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SECRET

QUARTERLY SURVEY OF COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE.

No. 6.

October, 1949 - February, 1950.

SECRET

March, 1950.

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QUARTERLY SURVEY OF COMMUNISM IN

WESTERN EUROPE - No. 6.

(It is regretted that circumstances beyond our control have delayed the issue of this Survey. The period covered is October 1949 to February 1950. A short survey will be issued in April 1950 to bring the information up to date and to re-establish the series.)

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PARTY LINE.

1. During the period under review a Party Line was firmly established for the Communists of Western Europe. After many months of uncertainty and vacillation during which they had been endeavouring to make sense of the confused hubbub

on the other side of the Iron Curtain the Western Party leaders received clear and definite instructions as to the part they are to play in the international scene. Priorities have been established. A strong effort is being made to stimulate a new militancy to match the tasks in hand.

2. The major tasks now set are, in order of priority,

(1) to prosecute the "peace campaign" with every available weapon;

(2) to secure working class unity "from below"; and

(3) to pursue the struggle against TITO.

The third point will not be discussed in any detail in this paper since we have devoted much space to it in previous issues and have circulated a separate report on the present state of "Titoism" in Western Europe.

3. The three points enumerated above were given separate rubrics in the Resolution of the Information Bureau published in "For a Lasting Peace" on 29th November 1949.

The line taken by the Information Bureau was clearly derived from the Report of G.M. MALENKOV at the Anniversary Meeting of

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the Moscow Soviet on 6th November 1949 in which unusual emphasis was laid upon peace. There is of course nothing new in the line itself. What is new in the situation is the establishment of the order of importance of the three tasks and the thoroughness with which they have been incorporated in the programmes of all West European Communist organisations down to the humblest cell.

II. THE PEACE CAMPAIGN AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST M.A.P.

(1) Directives.

4. MALENKOV in his Report to the Moscow Soviet on 6th November 1949 said that history knows no such mass movement as that uniting the international supporters of peace. He claimed that there is not a single country in which this movement does not possess a base nor one in which it is not growing and spreading. The World Peace Congress in Paris had vividly demonstrated that the international peace movement was not based on pacifist ideology. MALENKOV stressed the great importance of the international Communist organisations in the peace campaign, naming in particular WFTU, WIDF, WFDY, and IUS.

5. The Resolution of the Information Bureau published in its journal for 29th November 1949 gave a directive in this form:- "The struggle for a stable and lasting peace, for the organisation and consolidation of the forces of peace against the forces of war should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties and democratic organisations".

6. LALMAND, the Belgian Party leader, discussing these directives in an article published in "Drapeau Rouge" on 7th January 1950 put the matter with frankness when he said that "the attitude of the Party member to the USSR is the touchstone of his faithfulness to the cause of peace". The Cominform

Resolution in fact calls for the entire activity of the Parties to be centred in support of Soviet foreign policy.

7. The Western leaders have faithfully obeyed the injunctions of the Cominform Resolution. In each Party programme the peace theme stands at the head.

FRANCE: The Central Committee of the French Party met at St. Denis on 9-10 December 1949. Etienne FAJON who was a delegate to the November Cominform meeting repeated SUSLOV's thesis and gave the PCF instructions for the campaign, including the theme which is playing so important a part in it - the ending of the war in Vietnam. By the end of December the most junior organisations of the PCF were putting the peace campaign above all other activities. It is to dominate the plans of every cell.

BELGIUM: The first indication of the new turn of events in Belgium was given by LALMAND in "Drapeau Rouge" on 24 December 1949. In it he said that the fight for peace is the main task of the PCB. At the Central Committee meeting of 14-15 January (attended, significantly, by FAJON of the PCF) it was resolved that the primary battle is the fight for peace. To put the "fight for bread" first is to be guilty of "economic deviationism".

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ITALY: The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party met in Rome 14-18 December 1949. The Final Resolutions were in fact the Cominform Resolutions of November adapted with some skill to local conditions

and ranging from the Peace Campaign to bitter attacks on the Social Democrats, TITO and deviationists in general.

W. GERMANY:

The Cominform resolutions were given a wide circulation in the West German Communist press early in December 1949 and were the subject of a special address by Max REIMANN on 3-4 December. It is clear that the primacy of the peace theme had not previously been borne in upon the German leaders. It gives them a new basis on which to pursue the National Front policy. REIMANN developed the theme more fully in his speech of introduction to the 14th "Tagung" of the KPD Central Committee 28-30 December 1949, criticising the Party for wasting opportunities in the past and showing that the Peace Front grows naturally out of the National Front. "The national struggle for the freedom of our people is an anti-imperialist struggle and a class struggle".

