

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

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TRIUMPH OF SOVIET SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

On March 14, in an atmosphere of high political activity and enthusiasm of the population the elections took place to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The elections for the Supreme Soviet were an outstanding event in the life of the great Soviet people. They turned into a powerful manifestation of the indestructible moral-political unity of the Soviet people, of their monolithic solidarity around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Election day became a great and moving festival of the people, the people-builders, creators of the wealth and glory of their socialist homeland. 99.98 per cent of the electorate went to the polls. Of this number over 99 per cent voted for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. Thus, the popular bloc of Communists and non-Party people won, as has always been the case, complete and undivided victory. The best of the best sons and daughters of the Soviet people, ardent Soviet patriots—brilliant innovators in industry and agriculture, leading representatives of the working class and collective-farm peasantry, Party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Young Communist League functionaries, renowned workers in the realms of science, literature and art—were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Such a free general election as that held in the Soviet Union has never taken place and cannot take place in any capitalist country. Proletarian democracy, Soviet power, stressed the great Lenin, is a "million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy", and "the most democratic bourgeois republic". The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is the embodiment of genuine people's rule. Socialist society, in which there is no political and national oppression, no exploitation of man by man, where exploiting classes have been abolished, where poverty and unemployment are non-existent, has a real basis for genuine democracy, for a free and completely unrestricted expression of the will of the people. Any restrictions or restraint on the electoral rights of citizens are alien to Soviet socialist democracy, the clearest and most just democracy in the world. Everyone upon reaching the age of 18 has the right to vote, irrespective of race or nationality, of sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property

towards upholding the cause of peace against encroachments by the aggressive imperialist circles, towards promoting friendship between the nations and relations of peace between the states. Such a foreign policy corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet people and to the interests of all mankind.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly approve the sole correct home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government tested in decades of struggle. The splendid outcome of the elections for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR testifies to the boundless confidence in and the love of the Soviet people for the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, to the complete and unanimous support for their policy by all the peoples of the USSR, by all Soviet people.

For all countries of the camp of peace and democracy Soviet socialist democracy is the guiding star in building the new life. In these countries, in which the working people have become the genuine master of their fate, great social-economic transformations are taking place and wide civic rights and freedoms are being realised.

What a striking contrast compared with the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism is the vaunted "democracy" of the capitalist countries where all power is in the hands of the exploiting classes! In the capitalist countries large masses of ordinary people are in fact denied the right to elect and be elected to the organs of state power. In the USA there are some 50 electoral qualifications which, in reality, reduce to nought the electoral rights of tens of millions of the working people. Negroes and Indians are subjected to racial discrimination and brutal national oppression and deprived of all political rights. As a result of all this the people are prevented from taking part in the political life of the country. This is borne out by the following data for the USA: the number of those who took part in the election in 1896 was 83 per cent of the electorate, in 1916 the figure fell to 72 per cent, in 1944 to 56 per cent and in 1948 to 51 per cent.

What is taking place in the USA is true for the other capitalist countries. In Switzerland, Greece, Argentina and in a number of other capitalist countries women, constituting half the population, have no right to vote in parliamentary elections. In

GREAT VICTORY OF POPULAR BLOC OF COMMUNISTS AND NON-PARTY PEOPLE IN ELECTIONS TO SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR

On March 12 the voters of the Leningrad electoral district in Moscow met their candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in the Hall of Columns of the Trade Union House. They greeted his speech warmly and followed it with close attention, repeatedly breaking into applause.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR took place on March 14 in an atmosphere of great patriotic enthusiasm. By midday nearly all the electors had voted at the many polling stations in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Erevan, Tbilisi, Riga and other cities and industrial centres of the country. In the evening big celebration concerts and mass outdoor fetes were held at Palaces of Culture, workers' clubs and agitation centres.

