Near East and for preparing a new world war. It is to be found, secondly, in the fact that British imperialism will secure domination of the Arab part of Palestine by its control of Transjordan (Abdullah) which has seized that territory in violation of the United Nations partition decision. It is to be found, thirdly, in the fact that both American and British imperialism will thus be able to establish political and military centers in the heart of old Palestine, continually threatening the frontiers of Israel and of several Arab states, tightening their domination and oppression of the Jewish and Arab peoples and preparing to unleash a new world war.

These are the issues involved in the struggle around Jerusalem. It is a major international struggle affecting the national freedom and independence of Israel, of the Arab states and peoples, and affecting intimately the peace of the world. Therefore, in the United States this is a major issue in the struggle for peace, against Wall Street's drive for world domination and against its policy of preparing to unleash a new world war. It is a struggle of the whole of the American people, not only the Jewish masses, against the imperialist warmaking policies of

both major parties of the monopolies, the policies promoted and pursued by the Truman Administration with the support of the Murrays, Greens, Dubinskys, Careys, Reuthers, and the whole gang of Wall Street agents in the labor movement.

These are also the issues for the people of Israel, as well as for the Arab peoples. It is a terrible and dangerous delusion, cultivated by the reformist and bourgeois nationalist agents of Wall Street among the Jewish masses in the United States, that for the people of Israel the issue is the retention or loss of Jerusalem. The real issue is: shall Israel be enabled to grow and develop as a free and independent state, or shall it be turned into a colony of American imperialism; shall Israel be enabled to live in friendship and cooperation with an independent Arab state in the Arab part of Palestine, or shall British imperialism once more get control of that part of Palestine; shall Jerusalem be kept out of the hands of American and British imperialism or shall it become a military and political center of American and British imperialism for keeping down the Near East—including Israel—and for preparing a new world war? These are the issues for the people of Israel, issues that are much bigger than the fate of Jerusalem itself. They are the issues of saving the national freedom and independence of Israel from Anglo-American imperialist conspir-

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acies, of protecting the cause of world peace in the Near East. *In the present world situation, there is no other way of fighting successfully for these objectives than by fighting for the realization of the United Nations partition decision of November 1947.*

### THE STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS

In the course of the U.N. discussion on the Jerusalem question, several proposals were brought forward. These proposals and discussions reflected the rivalries between American and British imperialism, between England and France, etc. They reflected the contradictions between the Arab states and Anglo-American imperialism, between Israel and Anglo-American imperialism, between the ruling groups of the Arab states and of Israel, and between and among the rulers of the Arab states themselves. They also reflected the influence of the Vatican and of the checkered and contradictory ambitions of the ruling groups in the Latin-American countries.

This was the rather complicated situation in the United Nations which confronted the Soviet Union in its attempt to seek a just solution to the Jerusalem problem, a solution in accord with its anti-imperialist line of national independence and peace, which would serve the best interests of the Jewish and Arab peo-

ples. The first thing that had to be done was to meet the most immediate and greatest danger, namely, the plan of the Conciliation Commission of the U.N., consisting of the United States, France and Turkey and dominated by Wall Street, to put Jerusalem under virtual domination of American imperialism in the guise of a fake "internationalization" scheme.

The Soviet delegation sought to solve that problem by *trying to anchor the deliberations on Jerusalem in the Palestine partition decision of the United Nations of November, 1947.* By seeking to rally around this decision the anti-imperialist and peace forces in the U.N., as well as all those who for one reason or another were ready to oppose American imperialist domination of Jerusalem and the re-establishment of British imperialist control in the Arab part of Palestine (through Abdullah), *the Soviet delegation opened an opportunity for the defeat of the fake "internationalization" plan of the Conciliation Commission (read: Anglo-American imperialism), for the defeat of the scheme to put Anglo-American imperialism in control of Jerusalem.* And this was how the Soviet delegation came to amend the proposal of the Australian delegation for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

The Soviet policy, as expressed in its amendments to the Australian resolution, is as follows: to solve the

Jerusalem problem on the basis of the U.N. partition decision of November 1947—a decision which Israel has accepted and by which Israel came into existence; to solve the problem on the basis of realizing fully that decision, especially the formation of the independent Arab state in the Arab part of Palestine and taking it away from British imperialism; and to realize that decision fully by establishing the control and administration of Jerusalem under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. The Soviet amendments to the Australian proposal called for *the further democratization* of the U.N. statutes that will govern the administration of Jerusalem and for the abolition of the so-called Conciliation Commission which was used by Wall Street to prevent conciliation between the Jewish and Arab peoples and to promote its imperialist expansion.\*

In the face of the situation existing in the United Nations and outside, the choice confronting the anti-imperialist and peace forces in the United States, including the masses of the Jewish people, is the following: either Wall Street control of Jerusalem, in whatever form, or democratized Trusteeship Council control in which the Soviet Union must have a voice under all conditions; either the turning of Israel into a semi-

colony of Wall Street, or the opportunity for the people of Israel to resist and successfully combat this drive of American imperialism; either the re-establishment of British imperialist domination of the Arab parts of Palestine (through control of Transjordan), or the establishment of an independent Arab state, a friend of Israel and ally against foreign imperialism; either new political and military positions for American imperialism to unleash a new world war, or new opportunities to resist these conspiracies and to fight for peace.

These are the alternatives in the present world situation. There are no others.

We know, of course, that there are many people among the Jewish masses in the United States who find it difficult to recognize and who refuse to accept the fact that these are the only alternatives. These people want Jerusalem so much to be part of Israel that they tend to accept easily the fraud and delusion spread among the Jewish masses by the *Forward-Dubinsky* clique and the reactionary Zionist leaders that the only question is for Israel to keep Jerusalem, thus failing to see and meet the *real* issue and the *real* danger—the danger of Israel becoming a *Wall Street colony and a bridgehead for World War III*. They thus fail to see that if American and British imperialism succeed in their present effort to annul, completely and for-

\* The amendment calling for the abolition of the Conciliation Commission failed of adoption.



inally, the U.N. partition decision, which also provides for U.N. control of Jerusalem, *Jerusalem will not be in the hands of the Jewish people and the whole of Israel will be turned into a Wall Street colony.*

We must help the American Jewish masses to understand that at the present time, in the world situation as it exists, the question before us now is not whether we "should want" or "should not want" Jerusalem to be part of Israel. As we have shown before, this is not the issue facing us. And to make this fact more easily understandable, the following example might prove helpful.

In a different world situation, there would be different issues and different answers. For example, if the national independence of Israel were fully won and firmly secured and if alongside Israel, in the Arab part of Palestine, there existed an independent Arab state whose independence also was firmly secured; and if these two independent states were cooperating with the rest of the peace-loving world to defeat the Anglo-American drive toward a new world war—then there would certainly be no Jerusalem problem of the kind now facing us. The nations and states directly involved, Israel and the Arab state, would undoubtedly settle the Jerusalem problem without much difficulty. Conceivably, such

a settlement would provide for the new city of Jerusalem being part of Israel.

