

***CONCERNING
THE SITUATION
INSIDE THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF YUGOSLAVIA***

★ Full Text of Cominform
Resolution on Yugoslavia

★ Statement of Communist
Party of India on
Cominform Resolution

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COMMUNIQUE

MEETING OF INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

During the second half of June, a meeting of the Information Bureau was held in Rumania, The meeting was attended by the following representatives:

Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Comrades T. Rostov, B. Chervenkov; Rumanian Workers' Party. Comrades G. Georgiu Dej, V. Luca, A. Pauker; Hungarian Workers' Party. Comrades M. Rakosi, M. Farcas, A. Gero; Polish Workers' Party, Comrades J. Berman, A. Zavadski; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Comrades A. Zhdanov, G. Malenkov, M. Suslov; Communist Party of France, Comrades J. Duclos, F. Fajon; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrades R. Slansky, V. Siroky, B. Geminder. G. Bares; Communist Party of Italy, Comrades P. Togliatti, P. Secchia.

The Information Bureau discussed the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and unanimously adopted a resolution on this question,

RESOLUTION

CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Information Bureau, composed of the representatives of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Rumanian Workers' Party, Hungarian Workers' Party, Polish Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Communist Party of France, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Italy, upon discussing the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and announcing that the representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had refused to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, unanimously reached the following conclusions:

1. The Information Bureau notes that recently the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has pursued an incorrect line on the main questions of home and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism. In this connection the Information Bureau approves the action of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), which took the initiative in exposing this incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, particularly the incorrect policy of Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic.

2. The Information Bureau declares that the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union and the CPSU(B). An undignified policy of defaming Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Union, has been carried out in Yugoslavia. A special regime was instituted for Soviet civilian experts in Yugoslavia, whereby they were under surveillance of Yugoslav state security organs and were continually followed. The representative of the CPSU(B), in the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, and a number of official representatives of the

Soviet Union in Yugoslavia were followed and kept under observation by Yugoslav state security organs.

All these and similar facts show that the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken a stand unworthy of Communists, and have begun to identify the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers, behaving toward the Soviet Union in the same manner as they behave toward bourgeois states. Precisely because of this anti-Soviet stand, slanderous propaganda about the "degeneration" of the CPSU(B), about the "degeneration" of the U.S.S.R., and so on, borrowed from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, is current within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau denounces this anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as being incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and only appropriate to nationalists.

3. In home policy, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are departing from the positions of the working class and are breaking with the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle. They deny that there is a growth of capitalist elements in their country and, consequently, a sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside. This denial is the direct result of the opportunist tenet that the class struggle does not become sharper during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, but dies down, as was affirmed by opportunists of the Bukharin type, who propagated the theory of the peaceful growing over of capitalism into socialism.

The Yugoslav leaders are pursuing an incorrect policy in the countryside by ignoring the class differentiation in the countryside and by regarding the individual peasantry as a single entity, contrary to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of classes and class struggle, contrary to the well-known thesis of Lenin that small, individual farming gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale. Moreover, the political situation in the Yugoslav countryside gives no grounds for smugness and complacency. In the conditions obtaining in Yugoslavia, where individual peasant farming predominates, where the land is not nationalised, where there is private property in land, and where land can be bought and sold, where much of the land is concentrated in the hands of kulaks, and where hired labour is employed—in such conditions there can be no question of educating the Party in the spirit of glossing over the class struggle and of reconciling class contradictions without by so doing disarming the Party itself in face of the difficulties connected with the construction of socialism.

Concerning the leading role of the working class, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, by affirming that the peasantry is the "most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state," are departing from the Marxist-Leninist path and are taking the path of a populist, kulak party. Lenin taught that the proletariat as the "only class in contemporary society which is revolutionary to the end... must be the leader in the struggle of the entire people for a thorough democratic transformation, in the struggle of all working people and the exploited against the oppressors and exploiters."

The Yugoslav leaders are violating this thesis of Marxism-Leninism.

As far as the peasantry is concerned it may be that the majority, that is, the poor and medium peasants, are already in alliance with the working class, with the working class having the leading role in this alliance.

The attitude of the Yugoslav leaders disregards these theses of Marxism-Leninism.

As can be seen, this attitude also reflects views appropriate to petty-bourgeois nationalism, but not to Marxist-Leninists.

4. The Information Bureau considers that the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revising the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party. According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party is the main, guiding and leading force in the country, which has its own, specific programme, and does not dissolve itself among the non-Party masses. The Party is the highest form of organisation and the most important weapon of the working class.