On March 18 the Soviet newspapers published the report of the Central Electoral Commission for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the election results, together with the list of deputies. The report reads:

The Central Electoral Commission has received final election results from all the District electoral commissions. According to the figures, the total electorate in all electoral districts numbered 120,750,816, of whom 120,727,826, or 99.98 per cent of the total, took part in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In all electoral districts for the election to the Soviet of the Union the candidates of the popular bloc of Communists and non-Party people polled 120,479,249 votes, or 99.79 per cent of the total vote, 247,897 voted against the candidates for the Soviet of the Union. On the basis of Article 88 of the "Statute of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR" 680 ballot papers were found to be invalid.

In all electoral districts for the elections to the Soviet of Nationalities the candi-

dates of the popular bloc of Communists and non-Party people polled 120,539,860 votes, or 99.84 per cent of the total vote. 187,357 voted against the candidates for the Soviet of Nationalities. In accordance with Article 88 of the "Statute of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR" 609 ballot papers were found to be invalid.

In the Union Republics the results of the elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities are as follows:

Name of Union Republic	Participated in elections Percentage of electorate	Votes cast for candidates of bloc of Communists and non-Party people	
		Soviet of Union Per cent who went to poll	Soviet of Nationalities Per cent who went to poll
RSFSR	99.98	99.73	99.83
Ukrainian SSR	99.99	99.88	99.91
Byelorussian SSR	99.99	99.94	99.66
Uzbek SSR	99.97	99.89	99.86
Kazakh SSR	99.99	99.79	99.78
Georgian SSR	99.99	99.95	99.99
Azerbaijan SSR	99.99	99.81	99.83
Lithuanian SSR	99.95	99.91	99.94
Moldavian SSR	99.99	99.85	99.80
Latvian SSR	99.96	99.94	99.96
Kirghiz SSR	99.99	99.67	99.70
Tajik SSR	99.99	99.92	99.89
Armenian SSR	99.99	99.94	99.94
Turkmen SSR	99.99	99.83	99.84
Estonian SSR	99.85	99.77	99.76
Karelo-Finnish SSR	99.99	99.84	99.66
Total for the USSR	99.98	99.79	99.84

In all electoral districts for the elections to the Soviet of Nationalities in Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas of 9,534,150 electors 9,532,571, or 99.98 per cent, voted. In these electoral districts the candidates of the popular bloc of Communists and non-Party people polled 9,503,807 votes or 99.69 per cent of the total vote, 28,722 voting against. On the basis of Article 88 of the "Statute of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR" 42 ballot papers were declared invalid.

Having examined the materials received from each electoral district separately, the Central Electoral Commission on the basis of Article 38 of the "Statute of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR" registered the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in all the 1,347 electoral districts.

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Thus the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were crowned by the full and undivided victory of the popular bloc of Communists and non-Party people. Voting for the candidates of this bloc the Soviet people—creators and builders of Communism—voted for the further flourishing of socialist industry and a steep advance in agriculture, for steady improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the people, for all-round consolidation of the might and strength of the socialist state, for its further success in the fight to preserve and strengthen peace.

Speech by Comrade G. M. MALENKOV

at Meeting of Voters of Leningrad Electoral District in Moscow

on March 12, 1954

Comrades! Allow me to express to you and through you to all voters of the Leningrad electoral district my heartfelt gratitude for the great honour and trust you have shown me by nominating me as candidate for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. (Prolonged applause). I assure you that I will continue to serve honestly and devotedly the cause of our glorious Communist Party, of our great people, to give all my energy to the socialist homeland. (Prolonged applause).

Important branches of agriculture. Measures have been taken to secure a further development of animal husbandry, an increase in the production of potatoes and other vegetables and further expansion in the production of grain and the reclamation of virgin and unused lands. Important steps have been taken to stimulate materially the interest of collective farms and collective farmers in agricultural production.