*ook Holland has his penance
kemen worden. Maar de
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overzicht, kwam dit punt
aan voor in de bespreking van
de Party-conferentie van december
1949, waarvan een exemplaar
aan Sarasin werd gezonden. De
resolutie volgde namelijk de
besluiten van de Cominform
bijeenkomst van November 1949.*

8. The examples given above suffice to show how the movement in Western Europe was reorientated in the space of a few weeks, how the Cominform was brought in to give an éclat to the new line and how the national interests of the Parties have been subordinated to the general requirements of Soviet foreign policy in its present aggressive phase.

(2) Action.

9. For the purpose of analysis the second major directive given in the Cominform Resolution - that concerned with working class unity - is treated separately in this paper, although it is in fact very closely related to the first.

(a) The Partisans of Peace.

10. Until the early days of December 1949 the major effort had been devoted to building up a mass political movement for the "defence of peace". A World Day of Peace was held on 2 October. In France this day saw the launching of a Peace Ballot which was completed on 23 October. In Italy the World Day of Peace was preceded by a skilfully conducted campaign, begun early in September and was followed by a Month of Italo-Soviet Friendship culminating in the meeting of the World Committee of the Partisans of Peace in Rome 28-31 October. A World Day of Peace was held in Amsterdam, attended by some 7,000 persons including some of the familiar international figures. A national congress of the Partisans of Peace was held in Brussels in October. It is unnecessary to chronicle all the conferences and demonstrations which have taken place since October 1949.

(b) Communist Trade Union Campaign.

11. The efforts made by the Partisans of Peace to strengthen the international peace "front" organisation did not produce any spectacular result. The proceedings of the various conferences were uninspiring and tedious. The harnessing of the Communist Trade Unions to the peace movement was a much more important move. In his address to the 2nd Congress of the WFTU at Milan 29 June - 9 July 1949 KUZNETZOV instructed all affiliated organisations to support the efforts of the "Permanent Committee of the World Congress for Peace" and to form permanent Peace committees in factories and offices. Workers in "Marshallised" countries were called upon "to combat interference of foreign monopolists in their domestic affairs, to save the national industry from destruction by the Marshall Plan, to prevent the conversion of independent countries into strategical bridgeheads of the war-mongers, to oppose their inclusion in the North Atlantic bloc". The Communist Trade Unions under unified control

would clearly constitute the most effective executive arm of the peace movement. So indeed they proved in France even in the political field during the Peace Ballot. The CCF completely outshone both the PCF and the front organisations in the collection of votes.

12. The conclusion of bilateral agreements under the Military Assistance Programme on 27th January 1950 and the imminent despatch of arms to Western Europe provide a focus for all the diverse interests which the Soviet Union has been endeavouring to integrate in the Peace Campaign. It is of course clear that Moscow had foreseen the conclusion of these agreements several months in advance of the actual date of signature. Economic and political grievances and the genuine desire of the peoples of Western Europe for peace are all being appealed to by the Communists in their endeavour to bring a mass movement to bear against West European rearmament. For it seems clear that every effort has been made to create a political movement "in depth" to resist this rearmament, a movement in which the mobilisation of dockers to refuse to handle cargoes is only the most dramatic and spectacular episode.

(c) The Dockers.

13. FRANCE: Communist controlled dockers organisations in France had begun their campaign some time before the Cominform Resolutions of November 1949. The dockers of Bordeaux and Algeria were creating difficulties over the shipment of arms to Indochina in mid October while at the same time those at Sete and Brstia were demanding improved conditions. On 26th October the dockers of La Rochelle were, according to "L'Humanite" "engagés a lutter efficacement pour la defense de la paix",

by opposing the loading of material at La Pallice. On 30th October the Marseilles dockers struck in protest against shipments to Indochina and met to demand satisfaction of pay claims. Economic and political motives are so closely linked together that it is almost impossible to determine when the political campaign in West European ports really began. Charles TILLON spoke at the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on 9th December 1949 quoting with admiration the example of the dockers of Marseilles and Algeria in "the struggle against the manufacture and transport of war materials". Declarations against the handling of American arms were made during December at Dunkirk, St Nazaire and other French ports.

ITALY: In Italy the campaign seems to have been given its final direction in the latter part of December. The dockers at Ancona made their declaration against the handling of arms on the day after the return of TOGLIATTI from Moscow and after a reported visit by a delegation of the Seamen and Dockers Trade Union International to Italy.