In Yugoslavia, however, the People's Front, and not the Communist Party, is considered to be the main leading force in the country. The Yugoslav leaders belittle the role of the Communist Party and actually dissolve the Party in the non-party People's Front, which is composed of the most varied class elements (workers, peasants engaged in individual farming, kulaks, traders, small manufacturers, bourgeois intelligentsia, etc.) as well as mixed political groups which include certain bourgeois parties. The Yugoslav leaders stubbornly refuse to recognise the falseness of their tenet that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia allegedly cannot and should not have its own specific programme and that it should be satisfied with the programme of the People's Front.

The fact that in Yugoslavia it is only the People's Front which figures in the political arena, while the Party and its organisations do not appear openly before the people in their own name, not only belittle the role of the Party in the political life of the country, but also undermines the Party as an independent political force, which has the task of winning the growing confidence of the people and of influencing ever broader masses of the working people by open political activity and open propaganda of its views and programme. The leaders of the Yugoslav Party are repeating the mistakes of the Russian Mensheviks regarding the dissolution of the Marxist party into a non-party, mass organisation. All this reveals the existence of liquidationist tendencies in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau believes that this policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia threatens the very existence of the Communist Party and, ultimately, carries with it the danger of the degeneration of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

5. The Information Bureau considers that the bureaucratic regime created inside the Party by its leaders is disastrous for the life and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party. There is no inner Party democracy, no elections, and no criticism and self-criticism in the Party. Despite the unfounded assurances of Comrades Tito and Kardelj, the majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is composed of co-opted, and not of elected members. The Communist Party is actually in a position of semi-legality. Party meetings are either not held at all, or held in secret—a fact which can

only undermine the influence of the Party among the masses. This type of organisation of the Yugoslav Communist Party cannot be described as anything but a sectarian-bureaucratic organisation. It leads to the liquidation of the Party as an active, self-acting organism; it cultivates military methods of leadership in the Party, similar to the methods advocated in his day by Trotsky.

It is a completely intolerable state of affairs when the most elementary rights of members in the Yugoslav Communist Party are suppressed, when the slightest criticism of incorrect measures in the Party is brutally repressed.

The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such actions as the expulsion from the Party and the arrest of the Central Committee members, Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang, because they dared to criticise the anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and called for friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The Information Bureau considers that such a disgraceful, purely Turkish, terrorist regime cannot be tolerated in the Communist Party. The interests of the very existence and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party demand that an end be put to this regime.

6. The Information Bureau considers that the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) and Central Committees of the other Communist Parties of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and who in thus way rendered fraternal assistance to the Yugoslav Communist Party, provides the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with all the conditions necessary to speedily correct the mistakes committed.

However, instead of honestly accepting this criticism and taking the Bolshevik path of correcting these mistakes, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, suffering from boundless ambition, arrogance and conceit, met this criticism with belligerence and hostility. They took the anti-Party path of indiscriminately denying all their mistakes, violated the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism regarding the attitude of a political party to its mistakes and thus aggravated their anti-Party mistakes.

Unable to face the criticism of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and the Central Committees of the other fraternal Parties, the Yugoslav leaders took the path of outrightly deceiving their Party and people by concealing from the Yugoslav Communist Party the criticism of the Central Committee's incorrect policy and also by concealing from the Party and the people the real reasons for the brutal measures against Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang.

Recently, even after the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and fraternal parties had criticised the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders, the latter tried to bring in a number of new leftist laws. They hastily decreed the nationalisation of medium industry and trade, though the basis for this is completely unprepared. In view of such haste the new decision only hampers the supply of goods to the population. In a similar hurried manner they brought in a new grain tax for which the way is also not prepared and which can, therefore, only dislocate grain supplies to the urban population. Finally, only recently the

Yugoslav leaders in loud declarations declared their love for and devotion to the Soviet Union, although it is known that in practice they are pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union.

Nor is this all. Of late the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have, with perfect aplomb, been declaiming a policy of liquidating the capitalist elements in Yugoslavia. In a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), dated April 13, Tito and Kardelj wrote that “the plenum of the Central Committee approved the measure proposed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to liquidate the remnants of capitalism in the country.”

In accordance with this line Kardelj, speaking in the Skupschina on April 25, declared: “In our country the days of the last remnants of the exploitation of man by man are numbered.”