Furthermore, as the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism proceeds, in the Near East and in the rest of the world, the people of Israel could develop the ability to resist effectively Wall Street's penetration and expansion, the ability to fight effectively against Israel's becoming a colony of Wall Street and a base for its war preparations. In that kind of situation, Jerusalem would be a part of a truly independent Israel, willing and able to collaborate with all peace-loving states and peoples to defeat the Anglo-American imperialist attacks upon the national independence of other peoples and upon the peace of the world.

And what is the way to this kind of situation? It is the way of struggle against American and British imperialism. It is the way of struggle for peace. It is the way of collaboration with the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union against the camp of imperialism, reaction and war headed by Wall Street, by American imperialism. It is the way of struggle for the realization of the U.N. partition decision of November 1947 and for settling the present Jerusalem issue on the basis of that decision, as advocated by the Soviet delegation in the United Nations.

### ISRAEL GOVERNMENT IS CAPITULATING TO WALL STREET

The Israel government, headed by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, is exploiting to the full the feelings of the Jewish masses for Jerusalem, to maintain the appearance of being a champion of Israel's independence. In reality, this government, which is Right-wing Social-Democratic and bourgeois nationalist, is seeking "an understanding" with American imperialism—an understanding which spells in practice capitulation to Wall Street.

The Ben-Gurion government is steadily allowing American finance capital to penetrate and conquer Israel's national economy. Under the command of Anglo-American imperialism, this government is participating in the sabotage of the U.N. partition decision of 1947, going as far as declaring (Ben-Gurion, Dec. 5 declaration) that for Israel the partition decision was "null and void." And at this very moment the Israel government, under Wall Street sponsorship and "guidance," is seeking to reach an agreement with Abdullah on Transjordan (read British imperialism) by which Israel accepts the latter's control of the Arab part of Palestine and in return gets Abdullah's acceptance of Israel's control (read Wall Street control) of Jerusalem. (See Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatches in Yiddish daily press, Dec. 12.)

Reporting these negotiations in the *New York Times* on December 11, Gene Curriuan writes:

Another obstacle in the way of immediate peace is Jordan's insistence upon a corridor across the Negeb from Hebron to the sea. This has obvious ramifications. The most important is that it would give a foothold in Israel to Britain by virtue of Britain's treaty with Jordan. But with Israel and Jordan united in their opposition to internationalization, there is a chance that many of what now seem obstacles may vanish in the light of the common goal.

Reporting an agreement between Israel and Jordan on their respective frontiers in mid-Jerusalem, the U.P. writes:

The agreements, on issues which had been hanging fire for months, were viewed by observers as a prelude to more important joint action by the two states as a result of the U.N. resolution, which Hashemite Jordan also has opposed (*New York Herald Tribune*, December 12).

All these reports reveal one of the most serious immediate dangers threatening Israel and the Arab peoples. It is the danger of British imperialism re-entering Palestine, politically and militarily, and of American imperialism, as part of the "bargain," settling down, also politically and militarily, in Israel and especially in Jerusalem. *And the Ben*

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Gurion government, according to all reports, is going in the direction of accepting this "bargain." The imperialist press of the United States, notably the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, is guiding and encouraging Ben-Gurion to do precisely this—to betray Israel's national independence and to capitulate to Wall Street.

Echoing the *Jewish Daily Forward*, Ben-Gurion has the unspeakable audacity to attack the Soviet Union for its loyalty to the partition decision of the U.N. and its proposal to settle the Jerusalem problem on that basis. Speaking in Jerusalem on December 14, Ben Gurion makes the grand gesture of saying that "We are on the threshold of a political struggle without precedent" (*New York Times*, December 15.) And against whom is he fighting? Is it American and British imperialism, which are menacing Israel's very existence as a state? Is he going to fight Britain's attempt to get a "corridor" through Israel? No. With these, the enemies of Israel, he negotiates "peace" and capitulation. But he will fight what he calls the "three powerful forces." He says: "Three powerful forces have joined hands against us—the Arab world, the Catholic world and the Communist world" (*New York Times*, December 15.)

It is nothing less than a Hitler lie to say that the "Communist world" has joined hands with the "Arab world and Catholic world" against

Israel, and Ben Gurion knows it. He also knows that Abdullah, with whom he is about to agree to betray both Israel's independence and the U.N. partition decision, is part of the Arab world. And he also knows that in "cooperating with" American imperialism, he is also cooperating with the reactionary hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. These are facts. And it is also well known that the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church is the worst enemy of the "Communist world" and of the Soviet Union and that there is little sympathy for the Soviet Union among the feudal and reactionary rulers of the Arab states. What then, becomes of Ben Gurion's grand gesture? Nothing but a smoke-screen to hide his policy of capitulation to Wall Street which endangers the freedom and independence of Israel.

The policy of the Soviet delegation in the U.N., as discussed above, is directed precisely toward helping Israel—the people of Israel—to meet that danger. That is the meaning of its amendments to the Australian proposals. That is the meaning of its fight for the realization of the U.N. partition decision by which Israel came into existence. The fact that certain Latin-American countries and Arab states voted for the same proposals as the Soviet delegation on the question of Jerusalem means this: (1) that there exist various contradictions between certain

Arab states and Anglo-American imperialism as well as between the ruling groups of the Arab states themselves; (2) that there exist contradictions between the ruling groups (feudal, bourgeois-nationalist, etc.) of the Arab states and of Israel; (3) that the Vatican is pursuing here some of its special reactionary policies using for this purpose certain Latin-American and other states; (4) that each of these groups, for its own reasons, voted for the same proposal on Jerusalem; and (5) *that the Soviet delegation was successful in making use of all these contradictions to help bring about a majority to defeat the scheme of fake "internationalization" proposed by the Conciliation Commission and to create the basis for settling the Jerusalem issue along the lines of the partition decision of 1947.*

In the face of these known facts, how can one speak of "three forces" having joined hands against Israel as Ben Gurion does, or of the "unholy alliance" as do the *Forward-Dubinsky* clique and the Jewish bourgeois press? The answer is that this is a Hitler lie manufactured for the special purpose (1) of hiding the treachery and betrayal of Israel by the Right Social-Democrats and bourgeois nationalists—in Israel and in the United States; and (2) of helping Wall Street carry forward the incitements against the Soviet Union as part of its preparations to unleash a new world war.

The official Zionist leadership in the United States supports Wall Street's drive against the independence of Israel. It also supports and "encourages" the capitulation policies of the Israel government. Led by Daniel Frisch, president of the Zionist Organization of America, its Executive Committee cabled this sort of "encouragement" to the Israel government. It also said that it was "heartened by the stand of our American government" on the Jerusalem question and is looking to Truman "to lead the movement for the reopening of the Jerusalem issue" in the U.N. (*New York Times*, December 12.) Similar positions were taken by the official leaders of the American Jewish Congress, headed by Rabbi Irving Miller (*Ibid.*).