BELGIUM: The Communist dockers of Antwerp have been organised in an unofficial Comité d'Action under Van den BRANDEN since May 1946. It is possible that they were visited by FREYSSINET, General Secretary of the Seamen and Dockers TUI, on or about 17 December. The Belgian CP called on Antwerp dockers on 19 January to refuse to load American Military equipment.

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de Nederlandse dienst
going*

14. According to "New Times" No.2 of 1950 the French National Federation of Dockers and Longshoremen sent a message on 31 December 1949 to the dockers on the Atlantic Seaboard of the USA urging them not to handle war material for shipment to France. The same request was made to the British Communist Party by the Federation on 31 January 1950.

(d) The Campaign in other Industries.

15. FRANCE: In pursuance of the policy of giving "depth" to the campaign in France the CGT has been attempting to bring in other sections of the working population. The Administrative Committee of the CGT met on 28th and 29th December and concluded that the progress made in building up support for the dockers was inadequate, despite the refusal of some sections of the railwaymen and metalworkers to handle war materials. The CGT was therefore called upon to give all possible support to the dockers movement and branch secretaries were instructed to take part in the work of the local committees of the "Combattants de la Liberte et de la Paix" and to form such committees where they do not already exist. All trade unions were to be brought into the struggle.

As in the case of the campaign amongst the dockers, the wider campaign is being conducted in France on the principle of combining wage claims with the anti-war theme. (This conforms with the broad directives on which all the Western Parties are now required to work). The CGT has been recently campaigning for a general provisional monthly wage increase of

3,000 francs. Short protest strikes were called in several industries early in February. The first was in the gas and electricity industry. The next was in the metallurgical industry (with variable results - 90% effective at Renault, 15% at Citroen, 60% at Berliet, 25% at Peugeot). The call for a strike in the arsenals met with little response (250 out of 3,400 at Cherbourg, less than 10% at Brest and Toulon, nil at Nantes.) The dockers of Dunkirk have complained of lack of support from other industries when they have refused to load ships for Indochina.

ITALY: In Italy the effort to widen the campaign seems to have been prosecuted with much less vigour than in France. This may reflect the disillusionment resulting from the failure of the general strike on 1 December 1949.

**BELGIUM:
AND
HOLLAND** In Belgium and Holland any attempt by the Communists to involve the mass of other industrial workers with the dockers is almost certainly doomed to failure. The Communists in those countries do not hold decisive majorities in the key unions and they are moreover opposed by a wholesome Trade Union tradition and strong Union leadership.

III. THE UNITED FRONT.

(1) Directives

16. The theme of "militant" working class unity was put forward in the leading article of the Cominform Journal for 21 October 1949. It was a dreary and inept article which after calling for a "struggle against Right Socialist splitters"

and an "irreconcilable struggle against all kinds of opportunism, bourgeois nationalism and penetration of enemy agents into the ranks of the working class" reached an anti-climax in the exceptionally unhelpful suggestion that "the main, well tried method of struggle for unity of action is that of strengthening the unity of all sections of the working class and all its organisations ready to join in the common struggle in factories etc. regardless of craft, party affiliations or religious beliefs".

17. The Cominform resolution, published on 29 November 1949, accompanied by the speech by TOGLIATTI, called in effect for working class unity "from below". "Working class unity can only be won in a resolute struggle against Right Wing Socialist disrupters".

18. This theme was taken up in Party directives given at the Central Committee meetings described on pages 3-4 above. It may be worthy of remark that M. THOREZ in his speech to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the French party on 7 October said "We are entering on a situation similar to that of 1934-5. All leaders, all Party members must fully understand the situation".

(2) Action.

(a) Political.

19. Communist endeavours to produce unity from below by detaching the Socialists from their "Right Wing" leaders have been concentrated in two fields. One, the Peace Front, we have already discussed. Before briefly reviewing developments in the second, the Trade Union, field a reference should be made to the recent dispute between the PCF and its satellite the Parti Socialiste Unitaire (PSU), and to the efforts of the KPD to create a fellow-travelling wing of the SPD.