In the conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia this position of the leaders of the Communist Party in regard to the liquidation of the capitalist elements, and hence, the kulaks as a class, cannot be qualified as other than adventurous, and non-Marxist. For it is impossible to solve this task as long as individual peasant economy predominates in the country, which inevitably gives birth to capitalism, as long as conditions have not been created for the large-scale collectivisation of agriculture; and as long as the majority of the working peasantry is not convinced of the advantages of collective methods of farming. The experience of the CPSU(B) shows that the elimination of the last and biggest exploiting class—the kulak class—is possible only on the basis of the mass collectivisation of agriculture, that the elimination of the kulaks as a class, is an organic and integral part of the collectivisation of agriculture.

In order to eliminate the kulaks as a class, and hence, to eliminate the capitalist elements in the countryside, it is necessary for the Party to engage in detailed preparatory work to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, to make socialist industry capable of producing machinery for the collective administration of agriculture. Haste in this matter can only lead to irreparable harm.

Only on the basis of these measures, carefully prepared and consistently carried out, is it possible to go over from restriction of the capitalist elements in the countryside, to their liquidation.

All attempts by the Yugoslav leaders to solve this problem hastily and by means of decrees, signify either that the venture is foredoomed to failure or that it is a boastful and empty demagogic declaration.

The Information Bureau considers that by means of these false and demagogic tactics, the Yugoslav leaders are endeavouring to demonstrate that they are not only for class struggle, but that they go even further, beyond those demands which—taking into account the real possibilities—could be advanced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the matter of restricting the capitalist elements.

The Information Bureau considers that since those leftist decrees and declarations of the Yugoslav leadership are demagogic and impracticable in the present conditions, they

can but compromise the banner of socialist construction in Yugoslavia.

That is why the Information Bureau considers such adventurist tactics as an undignified manoeuvre and an impermissible political gamble.

As we see, these leftist demagogic measures and declarations on the part of the Yugoslav leaders are designed to cover up their refusal to recognise mistakes and honestly correct them.

Taking into account the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and seeking to show the leaders of the Party the way out of this situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) and the Central Committees of other fraternal parties, suggested that the matter of the Yugoslav Communist Party should be discussed at a meeting of the Information Bureau, on the same, normal party footing as that on which the activities of other Communist Parties were discussed at the first meeting of the Information Bureau.

However, the Yugoslav leaders rejected the repeated suggestions of the fraternal Communist Parties to discuss the situation in the Yugoslav Party at a meeting of the Information Bureau.

Attempting to avoid the just criticism of the fraternal parties in the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav leaders invented the fable of their allegedly "unequal position." There is not a grain of truth in this story. It is generally known that when the Information Bureau was set up, the Communist Parties based their work on the indisputable principle that any party could report to the Information Bureau in the same way that any party had the right to criticise other parties.

At the first meeting of the Nine Communist Parties, the Yugoslav Communist Party took full advantage of this right.

The refusal of the Yugoslav Party to report to the Information Bureau on its actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties means, in practice, a violation of the equality of the Communist Parties and is, in fact tantamount to a demand for a privileged position for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Information Bureau.

8. In view of this the Information Bureau expresses complete agreement with the estimation of the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party, with the criticism of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Party, and with the political analysis of these mistakes contained in letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia between March and May, 1948.

The Information Bureau unanimously concludes that by their anti-Party and anti-Soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and their refusal to attend the meeting of the Information' Bureau, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist Parties affiliated to the Information Bureau, have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken up a position of nationalism.

The Information Bureau condemns this anti-Party policy and attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau considers that, in view of all this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has placed itself and the Yugoslav Party outside the family of the fraternal Communist Parties, outside the united Communist front and consequently outside the ranks of the Information Bureau.

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The Information Bureau considers that the basis of these mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lies in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements, which previously existed in a disguised form, managed in the course of the past five or six months to reach a dominant position in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, that consequently, the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has broken with the international traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and has taken the road of nationalism.

Considerably overestimating the internal national forces of Yugoslavia and their influence, the Yugoslav leaders think that they can maintain Yugoslavia's independence and build socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, without the support of the People's Democracies, without the support of the Soviet Union. They think that the new Yugoslavia can do without the help of these revolutionary forces.

Showing their poor understanding of the international situation and their intimidation by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, the Yugoslav leaders think that by making concessions they can curry favour with the imperialist states. They think they will be able to bargain with them for Yugoslavia's independence and, gradually, get the people of Yugoslavia orientated on these states, that is, on capitalism. In this they proceed tacitly from the well-known bourgeois-nationalist thesis that "capitalist states are a lesser danger to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union."