In taking these reactionary attitudes, the official Zionist leaders express the pro-imperialist, pro-Wall Street orientation of the dominant circles of the Jewish bourgeoisie in the United States. While certain Jewish bourgeois groups in Israel find themselves in conflict with Wall Street's economic and political penetration of Israel, and thus tend to develop certain forms of opposition, the dominant groups of the Jewish bourgeois circles in the United States find themselves in no such conflict. Only the national minded Jewish middle-class groups in the United States come into such conflicts and therefore may develop capacities for supporting in one form or another

certain united-front actions against particular phases of U.S. imperialist policy in Israel.

The main base for such united actions among the American Jews lies in the Jewish workers, and poor middle classes, professional people and intellectuals. And the main approach to the development of such actions must be through the struggle for Israel's freedom and independence, for winning allies and supporters for the people of Israel in their fight for independence, for linking these struggles with the general fight of the American people for peace and against Wall Street's preparations of a new world war.

The development of united actions against American imperialist policy in Israel demands the systematic exposure of the treacheries of the official Zionist leaders and of the reactionary Social-Democrats.

The reactionary Social-Democrats, the *Forward-Dubinsky-Jewish Labor Committee* group—and also the *Potofsky* group, are actively supporting U.S. imperialist and war-making policy and are pressing the trade-union movement in Israel to move faster in the same direction. It is they who are pressing the *Histadruth* (Israel's trade union center) to break formally with the World Federation of Trade Unions and to join the union-splitting labor agents of Anglo-American imperialism who have just formed the so-called "International Confederation of Free

Trade Unions." The main role of this outfit is to split further the ranks of the working class and to help Wall Street destroy the independence of other peoples and to unleash a new world war. The *Forward-Dubinsky* group is now especially active in helping Wall Street turn Israel into a semi-colony of American imperialism.

### CONCLUSION

We said before that the acceptance by the U.N. of the Australian proposal as amended by the Soviet delegation accomplished two things. It prevented the adoption of fake "internationalization," *i.e.*, American imperialist control of Jerusalem. *It created the basis* for settling the Jerusalem problem along the lines of the partition decision of 1947, with *further democratization*. The point to stress here is that only a *basis* was established. The solution itself has yet to come. And here we face great difficulties and dangers, chief among them, the open sabotage by Anglo-American imperialism and its collaborators, the governments of Israel and Jordan.

The danger is imminent of a so-called agreement between Israel and Jordan which will re-establish British imperialism in Palestine and will expand Wall Street domination over Israel so as to turn the new state into a virtual colony. And there is also the danger of Anglo-American

imperialism succeeding in creating such a situation in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations as will make impossible the carrying out of the last decision of the General Assembly. Reports are circulating that an attempt is already being made to exclude the Soviet delegation from participating in the solution of the Jerusalem problem. Should this happen, it would be only a first step toward subverting the Jerusalem decision of the General Assembly in order to enable Anglo-American imperialism to carry through its conspiracy against Israel and against the Arab part of Palestine.

Consequently, we must concentrate on exposing the full menace of the latest moves of American imperialism to secure control of Jerusalem and to turn Israel into a semi-colony; we must demonstrate the full menace of British imperialist domination of an enlarged Transjordan, and of the virtual nullification of the U.N. partition decision of November 1947. We must seek to bring about united-front actions and movements under the following slogans:

Combat and defeat all plans for putting the control of Jerusalem in the hands of American imperialism and its allies.

Save Jerusalem from becoming a military and political center for American and British imperialism to prepare and unleash a new world war.

Save Israel from becoming a Wall Street semi-colony; help the masses of Israel to defend the national independence and freedom of their country.

Prevent British imperialism from coming back to Palestine through an agreement between Israel and Jordan giving Abdullah the Arab part of Palestine.

Support the line of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations which calls for the realization of the U.N. partition decision of 1947, the establishment of an independent Arab state in the Arab part of Palestine with economic unity with Israel, the control of Jerusalem by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations on a democratic basis, and the abolition of the "Conciliation Commission," which is an instrument of American imperialism.

We should be ready to join in and support all united-front mass struggles directed against U.S. imperialist schemes for control of Jerusalem in whatever form, and against all British schemes, especially the Transjordan-Palestine grab. At the same time the Party and its press should proceed to win support of the masses for the line of policy proposed by the Soviet delegation—the solution of the Jerusalem issue on the basis of realizing the U.N. partition decision of 1947. We will expose systematically the compromising, capitulating and pro-imperialist line of the official Zionist leadership

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and of the Ben-Gurion government. We shall especially concentrate on exposing and combatting the treacherous and pro-war position of the Social-Democratic leaders.

The situation demands mass actions directed to Truman, Acheson and to the forthcoming new session of Congress condemning present U.S. policy in Israel and in the Near East as dictated by the oil monopolies and the strategists of a new world war. These actions should demand of Truman and the State Department to work for the implementation of the U.N. partition de-

cision, voted for also by the American delegation, and to collaborate with the Soviet delegation to that end. These actions should also demand that the President and the State Department seek a Jerusalem solution on the basis of the U.N. partition decision and in cooperation with the Soviet government.

The struggle around the Jerusalem issue is a major fight for peace and national independence in the Near East. It must therefore be waged as an organic part of the general struggle for peace by the masses of the American people.

# Devaluation—Colonization Instrument of U. S. Capital

by Martin Miller

ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1949, the British pound was reduced in value from \$4.03 to \$2.80. Simultaneously, or within the remainder of the month, the currencies of most important capitalist countries were reduced in value, in some cases by the same ratio as the British currency, in other cases, by lesser ratios. Other countries joined the list during October and November. In all, some thirty independent countries and almost all the colonies, with a combined population of a billion people, were swept into the wave of devaluations.

The recent currency devaluations are the most comprehensive ever to occur at a single time. Their effects will be profound and long-lasting. Devaluation is a reduction in the gold content of a unit of currency and, at the same time, an increase in the price of gold in terms of that currency. Historically, currencies are reduced in value when the gold backing becomes inadequate, so that capitalists will not pay the former nominal price for the currency in question. Because of the wide scope of the September wave of currency devaluations, it amounted in effect to an

increase in the price of the dollar, and hence of American goods, in relation to the prices of most other capitalist currencies. It has resulted in a cheapening of the dollar prices of goods produced in other capitalist countries, and an increase in the prices of U. S. goods, when these prices are expressed in the devalued currencies.

The sharpness of the devaluation and the fact that it embraces almost the entire capitalist world are reflections of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, which results in the profound sharpening of all capitalist contradictions.

The Second World War has dealt a powerful blow to imperialism, greatly narrowing the capitalist sector, and has resulted in the further growth and strengthening of the Socialist sector. The Soviet Union, which shouldered the main brunt of the fighting in the war, has emerged more powerful than ever, morally, economically, militarily. In Eastern Europe, a whole number of countries, the People's Democracies, have broken away from imperialism and are building a Socialist society. The

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great successes of the Chinese people's revolution are producing a further enormous contraction of the imperialist world. And in the capitalist world, only U.S. imperialism, itself beset by mounting contradictions and by a developing cyclical crisis of over-production at home, emerged from the war relatively stronger than it was in 1941.