20. The PSU is the present form of the Mouvement Socialiste Unitaire et Democratique founded in January 1948. It has few adherents among the working masses but some of its members hold important posts in the CGT and the Combattants de la Liberte et de la Paix. Its general secretary is Emile BLONCOURT. It held its Congress at the end of December 1949. At this Congress although the aims put forward were generally satisfactory to the Communists some highly unorthodox ideas as to method were accepted. A pronouncement was made in favour of respect for the human person. The PCF was criticised for lack of internal democracy and some warm remarks were made about the TITO controversy. Raymond GUYOT retorted for the PCF in an article in "Humanite" of 11 January 1950. He declared that the PSU held an erroneous conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, accused some of the PSU leaders of refusing to denounce TITO and accused the PSU of slipping into the position of the "third force" on the subject of respect for the human person. The PSU (the French counterpart of the Nenni socialists in Italy) makes negligible progress.

21. In Western Germany the efforts of the KPD to create a united front have reaped few rewards. The "National Front" is the broadest approach to the non-Communists. The SED Central Committee published a Resolution on National Front policy on 4 October 1949. It is to be a militant community of workers in the SED, KPD, SPD and Trade Unions. It is instructed to avoid "narrow chauvinism", instruction which presumably reflects some nervousness about German nationalism. The National Front has made little progress in the Western Zones. It is now coupled with the peace campaign. A new variant of KPD relations with the SPD is the Sozialdemokratische Aktion (SDA) founded at Frankfurt on 16 October 1949.

The prime mover of the SDA is Artur von WACHUI, a former Referent in the Bizonal Economic Administration, expelled from the SPD. He seems to have been foisted upon the KPD by Karl SCHIRLEMAN (Head of the SED's Westkommission) with the task of creating a "NENNI wing" in the SPD which, unlike the Italian group, is to remain in the Socialist ranks to foster friendship with the KPD and persuade the SPD into more revolutionary paths - no light task! Dr SCHUMACHER, leader of the SPD, has evoked the slightly comical nature of the enterprise by naming the SDA "The Trojan Ass". No significant progress has been made by the SDA.

22. The times seem unpropitious for the pro-Communist wings of West European Socialist Parties in general. It is notable that in this political milieu also there is the most vocal support for TITO. As a means of creating working class unity from below they appear to be singularly ineffective.

(b) Trade Unions.

23. In the Trade Union field the unity movement appears to have been in retrogression except possibly in France.

BELGIUM: In Belgium efforts which Communist-inspired Unity Trade Unions, Syndicats Uniques, (have) since the late summer of last year, made to reach merger agreements with their bona fide counterparts with a view of getting a foothold therein have completely failed. The latest information available to mark the break down of these attempts is the decision of the FGTB's national committee in December to expel the Syndicat Unique des Mineurs for indiscipline.

HOLLAND:

In Holland the same trend has been observed. Reports are continually being received of the loss of membership, loss of influence, and

lack of fighting spirit and confidence in the Dutch Communist inspired Unity Trade Union, EVC. The most significant development here during the period under review however, was the decision in January of Zwart, chairman of the ANBZ (Netherlands Seamen's Union), to sever all connections with EVC with which his union had until then been loosely connected. Zwart's action, it appears, was prompted by the discovery of Trojan horse tactics on the part of the EVC to displace him and secure direct control over his union. The outcome of all this has been a split in the ANBZ, over three quarters of whose membership have stuck to Zwart; he has since constituted a new Provisional Trade Union Executive of Seamen. We have reason to believe that the Trojan horse tactics of the EVC were timed to synchronize with the involvement of Dutch Seamen and Dockers in the current anti-M.A.P. campaign of the WFTU.

W.GERMANY:

In Western Germany the official policy of the KPD is to co-operate with the SPD in the Trade Unions. That this co-operation produces no noticeable result is mainly due to the fact that it is unwelcome to the SPD, but there is also some reason for believing that a number of the leading Communist Trade Unionists do not believe in it themselves.

FRANCE:

The policy of the CGT in France is potentially more dangerous, backed as it

is by the major part of French Trade Union strength. The strength of the CGT enables them to delegate the handling of wage and other problems to the factory (as distinct from the industrial) organisations. Thus during the General Strike of 25 November 1949 (called by the Force Ouvriere) the CGT instantly gave its support and set up joint strike committees which stole the initiative from the F.O. and placed F.O. supporters under CGT leadership. This technique is believed to have had some success in the metal industry in bringing back F.O. members to the CGT fold.