The Yugoslav leaders evidently do not understand or, probably, pretend they do not understand, 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 Information Bureau does not doubt that inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are sufficient healthy elements, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and to the united socialist front.

Their task is to compel their present leaders to recognise their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism, return to internationalism; and in every way to consolidate the united socialist front against imperialism.

Should the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party prove to be incapable of doing this, their job is to replace them and to advance a new internationalist leadership of the Party.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to fulfil this honourable task.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA ON THE INFORMATION BUREAU'S RESOLUTION ON YUGOSLAVIA

[Statement issued by li. T. Ranadive, General Secretary, Communist Party of India.]

The defection of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the Information Bureau of the Nine Communist Parties will come as a great shock to all Communists and all well-wishers of the Yugoslav people.

The world Communist movement had watched with great pride and admiration the gallant fight of the Yugoslav people in their struggle against Fascist domination.

The Communist Parties of different countries broadcast the story of the glorious resistance of the Yugoslav people which the imperialists were screening from the public eye and helped in mobilising public sympathy and support for the cause of the people of Yugoslavia and made it difficult for Anglo-American imperialists to pursue their designs without being exposed to their own people.

The world working-class movement hailed the day when, aided by the victorious Red Army, the Yugoslavs finally succeeded in throwing the Fascist invaders out and securing their liberation. It followed with admiration the steps in economic reconstruction taken by the Yugoslav Government—firmly believing that the economic plans were based on a correct understanding of the situation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarded as the fighting symbol of a people taking rapid strides to Socialism, drew respect and admiration from Communists in all countries.

In our country, our Party had consistently broadcast the story of the heroic fight and achievements of the Yugoslav people. At the Second Congress of our Party the delegates from Yugoslavia who attended the session drew a tumultuous applause, next only to that given to the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances, the shock, arising from the defection of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is all the greater. But the struggle for the realisation of world Socialism is a harsh and cruel struggle—in which even the best known individuals falter, desert and betray. It is sometimes easier to face bullets and resist military attacks than to overcome illusions based on bourgeois and anti-proletarian outlook.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party seem to have become victims of these illusions, sedulously nursed by them all these days, and which they are not prepared to shed and replace by a Marxist-Leninist outlook.

The resolution of the Information Bureau, issued on June 29, clearly sets forth the shortcomings and mistakes of the leadership of the Yugoslav Party—mistakes and shortcomings which no Party, calling itself Marxist, would treat lightly.

The resolution of the Information Bureau, unanimously adopted by the representatives of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Communist Parties of France, Italy and Czechoslovakia, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), the Hungarian

Workers' Party and the Polish Workers' Party made the following serious charges against the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, including Comrades Tito, Kardelj and others.

1. The leadership of the Yugoslav Party pursued an unfriendly policy to the Soviet Union and slandered the CPSU (B). They spread slanderous propaganda—"borrowed from the arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism—on the 'degeneration' of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), on the 'degeneration' of the Soviet Union."

They began to identify the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of the imperialist Powers and their conduct with respect to the Soviet Union was the same as with respect to the bourgeois States.

2. In their internal policy the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are breaking with the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle. They deny the fact of the growth of capitalist elements in their country and the sharpening of the class struggle in the Yugoslav villages connected with it.

3. They belittle the role of the Party and are in fact dissolving the Party in the non-Party People's Front.

4. They have established a bureaucratic regime inside the Party, which is disastrous for the growth of the Party.

5. To cover their mistakes they have decreed a number of Leftist measures and laws, which had not been prepared for at all,

Such are the serious and grave shortcomings pointed out by fraternal Parties all of whom have a prolonged record of glorious fight against imperialists—a glorious record of leading their own people in the battle for liberation and who are now leading their people to Socialism,

Among them is the great revolutionary Party—the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the unchallenged leader of international Marxism, who guards the heritage of Marxism against reformist vacillators, traitors and elements with alien outlook. It is this Party which organised the first successful proletarian revolution over one-sixth of the globe, and built Socialism over this vast territory—the Party which first concretised the dream of millions—a world free from exploiters.

And it is the policy of this Party, led by Stalin, the heroic people trained by it, that saved the world, including Yugoslavia and its leaders from Fascist bondage. The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) thus embodies within itself the quintessence of the international revolutionary experience of the world working-class movement.