All this could only result in the immense sharpening of all the inner and outer contradictions of imperialism: between the camp of imperialism, reaction and war and the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism; between capital and labor in the capitalist countries; between the imperialist countries and the colonial and dependent countries; and between and among the various imperialist powers.

Most directly, the recent wave of devaluations reflects the current drastic operation of Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism in the imperialist epoch. Wall Street imperialism, fattened on enormous war profits and possessing a productive capacity double that of 1940—within the framework of the devastation of the West European capitalist countries, including Britain, and the extreme impoverishment of the colonial masses—finds itself facing a sharply aggravated market problem. The shrinking of markets is further aggravated by the Marshall Plan drain on the productive resources and gold reserves of

the Marshallized countries, and by the trade boycott directed against the U.S.S.R., the Eastern European People's Democracies, and now China.

Thus, the extent and depth of the recent wave of currency devaluations, unparalleled in the history of capitalism, reflect, on the one hand, the drive of U.S. imperialism for world domination in the context of a narrowing capitalist sector and a market problem of growing severity, and, on the other, the growing economic decline of the Marshallized countries and the whole capitalist world and their growing dependence on U.S. imperialism.

The devaluations result from the interaction of worsening conditions on both sides of the Atlantic, with the main partners in the Anglo-American bloc both caught in the sharpening general crisis of capitalism. This general crisis, including the conflicts among the imperialist powers, will not be eased, but will be further intensified as a result of the currency devaluations.

Devaluation of the pound in 1949, as in 1931, was the "normal" capitalist expression of the increased relative backwardness of British industry in relation to American industry; the monetary reflection of a widening chasm in physical productivity. But even when conditions are ripe for a monetary change, it requires a decision to take that action, or al-

ternatively, to seek other means of adjustment.

In 1931 the decision was made by the British capitalists, who used devaluation of the pound as an instrument of trade warfare against American capitalists, in order to increase their profits at the expense of the British working class, and in order to displace American goods on world markets. It was successful in these objectives to a certain extent.

In 1949 the decision was not made by British capitalists, but by American capitalists.

The recent currency devaluations were forced by direct pressure of United States capitalists and the United States Government. In their primary aspect, they aim at the cheapening of the assets and current production of other capitalist countries, at the enrichment of the giant American trusts which deal with these countries, at the accelerated redivision of the imperialist world to the advantage of American corporations. The devaluations aim at increasing the dependence of Marshallized countries on the United States; at strengthening reaction in these countries; at extending political and military domination over these countries; at forestalling possible attempts by the peoples of Europe to break away from the Marshall Plan, to escape the grip of the dollar through cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The currency devaluations are leading to the reduction of the real

wages of the workers in the countries affected. They are leading to an increased national impoverishment of these countries. The effect of these currency devaluations on the American working class and on the American people is very damaging. The devaluations are intensifying and speeding up the factors at work in the developing economic crisis. They will, therefore, result in the impoverishment of the American working class, of American farmers, and, indeed, will have adverse effects on most capitalist elements, except for the handful of magnates of the giant trusts who planned the devaluations for their own expansionists aims. Coupled with the devaluation is a renewed attempt of reaction to expand military preparations.

However, the results of the currency devaluations will not be altogether as planned by its authors. It will lead to worse economic problems, will set in motion new forces of opposition, here and abroad. It will lead to acceleration of the pressure of the peoples, in the face of threatening economic disasters, for extension of commercial and political relations between various capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia, on the other. Those who seek to dominate the globe will find themselves isolated from ever-larger portions of it. Thus, the victory of Wall Street in forcing its rivals to devalue will prove to be a hollow victory.

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## EFFECT OF CURRENCY DEVALUATIONS IN ENGLAND

### I. WALL STREET TECHNIQUES IN FORCING DEVALUATIONS

U.S. finance capital forced the devaluation of the pound in much the same way as big banks forced "runs" on their rivals and the closing of weaker banks in earlier American crises.

Marshall Plan objectives have openly included the general goal of bringing about currency devaluations in European countries, as one of the ways to bring down "costs"—*i.e.*, real wages; and as a step in preparing for the ending of restrictions on trade and currency transactions — *i.e.*, for the ending of all barriers to penetration by U.S. capital.

The run-on-the-bank method was used successfully against France in the winter of 1947-48. The American press and financial circles started rumors about an impending devaluation of French currency. A State Department report issued in December 1947 publicly advocated devaluation of the franc. Foreign buyers of French goods all withheld their orders, awaiting the lower prices that would follow devaluation. During the first two months of 1948, French exports dropped to less than one-fourth of normal. By the end of February, France had to devalue. There immediately followed a sharp rise in French living costs, a reduction in real wages, simultaneous with

the accelerated inflow of U.S. capital. The French balance of payments with the dollar was only slightly relieved, and that advantage was soon nullified as the sharp drop in U.S. production and economic activity generally that set in during the autumn of 1948 led to a new decline in French exports during 1949. So France again had to devalue following the recent British move.

The "run on the British bank" was begun in the early spring of 1949, with the same technique of published rumors and official hints. This run on the pound, combined with the business drop in the United States, led to a drop of one-third, and then one-half, in British exports to the United States and to smaller declines in exports to other Western Hemisphere countries. This inspired withholding of orders, as well as "natural" economic conditions, caused the severe drain on British gold holdings which began in the second quarter of 1949. Conditions became worse during the summer; and according to some reports, as early as July the British promised the Marshall Plan representative in Europe, Harriman, and Secretary of Treasury Snyder that they would devalue, withholding the announcement until September for tactical reasons.

### II. BRITISH POLICY CHOICE

Events this year proved that the British people do not have to yield

to United States pressure. They have genuine alternatives. Some months before devaluation, the British Government took a number of steps responding in slight measure to popular resentment against the Marshall Plan and reflecting growing Anglo-American imperialist contradictions, namely: extension of the scope of trade with the U.S.S.R. and Poland, conclusion of a barter trade agreement with Argentina to the exclusion of United States goods, and imposition of restriction on imports from the United States. It is important to note that these limited measures resulted in a certain increase in meat and butter rations for the British workers.

United States pressure could have been defeated by carrying this course to its logical conclusion. But this would require, in domestic affairs as well as foreign, a policy determined by the needs of the British people rather than by the predatory imperialist rulers, in whose behalf Social-Democracy is in government. For example, the benefit to Britain of the trade deal with Argentina was partly vitiated by the action of the British oil companies. The deal provided a virtual monopoly of British oil in Argentina. But the Anglo-Dutch oil trust, in accord with its private arrangements with the American trusts, agreed to cut the American companies back into their "normal" share of the Argentine business. Government trade deals cannot work out while private trusts run the great

industries. Again, the maximum development of supply of raw materials from under-developed countries requires the liberation of these countries and aid to them in development, not on a basis of exploitation, but on a basis of equality.