IV. CONCLUSIONS ON THE "UNITED FRONT FOR PEACE" AND RESISTANCE TO M.A.P.

24. It is exceptionally difficult to disentangle the political and economic strands in Communist Party tactics. It seems reasonable to suppose however in view of the order of priorities existing in the present Party briefs that the Soviet Union is expecting or has expected the creation of a united front in response to the theme of Peace. As LALMAND said, to put the "fight for bread" (the economic motive) above the "fight for peace" (the political motive) is to be guilty of "economic deviationism". In no case have the Communists relied solely upon the peace theme in their appeals to Europeans, except in the Partisans of Peace movement itself. The economic motive is the second string to the bow. The Peace theme has failed to produce anything like the mass movement of which MALENKOV spoke so comfortably to the Moscow Soviet on 9 November last. The real testing grounds for the Peace movement as such are not France and Italy where the Parties are large and where power in the

Trade Unions can be employed to redress failures in the political field by economic action but rather in Germany, Belgium and Holland where the movement has to stand on its own feet. In none of these countries has a mass movement of large proportions been engendered. Even in France the test strikes carried out by the CGT during the earlier part of February gave somewhat uneven results. Even among the French dockers, of whom 85% are Communist controlled and who constitute the perimeter defences against the landing of American arms, there is at least one weak point - at Cherbourg. Such pronouncements as are available seem to indicate that the CGT itself was until lately dissatisfied with the amount of support for the dockers in other industries. We have less information on this point from Italy but there, according to Press reports, the dockers of Naples have not agreed to refuse American arms, although those of Genoa, Leghorn and La Spezia have done so. We are not in a position to estimate the support which the dockers might expect to receive from other industries if they refused to unload the cargoes and if the issue were presented to those other industries in purely political terms.

25. At the time of going to press it is known that the World Peace Committee in Paris is arranging to send delegations to present a peace programme to the parliaments of USSR, USA, Italy, France, Mexico, Belgium and Holland at various dates between 20 February and 10 March. This may be intended as a means of bringing the political campaign to a climax. Meanwhile it would seem that in France at least the Trade Union campaign is reverting to a struggle over wages. This if properly timed can of course be as effective as any other means of paralysing industry and transport. But it is in effect an admission by the French Communists that the

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them or not!*

"fight for bread" is a far better weapon than the "fight for peace"; it is to adopt the "economic deviation" as the official line. Be that as it may there is no ground for easy optimism about the effect the PCF may produce if they bring their economic campaign to a climax as M.A.P. begins.

V. STRENGTH

26. The Communists have been endeavouring to create a powerful mass movement at a time when the strength of the Parties themselves is still diminishing.

BELGIUM: PCB strength at the end of 1949 was 45,000 (compare 100,000 in 1947; 80,000 in 1948). In his speech to the Central Committee on 14-15 January LALMAND admitted that only 20-25% of members attend meetings regularly. Financial position of the press is very acute.

FRANCE: In 1945 the sales of Humanite were 68,000. They are now 36,000. Since the Rajk trial and the 33rd anniversary of the October Revolution there has been an apparent transfer of readers to "Franc-Tireur" and "Parisien Libere" (non-Communist).

Municipal elections in October 1949 at PANTIN, SCEAUX, ROUEN and St.CHAMAS all showed a decline in the Communist vote. The Federation Nationale des Ports et Docks (CCT) controls a large majority of the workers. The Federation Nationale des Syndicats Maritimes commands a much smaller majority.

HOLLAND: The CPN is still on the wane. The Communist controlled Trade Union organisation EVC is losing membership largely owing to its incessant pushing of political themes.

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to Jenevother, April '50,
Shans ny 700. 000.*

The EVC controls the majority of Amsterdam casual dock labourers, but few of the permanent workers. About 20% of the Rotterdam casuals are in the EVC, the remainder are Socialist.

The World Day of Peace in Amsterdam was attended by about 7,000.

ITALY: The failure of the general strike of 1st December 1949 has been generally interpreted as shewing that the Communist controlled CGIL has lost much influence with the Italian workers as far as political strikes are concerned. The figures supplied by the Administration office at the Second Congress of the CGIL in October 1949 shewed a loss of 800,000 members since June 1947, mainly skilled men from Northern Italy.

AUSTRIA: KPOe finances for 1949 shewed a heavy deficit for all Landesleitungen and the Party appears to anticipate dismissal of officials at lower levels for reasons of economy.

VI. ORGANISATION

(1) International

27. The problem of identifying the officials who are responsible for directing the international Communist campaign against M.A.P. and the machinery they employ is even more intractable than the problem of disentangling the economic and political strands in their tactics. The information available suggests that the co-ordinators are predominantly French Communists. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that the various international organisations which may be presumed to be involved, in one way or another, such as the

Bureau of the Partisans of Peace, the headquarters of the WFTU and of the Seamen and Dockers TUI are all on French soil and each has French senior permanent officials.