A warning coming from the fraternal Parties, especially when the initiative in giving that warning is taken by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), must be taken very seriously by any Party calling itself Marxist.

The most astonishing fact is that the leaders of the Yugoslav Party refuse to treat this warning seriously. They refuse to take into consideration that the complaints were being made by their fraternal Parties, that the warning was coming from the Russian Party which had by now to its credit more than half a century of strenuous fight at all stages of the movement. In their conceit and arrogance which can only

come out of ignorance, they hurled back the accusations and refused to discuss their own shortcomings.

They were accused of slandering the biggest revolutionary Party of the proletariat, the Party of Lenin and Stalin. They were accused of slandering the first proletarian State—thanks to which the battle against Fascism has been won. What could be a greater charge against a Communist than being accused of undermining the faith of the working class in its first State, in its creative capacity; and of slandering the Great Russian Revolution?

This undermining of the prestige of the Russian Revolution, of (lie Socialist triumph of the Soviet Union, has been the special job of Trotskyites, agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialist spies. To be guilty of it is to join the imperialists and Fascists against the working class and its struggle for Socialism.

When this serious charge was made by the Parties of the Information Bureau, did the Yugoslav leaders even attempt to reply to it? No, they called it fabrication. They called it a lie. But they were not prepared to prove before the other fraternal Parties that the charge had no basis.

There were equally grave charges—liquidationist tactics in connection with the Party, abjuration of class struggle IS. in the countryside—all of which had vital bearing on the independence of the Yugoslav people, on the success of Socialist reconstruction, on the future of Socialism in Yugoslavia and on its fight against imperialist designs.

These were matters of vital concern not only for the Yugoslav but the entire Socialist movement in the Eastern European democracies. A successful solution of these questions would increase the strength of people's forces in Eastern European democracies and guarantee them against all imperialist designs.

But the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party refused to discuss these questions also with the fraternal Parties. It only went on asserting that it was right on every point and all the other Parties were either telling lies, or inventing fabricated stories, or were unaware of the specific and concrete situation in Yugoslavia.

What is behind this refusal to discuss questions of policy and the sharp points about shortcomings made by fraternal Parties?

The blank refusal to discuss these questions before the Cominform only exposes how deep down in the mire of bourgeois nationalism the Yugoslav leaders have sunk and how in their bourgeois conceit and arrogance they are openly refusing international cooperation and mutual help.

By refusing to submit their policies to the common judgment of the fraternal Parties, by refusing to discuss them before the authoritative tribunal of Marxism, the Yugoslav leaders are cutting themselves adrift from the common international experience as embodied in these Parties and are setting their own judgment above the accumulated experience of the working class movements of different countries including Soviet Russia.

The Yugoslav leaders feel outraged when they are charged with nationalism. Yet their refusal to discuss their policies with other Marxist Parties is nothing but the most egregious assertion of narrow bourgeois nationalism. Internationalism is not a signboard

under which a Party is allowed to pursue nationalist policies.

Internationalism of proletarian Parties does not end with cooperation and friendly relations between States, etc. It imposes an obligation to pool international Marxist .experience and on its basis to judge the world situation, and the situation in each country. Such pooling necessitates frank criticism, exchange of views and correction of each other's mistakes, so that the proletarian movement can march in tune together, a single undivided army against capital.

It imposes an obligation on every Party worth the name to draw lessons from the criticism and exposure of other Parties and an obligation on all to place their experience, their opinions and criticisms at the disposal of all other Parties,

The Yugoslav leaders are rejecting this ideological cooperation and reverting to the crudest type of nationalism. To them the experience of other Parties is no guide—not even of the Russian Party. Their refusal to discuss means that they reject Marxism as an international guide to action, they reject the common experience of the working-class movement of other lands, of other Parties, and would rely on their own 'national' experience, which in the history of the world working-class movement has always proved to be a guide to reformism and treachery.

Only the confirmed agents of the bourgeoisie can denounce such cooperation between Communist Parties as interference in each other's affairs. The bourgeoisie have always denounced every kind of international cooperation among the workers as foreign interference, etc. The Yugoslav leaders seem to hold the same view when they violently refuse to discuss their policies before the Cominform Parties.

They offer childish excuses in justification of their attitude. First, they say they will not discuss the charges because the Russian Party's letter was couched in rude language and contained unwarranted assertions. They then offer to discuss the issue with the Soviet Party as if it was a private quarrel between the two Parties, but they would not discuss the issues before other Parties.