Finally, the maximum development of trade with the Socialist countries requires an ending of export restrictions imposed in Wall Street, an ending of the cold-war policy of the Anglo-American anti-Soviet alliance.

The British imperialists could not accept the implications of such an alternative. The British people did not exert sufficient pressure. Hence, the course of capitulation triumphed. It is significant that Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps, at the conclusion of the Anglo-American-Canadian financial talks in Washington, boasted that these were designed to enable Britain to play her full part in the cold war.

### III. BRITISH DOLLAR PROBLEM WILL REMAIN ACUTE

In return for devaluation and other concessions granted at the Washington conference in September, the United States promised to aid the United Kingdom in balancing its accounts mainly through increased British exports to the United States and other dollar countries. The practical "assistance" resulting from this agreement and from the related devaluation of the pound was limited to:

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1. Permission to the British to use Marshall Plan funds to buy wheat in Canada;

2. Relaxation of the requirement for use of synthetic rubber in the United States, which increases by 10 per cent the potential market for Malayan rubber; and

3. Indications that the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund will release some \$300,000,000 to aid the British in making a short-term balance.

These concessions are trivial and temporary in relation to the magnitude and duration of the problem. This is admitted in all U.S. financial publications. For example, the *Guaranty Survey* of the Guaranty Trust Company, published at the end of September, states that the Washington decisions "would have little effect on the immediate crisis as reflected in the growing dollar 'gap' and in the accelerated drain of sterling-area gold and dollar reserves and would not lessen the eventual need for more basic steps to correct the existing disequilibrium in foreign trade."

Thus it is that hardly before the ink has dried on the U.S.-forced British devaluations, Wall Street raises the alarm that this is not enough, indicating that new measures would soon be cooked up to make British imperialism even more subservient to American finance capital. The U.S. imperialists are particularly "laying down the law" for a tighter squeeze on the British

workers. For example, while the *Guaranty Survey* regards the devaluations as "constructive economic steps," it goes on to say that "devaluation is not an adequate substitute for necessary changes in financial and economic policies, such as increased productivity [read: speed-up]. . . ."

Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, President of the World Bank, Eugene R. Black, and Marshall Plan Administrator Hoffman and his European deputy Harriman, united in a chorus of warnings to the British to cut social services, forbid increases in money wages to match the increased cost of living caused by devaluation, and above all to speed-up British labor. Hoffman promises the British that by these methods the British can multiply their exports to the United States to \$2.5 billion per year, and thus ultimately solve their "dollar problem."

We have the disgraceful spectacle of the American imperialists sitting at the circus and shouting at the scrawny British lion to eat more rapidly the workers thrown to it—and Cripps performing bite by bite, while denying that he plans to make the next bite until the previous one is digested.

American factories are flooded by European teams sent here with Marshall Plan money to learn the latest speed-up methods. Prices in England have already increased, while the Government and the obedient top trade-union bureaucrats adhere

rigidly to the wage-freeze. The Government health program and the level of home-building have already been cut in Cripps' first round of post-devaluation "economies."

These attacks on British labor are combined with reckless profiteering on the part of speculative elements who made killings in British stocks as a result of devaluation, producing a bitterness and will to resist among British labor which promises to become a major factor in future developments in that country.

In any case, the urgings of Hoffman and Cripps to British workers and capitalists to export to the United States are sheer hypocrisy. The financial press in the United States admits that there is no possibility of a major increase in exports to this country; that no matter how much British workers' standards are cut, only limited increases in exports to the U.S. are possible. A nationwide survey by the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce during November showed that two months after the devaluations importers had not stepped up their purchases of British and other European goods, but in some cases were still holding up orders while waiting for prices to "settle down."

The actual fact is that only a slight temporary increase in such trade is possible, as orders cancelled while awaiting devaluation are restored. This will inevitably be followed by a new *decline* in British exports to the United States, as the

grip of the economic crisis in this country tightens. The post-devaluation trickle of gold back to London cannot last, but will be followed by new strains on British reserves.

Cripps announced as a great triumph a 35 per cent *increase in the sterling value* of British exports to the United States in October. But European capitalists were quick to note that this meant a *reduction in the dollar value* of British exports to the United States. British and continental capitalists drew the logical conclusions from this, and their resulting actions on the financial markets show that devaluation has already proved a failure in solving the British "dollar problem."

Devaluation was followed, not by a burst of confidence in London, but by a collapse of the prices of "gilt-edged" Government securities, and by European rumors that the British Government is considering partial sterling default on its national debt, beyond the actual partial default involved in devaluation. Two months after devaluation of the pound, the cheapened currency was already selling at discounts of from 7-15 per cent below the reduced official value in various European capitals.

The Paris office of the *New York Times* reported on November 20:

If the pound had not just been devalued, certain experts comment, one would almost think a devaluation was about to take place.

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Washington appraisals of the results of devaluation on British finances are no more optimistic, as exemplified by the worry of the *New York Herald Tribune* columnists, the Alsop brothers, over

the imminent threat of British financial collapse, which has by no means been removed by devaluation of the pound, and which would surely be followed by a general economic collapse all over the Continent (November 23, 1949).

#### IV. SHARPENING OF ANGLO-U.S. CONFLICT

The devaluation victory of Wall Street will not bring about an Anglo-American honeymoon. The British capitalists are glad to get what extra profits they can out of it. The British Tories are glad to use it to try to regain Governmental power from the Laborites.

But the devaluation solves no basic problems for the British capitalists. Whatever temporary relief that may follow is more than offset by the weakening of Britain's economic strength. As a result of devaluation Britain has to sell more goods to dollar areas in order to buy the same amount as before. This means the national impoverishment of the United Kingdom. It means a worsening of the terms of trade for Britain, it means that the pressure of payment for dollar imports will become more difficult to meet.

Thus, the British monopolists are

driven more and more to an intensification of economic warfare against American capitalists, and to maneuverings for their own interests within the framework of the Anglo-American cold war against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Since devaluation, this has already become evident in the economic field by the conclusion of a trade agreement between England and Czechoslovakia, by British attempts to break the United States blockade of China. Even the new British trade agreement with Yugoslavia, despite its anti-Soviet aspects, represents an element of conflict with the United States. It is the attempt of British finance capital to move more swiftly than American capitalists in getting the most profit out of the exploitation of the Yugoslav people made possible by the Titoite treachery.

In Latin America, and in the continental Marshall Plan countries, as well as in the sterling countries, England will engage in a bitter trade war with American capitalists, and seek to make exclusive trading deals which the Americans are trying through the Marshall Plan to prevent.

The necessity of increased trade with anti-imperialist countries is already affecting British diplomacy, as is indicated by the reported British intention to recognize the People's Government of China.