23. Since the 2nd Congress of the WFTU at Milan in June 1949 there has been an unmistakable tendency for that organisation to assume greater and greater authority as an executive co-ordinator in the international Communist field. At the Peking Congress in November 1949 the WFTU became the mouth-piece for tactical instructions to the Communist Parties of South East Asia. We have seen that in Western Europe the Communist Unions, in accordance with the mandate given them at the 2nd Congress of the WFTU, have been deeply involved in the political side of the Peace Campaign and, certainly in France, have shewn themselves superior to the Party therein. This leads to an a priori conclusion that the co-ordination of the campaign in the West against M.A.P. is in the hands of the WFTU. Proof of this conclusion is not yet to hand.

29. The most interesting TUI in the present context is of course the Seamen and Dockers'. Apart from the visit of FREYSSINET, the Secretary General, to Belgium and the reported visit of delegates of the TUI to Italy the Seamen and Dockers TUI has not come to notice in the course of the campaign in any such obvious way as its intervention in the London dock strike last summer. (See Quarterly Survey of Communism in Western Europe No.5 page 16). No official meeting of the Seamen and Dockers TUI is known to have taken place in the period under review nor, so far as is known, has any literature dealing with the peace offensive been issued from its headquarters. The inconspicuousness of the TUI may be due to one of two causes, either (a) that the TUI is as yet insufficiently organised to be effective or (b) that its activities have been heavily camouflaged.

30. Our impression is that the co-ordination of the campaign has taken place in Paris and that the officials of the Seamen and Dockers TUI, Land and Air Transport TUI and Metalworkers TUI have been merged with those of the WFTU headquarters for the purpose of this campaign. The few instances of direct intervention in other countries which have come to notice seem to suggest that French Unions affiliated to the CGT, (notably the Metalworkers Federation and the National Federation of Dockers) rather than the TUIs, have been acting as the international agents of the WFTU.

31. It has been reported by a usually reliable source that Charles TILLON of the Central Committee of the PCF is in charge of an "appareil" or special sub-committee charged with the central direction of the campaign against M.A.P. in France. If this is so TILLON's sub-committee must be in extremely close touch with, or even be composed of, members of the key unions and possibly the WFTU headquarters, since the French campaign is central to the whole and could not be conducted in isolation.

(2) National

32. A question closely related to the main subject of this paper is the technique employed by the Communists against the armed forces of the Western powers. Before 1935 the low-level political work of the Party in the Army was usually in the hands of the Party's Youth section. This appears to be still true in France. The UJRF (Union de la Jeunesse Republicaine de France) has apparently taken over the technical functions of the pre-war Jeunesses Communistes. The main target of the UJRF is the new conscripts. The objective is to organise cells among those entering the Army and to make arrangements for the continuance of propaganda contacts with them. The "Avant-Garde" is the chief press organ, which publishes occasional issues of "Le Conscrit".

The internal bulletin of the UJRF contains instructions for work among young men about to become conscripts. At Federation level in the PCF it is the Commission de la Jeunesse which is in charge of this work. The main instruments of propaganda are the "Amicales de la Classe" organised for conscripts by the UJRF. A directive issued in September 1949 instructed sections to bring in conscripts to meetings and to demonstrations directed against the war in Vietnam.

33. In Holland also it appears that the CPN youth organisation, the ANJV, is concerned with Party work in the Army. A report of September 1949 showed that ANJV executive committee had been giving instructions to its members as to the action required of them vis a vis Indonesia.

34. Nothing is known at present of the methods employed in Italy.

35. A number of questions of Party organisation, especially that of Party policy on the "Cadre Party" versus "Mass Party" issue, have been deferred for fuller discussion in the April issue of this Survey.

*Hel lyft nutilly
dan ons rapport over
dit onderwerp snel aan
Sardine te sturen. Het wordt
in mijn praatje van 14 November
ook behandeld. B.E.*

P.S. Since going to press, the Seamen and Dockers TUI
(T.D. of the WFTU) have issued an appeal to seamen
and dockers of the world "pour defendre leur cause
et celle de l'humanite" to refuse to transport and
handle war materials. Seamen and dockers are invited
to form Peace Committees in ports, ships and dockyards.
(Humanite of 2.3.50.)

The same issue of Humanite gives a certain amount of
circumstantial detail of the type of war material and
the method of transportation for the first consignment
due to leave Richmond (Virginia) on 6.3.50, under
M.A.P.