And finally, they refuse to come before the Cominform Parties because they say the charges are unfounded. They sit in judgment over themselves and declare themselves innocent.

Consideration of hurt pride, chauvinistic nationalism, absence of all international solidarity, cheap arrogance and facile accusations against brother Parties seep through the reply of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, which does not answer a single charge, The reply together with the vicious article in Borba written against Bulgarian Communists, an article which writes of Bulgars in the most insulting terms and coming from those who call themselves Communists, can only be described as the last word in chauvinism, is enough to convince all thinking persons that the leaders of the Yugoslav Party have exchanged Marxism-Leninism for the false coin of bourgeois nationalism,

The reply of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party makes no effort to argue out a single point. It only denies every charge. It denies that it is embarking upon adventurous plans. It denies that it has abandoned class struggle in villages. On the question of the role of the Party in the People's Front, and the charge of liquidationism, it

asserts that its present policy follows from concrete Yugoslav circumstances. Thus there is no attempt even to understand the mistakes.

A leadership of a Party which rejects international experience and cooperation, which sets its own judgment above the judgment of a number of other Parties whose judgment is entitled to great weight, which does not develop an honest attitude to its own mistakes, which makes every criticism based on Marxism a matter of national pride—what right has it to call itself Marxist and Communist?

A leadership which is accused by the biggest Panics of the working class of slandering the Soviet Union, of orientating towards capitalism, of liquidationist tendency in connection with the Party, of adventurous slogans, of Rightist practice of slackening class struggle—such a leadership has no place in the Communist Front. By their own deeds the Yugoslav leaders have placed themselves outside the United Communist Front.

Where will this end? The resolution of the Cominform correctly sums up:

“Yugoslav leaders, seriously overestimating Yugoslavia's internal national forces and possibilities, think that they can preserve Yugoslavia's independence and build Socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, without the support of the countries of People's Democracy, without the support of the Soviet Union, They think that the new Yugoslavia can get along without the aid of these revolutionary forces.

“With their poor understanding of the international situation and intimidated by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, the Yugoslav leaders suppose that by making a number of concessions to imperialist States they can acquire the goodwill of these States, come to agreement with them on the independence of Yugoslavia, and gradually inculcate in the Yugoslav people an orientation towards these States, that is, an orientation towards capitalism. In so doing they evidently take as their starting point the well-known bourgeois nationalist thesis by virtue of which the capitalist States constitute a lesser danger to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union.

“The Yugoslav leaders evidently do not understand or possibly are pretending not to understand that such a nationalist line can lead only to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into an ordinary bourgeois Republic, the loss of Yugoslavia's independence and Yugoslavia's conversion into a colony of the imperialist countries.”

The danger to the people of Yugoslavia arising from this opportunist and reformist policy is great. It is nothing short of danger to the independence of the country—dragging the country into the imperialist bloc and selling the people away to capitalists and imperialists.

To fight against this policy of the leadership is, therefore, in the interests of the people of Yugoslavia. The people of Yugoslavia must realise that the Cominform Parties have discharged their obligation and duty by warning them against the danger inherent in the policy of their leaders. Whatever attempts might be made in Yugoslavia to rouse chauvinistic feelings, experience will soon convince the masses that the voice of the Cominform Parties was raised in defence of the interests of the people of Yugoslavia, in

defence of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of India fully appreciates the action of the Information Bureau in making public all the facts and in warning the Yugoslav people about the dangerous results arising from the abjuration of Marxism by the Yugoslav leaders. Had the Parties failed to raise their voice in the strongest possible manner they would have been guilty of dereliction of duty towards the Yugoslav people and the world working class.

The working class of this country will have the profoundest sympathy for the working class and people of Yugoslavia who have been so badly let down by their leaders. Whatever misunderstanding may be attempted between the people of Yugoslavia and the world working class movement the latter can never forget its responsibilities and will continue to render every possible help to the people of Yugoslavia.

The C.P.I. hopes that the forthcoming Congress of the Yugoslav Party will reject the policies pursued by the leadership and will make the leaders realise the seriousness of their mistakes. It hopes that the Congress will lay down a new line based on firm friendship with the Soviet Union, rejection of bourgeois nationalism and a correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of Yugoslavia.

The enemies of the Communist movement will attempt to exploit the situation to spread slanders against world Communism, and specially against the Soviet Union.

But in spite of falterings and vacillations of a handful, world Communism marches forward on its inexorable course mapped out by history.