British progressive forces are linking the struggle against their im-

poverishment following devaluation with the struggle to end the cold war. The gathering momentum of this struggle is indicated by the signing by several score Labor Party members of Parliament of a petition for a Truman, Attlee, Stalin meeting.

#### EFFECT OF CURRENCY DEVALUATION ON THE UNITED STATES

##### I. HISTORY OF THE 1931 DEVALUATIONS

In September 1931 the British and other sterling bloc currencies were devalued. There are considerable differences between the background of that series of devaluations and those which occurred last September. However, some of the effects will be similar, especially the effects on the economy of the United States.

The 1931 devaluations occurred after two years of the great economic crisis. In part they represented a desperate attempt of British capitalists to stem the crisis, and to restore their shattered international trade at the expense of the United States—and to a lesser extent at the expense of France and Germany.

That attempt met with partial success. For a few months internal prices and production in the United Kingdom turned upwards. Further deterioration in the cheapened British exports was halted. While world markets continued to contract, the

British obtained a larger share of what was left.

The effects on the United States were catastrophic. The decline in dollar prices of international raw materials caused by the sterling devaluation accelerated the decline in basic commodity prices in the United States. The remnants of U.S. export markets almost completely collapsed. Factory shutdowns and layoffs became more numerous. The index of industrial production, which had declined 20 per cent per year before devaluation, fell at the rate of 30 per cent per year thereafter. The worst period of farm foreclosures, business failures and bank closings followed. Finally, in 1933, all banks were closed down and the almighty dollar itself was devalued.

##### II. ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE DEVALUATIONS

An economic crisis of overproduction began to develop in the United States late in 1948. During the summer months of 1949 there occurred a slight revival in certain fields of activity. This revival had no cyclical significance, was similar to short-lived revivals in certain fields which occurred several times during the sweep of the great crisis of 1929-33. However, owing to special props to the economy today, it was possible that it could last for a few months longer.

By September 1949 many symptoms of a new downward turn were



appearing. The revival failed to bring forward new projects for capital investment. On the contrary, Government figures released late in September showed that capital expenditures were falling more rapidly than had previously been expected. Business firms now expected to spend for plant and equipment 21 per cent less during the fourth quarter of 1949 than during the same months of 1948. It became known in September that exports, which had been stable for 18 months, dropped sharply in July.

Of important economic props, only the construction industry remained strong; but with the rapid weakening in industrial investments, this alone could not prevent a new downturn, although the timing of that turn could not be ascertained at the time of this writing.

The foreign currency devaluations serve as the activating agent, which bring out the unfavorable underlying conditions. They are hastening the coming of a new phase of downturn more severe than the one that began in the last months of 1948.

The Administration and the corporations are resorting to desperate maneuvers in order to cover up the rotten economic situation and to delay the full impact of devaluation in the next, downward phase of the economic crisis.

One method is the reckless spending of Government money. Through a burst of last minute appropri-

tions by Congress, and by virtue of administrative decisions, a budget deficit of over five billion dollars has been assured for the present fiscal year. According to the magazine *U.S. News and World Report*, the annual rate of cash spending by the Federal budget will jump from \$42 billion in the fall of 1949 to \$51 billion in the spring of 1950, practically none of the budget increases resulting from reform measures promised by Truman under the "Fair Deal."

Then the prolonged strikes in the steel and coal industries have had a fortunate outcome for the heavy industry magnates. For a number of months these monopolists will be able to operate at a profitably high rate of activity, and even in some cases to raise prices, while they make up the shortages resulting from the strikes. The Government officials and newspaper owners who wailed that strikes would ruin the economy are now gloating over this peculiar post-strike "recovery," which is particularly sweet to the steel corporations, since they were not compelled to grant serious concessions to the workers.

The temporary government splurges and the post-strike "rebound" may keep the production index from dropping for a period. But some of the important results of devaluation are already apparent, results that are ominous for the future.

### III. EFFECT ON COMMODITY PRICES AND BUSINESS ACTIVITY

Within a week after the devaluation of the pound, dollar prices of the principal commodities imported from the sterling area, rubber, tin, wool, cocoa, etc., dropped 5-10 per cent. This had immediate repercussions on the general commodity market. Pork prices broke sharply; lead and zinc prices, which had recovered some of their earlier losses during the summer, started downward again. Prices of chemical and medicinal raw materials were reduced.

The wholesale commodity price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics started downward immediately after the devaluation and by the end of October had already lost all of its late summer gain. With lower prices in prospect, business buying is slackening. During August, with some prices moving upward, users hastened to build up their stocks. Now that process is being reversed, although irregularly and not yet on a large scale.

### IV. EFFECT ON FOREIGN TRADE

United States exports dropped 20 per cent in the third quarter of 1949. This drop resulted from the same conditions of European dollar crisis which forced the currency devaluations. The currency devaluations "freeze" exports at this reduced rate,

and insure a further decline in the future.

The *Journal of Commerce* for September 26, 1949, carries the headline "Top U.S. Aides See Drastic Cut in Exports." The article begins: "High United States officials expect the world-wide series of currency devaluations to raise hob with American export trade."

In countries with devalued currencies, local prices of U.S. goods are automatically increased by as much as 44 per cent. Even with higher profits, British capitalists, for example, will be unable to afford as many American goods as before. In all countries, including those which have not devalued, United States goods will be more expensive than goods of countries that have devalued.

The beginnings of a new slump in exports could be seen immediately. Latin-American buyers temporarily stopped all purchases in the U.S., while awaiting action on currency by their governments. Malayan and Indian orders for U.S. machinery were suspended, while purchasers took renewed interest in British products cheapened by devaluation. South African buyers reduced orders in proportion to the scale of the currency devaluation.

The *Journal of Commerce* article previously quoted says:

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United States producers, will be redirected to manufacturers in European countries.

Says one high official, who has long been pressing for new exchange rates:

With a \$2.80 pound there will not be one-tenth of the incentive that there was with a \$4.03 pound to buy in the United States. Europeans thought the United States was the only source for many goods because the price level was attractive. Now they'll remember that there are a great many other areas in the world where they can get these goods.

Exports will necessarily fall to all major areas, except to the anti-imperialist countries, which have not devalued. All commodity groups will share in the decline. According to trade reports, the most severe cuts in exports are expected in textiles and chemicals.

However, exports will not promptly fall to such low levels as prevailed during the 1930's. The Marshall Plan, the Military Aid Program, and similar interventionist programs guarantee several billions of exports. United States imports will finance several billions more—for which a normal commercial demand will probably remain. The Government and the capitalists will attempt in various ways to check the fall in exports. For example, more dollars will be issued through the International Monetary Fund. Attempts to force foreign countries to reduce their controls which curb

imports from the United States are being intensified. American monopoly capitalists will attempt to meet the intensified competition in world markets by cutting export prices below domestic, while maintaining or increasing prices to American consumers. The battle for exports will be added as another form of pressure on American workers to speed them up on the job.

Despite these efforts to counteract the effects of the devaluation, it appears inevitable that United States exports during the first half of 1950 will fall below the level of the first half of 1949 by one-fourth to one-third, adding hundreds of thousands of American workers to the ranks of the unemployed.

Imports will continue to decline with the deepening of the economic crisis. However, there will be an increase in imports of certain products, such as British textiles and various cheap Japanese and German products. More units will be imported for fewer dollars. The dollar deficits of the European countries will not be relieved, but jobs will be lost in American consumer goods industries. Many American workers will become unemployed because of the import of commodities diverted from the consumption of European workers impoverished by the Marshall Plan and its currency manipulations.

Thus, American workers are to join European workers as the victims

of devaluation in the whipsaw of profiteering by monopoly capital on both sides of the ocean. The ultimate logic of this process is shown by the rumors of an impending increase in the United States price of gold (*i.e.*, devaluation of the dollar) which swept world financial centers within two months of the September devaluations. Just as devaluation of the pound in 1931 was followed by devaluation of the dollar in 1933, so will devaluation of the pound in 1949 lead to increased pressure on the dollar in the coming years.

Through its own actions, American finance capital has thus weakened its position in world markets. Ultimately it will try to regain that position by putting over a dollar devaluation, by cheapening the price of American goods at the expense of the real wages of the American working class and of the savings of the American petty bourgeoisie. In the face of these pressures, Truman's promise not to devalue the dollar has no more value than Cripps' repeated promises not to devalue the pound.

#### V. DANGER TO FARMERS

The currency devaluations bring closer at hand an acute crisis in American agriculture.

For the past several years the Marshall Plan and similar programs have absorbed a substantial part of the mounting farm surpluses. Now this possibility is curtailed. Currency de-

valuations will accentuate the swing away from the United States as a source of farm products and foods. The perspective is for the loss over the next two or three years of almost all of the wartime and postwar gains in foreign markets for United States farm products.

In addition, Government manipulations cannot wholly insulate American farm prices from the impact of lower world dollar prices resulting from devaluation. Prior to the devaluation, a catastrophic drop in farm prices and the outbreak of a severe agrarian crisis were forestalled by the use of massive price supports combined with Government stocking, dumping and destruction of surpluses. Farm prices and incomes declined, but not disastrously. Farm prices remained above parity and the volume sold held at one-third above prewar. To accomplish this result the Government spent \$3½ billion on various price support activities during the past fiscal year. By the end of the year \$2.3 billion were still tied up and the Government had sustained a loss of \$0.6 billion on crops which had been sold below cost or destroyed.

Partly because of foreign devaluations, the drain of sustaining supports at the same level would now be multiplied—an intolerable burden on a budget containing \$21 billion for war preparations.

Devaluation made it certain that price support basis would be curtailed. The last-minute action of

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Congress in continuing 90 per cent supports on "basic" crops for another year does not alter this fact. In December 1949, farm prices fell below parity for the first time since the United States entered the Second World War. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics admits that prices received by farmers will be off 10 per cent next year, and that net farm income will be off by 15 per cent on top of a similar drop this year. Moreover, these official figures do not take into account the effect on farm income of the forced crop curtailment which Congress imposed as a condition of continued price supports.

Next year the old price scissors of the industrial monopolies will again swing into action against the farmers. The scissors will cut more slowly, but no less surely, because of the billions in price supports designed mainly to permit processors to maintain the prices charged urban consumers.

#### VI. END OF FALSE OPTIMISM

The ripening of a new downturn has pretty much dried up the flow of chatter about "recovery" coming from Government and private sources during the summer. This is especially true since the currency devaluations, which were widely recognized as a "deflationary" factor in the United States.

A few days before the devaluation

was announced, but when it was already expected, the *Journal of Commerce* reported:

A few business economists built a strong case for a continuation of the upward tendencies. But the most felt that the present upswing may soon end.

A particularly pessimistic appraisal on the part of Rufus Tucker, economist for the General Motors Corporation, was reported in the same article.

After devaluation almost all capitalist observers expected at least a temporary downturn to result.

The *New York Times* on September 25 reported:

Devaluation of currencies by twenty-four nations last week is certain to have a deflationary impact upon the domestic economy of the United States, according to financial observers.

With the steel strike, the tune shifted as Government and employers joined in an unscrupulous attempt to blame the impending decline on labor. Now that the strikes are over President Truman has tried to generate a new wave of optimism based on post-strike demand. But the financial press shows a general awareness of the transitory character of this demand, and of the ultimate unfavorable impact of currency devaluations, which will take some time to hit with full force. New Year's forecasts are almost unanimous in expecting a further rise

in unemployment during 1950, and a renewed drop in production when output lost during the steel strike is made up.

All of the desperate maneuvers of finance capital, in domestic and foreign policy, to inject new stimuli into the economy, are adding to the ultimate length and severity of the crisis; and American labor, as well as workers in other countries, are the main victims.

#### VII. MOTIVES FOR FORCING DEVALUATION

In view of the harmful effects of the European devaluations on the United States economy, why did American finance capital force these devaluations?

These international monopolies are no more concerned with our national welfare than their British counterparts are concerned with British national interests. The effects of devaluation are injurious to American labor, farmers, and even to most capitalists. But the handful of great corporations with far-flung empires hope to profit from it.

They will increase their profits at the expense of those foreign workers they already exploit, and whose wages are cut through devaluation. More important, they plan to use devaluation as a wedge to step up their penetration of other countries, to increase the scale of their overseas activities. Foreign properties are automatically cheapened, in terms

of dollars, by devaluation. Hence, they can be purchased at lower cost. In addition, the weakening of competing imperialisms makes them more amenable to relaxation of the bars which they have against United States capital penetration in their choicest colonial possessions. In this way American finance capital hopes to solve its internal problems by increased export of capital, especially in the British Empire.

It is no accident that after the Anglo-American-Canadian financial conference in Washington, the communiqué listed first among actions to be taken the acceleration of the United States capital investments in the British dependent areas.

After discussing the desirability of such investments, the joint communiqué says:

In order to initiate this work, the President's Committee for Financing Foreign Trade will be asked immediately to explore possible lines of action in cooperation with corresponding groups of British and Canadian financial and business representatives.

The American capitalists will sit down with the British and discuss the redivision of the colonial loot.

One aspect is of particular significance. The communiqué speaks of the 3½ billion pounds sterling balances held by India, Australia, and other countries as a result of materials supplied Britain during World War II and not paid for at the time.

The British have blocked that sterling and do not permit the countries in question to convert it into dollars for purchases in the United States. American capitalists for several years have attempted to force the British to release those funds for expenditure here, although the brief experiment at sterling convertibility in 1947 proved quite disastrous to the British. Now a new tack is indicated by the communiqué, which says:

This whole problem in its various aspects, including the necessity to provide capital goods for development, was discussed in a preliminary way. . . .

This vague language was clarified a month later when Indian Prime Minister Nehru arrived in Washington with invitations to American finance capital to enter India. His visit was linked with press reports that the U.S. Government plans to take over the British sterling debt, in return for cession to American capitalists of British investments in underdeveloped countries, including colonies. Obviously, such a deal would be a tremendous coup for American finance capital, at the expense of the American people who would have to pay off the debt, as well as at the expense of the British imperialists.

Of course, this would all be dressed up in the mantle of Truman's Point 4 program for "developing backward areas." According to the column-

ists Rob. F. Hall and I. F. Stone, the first deal of this type will be made over Malaya, where the United States will take over the "burden" of crushing the national liberation movement, *a la* Greece, but with far richer loot at stake.

The freshly devalued colonial properties of the French imperialists are also targets. Shortly after the September devaluations, a joint committee of French and American bankers was formed to facilitate the invasion of the French colonies by American finance capital.

Already the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are bearing the brunt of the currency devaluations. Now the native bourgeois in these countries can more cheaply be bought out by imperialist financiers. The huge sterling balances of India, Egypt, etc., a debt on which the British imperialists have made no substantial payment, are automatically reduced in purchasing power. The workers and peasants of the colonies and semi-colonial countries are being subjected to increased exploitation.

The European plantation and mine owners are trying to squeeze out of the miserable earnings of the native peoples extra profits to compensate for the cheapening of their money, and of their raw materials on world markets. The resistance of the colonial peoples is rising, not only in Malaya and throughout the Far East, but also in Africa.

Point Four, and Anglo-American

financial negotiations, aim to perpetuate such super-exploitation of the African peoples. "Our own" corporations are anxious to take over part of the holdings of Rand Mines and Unilever, while concentrating in Africa British troops withdrawn from Greece and other areas to do the assassin's work.

In addition to economic gains, U.S. finance capital hopes to use the currency devaluations to bolster reaction in the capitalist world. The devaluation of the franc in 1948 was followed by impoverishment of the French working class, demoralization of the petty bourgeoisie and a swing to the Right in French governing circles. The weakened French government became more subservient to Washington dictation on such issues as American-sponsored remilitarization of Germany.

Now the aim is to strengthen reaction above all in England; and through national impoverishment of England, to reduce her ability to maneuver away from domination by the dollar in matters economic, military and diplomatic.

But the American monopolists are doomed to failure. It is already clear that devaluation has not eliminated the basic obstacles to massive export of United States capital. The resistance of the people not only has not diminished, but is spreading. The devaluations have not changed the perspective of an economic crisis of the entire capitalist world, which

would upset most plans for foreign capital investments.

This is not to say that United States investments will not be stepped up in certain areas as a result of devaluation. But these gains will be limited and temporary, with the constant threat of larger losses to follow. When they look at the results of their handiwork, the chieftains of finance capital are seized with hesitation and doubts.

Thus, the *New York Times* of October 2, 1949, reported that:

. . . World currency devaluations of the last fortnight have seriously impeded the flow of so-called venture capital to investment fields abroad, according to promoters of such enterprises. . .

According to investment houses it will be some months before the shock of the devaluations wears off and normal investment interest is again restored.

And the National Foreign Trade Council announced that devaluations are just a preparatory step for capital exports, that Wall Street must have from every country unequal treaties guaranteeing the sanctity and profits of American capitalists, such as those in effect with Italy, the Philippines, and Kuomintang China. But the fate of the Chinese treaty with the U.S., denounced by the People's Government, is a warning that sell-outs by puppet governments are no real guarantee of the "security" of U.S. finance capital's foreign holdings today.

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## VIII. INTENSIFIED MILITARY INTERVENTION

The potential profits of the forced devaluations will not be realized without guns and tanks and airplanes to "stabilize" the conquered positions. Thus, Truman made his announcement of a Soviet atomic explosion just a few days after the devaluation announcement. The timing was probably not a coincidence. The connection is well explained by the editorial in the *Journal of Commerce* for September 26, 1949:

The atomic explosion in Russia does not mean that the American economy is likely to lose its present cold war prop in the near future.

Far-reaching and immediate as the ramifications of this event will be on the political front, this is definitely not the time to relax military preparedness and our program to strengthen our allies in Western Europe.

Our military and foreign aid programs may even have to be tightened up further for some time to come. . . .

That is why American business is not likely to lose the \$20 billion annual prop of defense and foreign aid expenditures soon.

Defense and foreign aid together now represent approximately 10 per cent of our total annual national product. Economists have long wondered whether the economy could take any sharp cut in these expenditures without suffering a more serious deflationary setback than the one that started late last year. . . .

Economists might as well stop worry-

ing about the likely repercussions of any sharp cut in Government expenditures for a while. There is virtually no prospect for any sharp reduction in military and foreign aid outlays for several years at least.

Russia will, of course, try to utilize any refusal on our part to accept her atomic policy proposals without the establishment of foolproof international control of atomic weapons for propaganda purposes of her own.

That will complicate our policy abroad and possibly at home also.

It is important to offset this Russian propaganda drive. The most effective weapon for this purpose is to stress, and keep on stressing, the position we have taken with respect to the present wave of foreign currency devaluations.

It is a fact that this is the first time in economic history that one nation has deliberately promoted a policy that can only have an adverse effect upon its own economy. What we have told the world by not only standing pat, but openly encouraging devaluation all around us, is that we are willing to sacrifice part of our export markets in order to strengthen the economies of those nations which are allied with us in the drive of containing the spread of communism.

That is a real sacrifice. Let us be sure that our friends do not forget it when the new Russian "peace offensive" starts.

We have already seen what the so-called "sacrifice" amounts to: increased penetration by U.S. capital, buying up enterprises and raw-material resources at bargain prices, further political subordination of the

Marshallized countries and the colonies by Wall Street, etc., etc. What this mouthpiece of finance capital lays bare is the utterly Machiavellian character of Wall Street's and the Administration's policy. But this scheme will not work—not only because of the increased popular resistance to lowered living standards abroad, but also because of the sharpening of Anglo-American conflicts.

These coinciding counter-forces, and the developing economic crisis, are helping lay the basis for the eventual collapse of the expansionist plans of U.S. finance capital. The repercussions of Wall Street's arch-imperialist policies are sharpening all of the contradictions surrounding the American imperialists.

Their plans will end up in far more serious difficulties for themselves and for the European imperialists trying to salvage part of their position by ceding the other part to their U.S. rivals.

But this does not mean that American workers can afford to sit back and wait for the foreign policy of finance capital to collapse in failure. The more the efforts of the imperialists are checked, it should be clear, the more will the monopolists seek desperate and adventurous ways out, above all by intensifying plotting and preparations for a new world war.

Therefore, in the last analysis the issues posed by the currency devaluations will be decided by the strength of the world peace forces, and not least by the peace forces in the United States. The imperialists must not be permitted to find a way out through unleashing a new war. The popular demand must grow for the scrapping of the cold-war policies of the bipartisans and their replacement by a policy of friendship and peace with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and the resumption of trade on terms of equality.

# **FOR NEGRO HISTORY WEEK**

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