The task of ensuring a steep upsurge of agriculture of creating a sufficiency

light these shortcomings and will continue to do so, disregarding the fact that by our self-criticism we for a time give cause for rejoicing to our ill-wishers and enemies in foreign countries. We will wage a resolute struggle for the swiftest elimination of the lag and neglect in all sectors of our socialist construction wherever they are to be found.

The task is: while eliminating shortcomings, overcoming the lag and neglect, to ensure a steady rise and perfecting of

technique; we must continue to display unflinching concern for raising the cultural and technical level of these cadres, train new cadres, constantly raise the discipline and self-discipline of the working people on all sectors of our construction.

Further improvement in the organisation of production and the organisation of labour is now of decisive importance for ensuring a swift rise in labour productivity. In this sphere we have very serious shortcomings. Yet the problem of labour organ-

Such a free general election as that held in the Soviet Union has never taken place and cannot take place in any capitalist country. Proletarian democracy, Soviet power, stressed the great Lenin, is a "million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy", and "the most democratic bourgeois republic". The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is the embodiment of genuine people's rule. Socialist society, in which there is no political and national oppression, no exploitation of man by man, where exploiting classes have been abolished, where poverty and unemployment are non-existent, has a real basis for genuine democracy, for a free and completely unrestricted expression of the will of the people. Any restrictions or restraint on the electoral rights of citizens are alien to Soviet socialist democracy, the clearest and most just democracy in the world. Everyone upon reaching the age of 18 has the right to vote, irrespective of race or nationality, of sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status and previous activity. Soviet law firmly safeguards the democratic rights and freedoms of all citizens of the USSR.

The profoundly popular character of Soviet socialist democracy consists in the fact that the Soviet social and state system expresses the vital interests of the people, that the Soviet people take an active and decisive part in running the state. The Soviet system corresponds to the vital interests and to the will of the popular masses—the real makers of history. Soviet democracy is the splendid translation into life of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet socialist democracy opens up boundless possibilities for the people to display their creative and constructive initiative, their rich talents and abilities, their inexhaustible revolutionary energy. The life-affirming strength and economic might of the land of Soviets are growing and becoming stronger year by year, month by month. Boldly and with confidence the Soviet man looks to the morrow. He is fully aware that his democratic rights and freedoms are inviolable, that the Communist Party is his own party, that the Soviet Government is his own government. The indestructible unity of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the people is the source of the indomitable strength of Soviet society, the guarantee of the successful onward march of the Soviet Union towards Communism. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government, all working people of the USSR have one and the same aim, one and the same task—to ensure a still greater flourishing of the land of Soviets, a further rapid improvement in the wellbeing and culture of the people, tirelessly to work so that all Soviet people live better and better.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, inspiring and directing the creative labour of the millions of Soviet people, devotes never-failing attention to consolidating the might of the Soviet socialist state—the chief instrument for building Communism. The Communist Party works tirelessly to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry—the unshakable foundation of the Soviet system—the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the USSR, which are the source of the invincible strength of the Soviet multi-national state.

The clear and consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union is directed towards ensuring peaceful conditions for the building of Communist society in the USSR,

democracy" of the capitalist countries where all power is in the hands of the exploiting classes! In the capitalist countries large masses of ordinary people are in fact denied the right to elect and be elected to the organs of state power. In the USA there are some 50 electoral qualifications which, in reality, reduce to nought the electoral rights of tens of millions of the working people. Negroes and Indians are subjected to racial discrimination and brutal national oppression and deprived of all political rights. As a result of all this the people are prevented from taking part in the political life of the country. This is borne out by the following data for the USA: the number of those who took part in the election in 1896 was 83 per cent of the electorate, in 1916 the figure fell to 72 per cent, in 1944 to 56 per cent and in 1948 to 51 per cent.

What is taking place in the USA is true for the other capitalist countries. In Switzerland, Greece, Argentina and in a number of other capitalist countries women, constituting half the population, have no right to vote in parliamentary elections. In Portugal electoral rights are denied to all citizens unable to read and write, that is over 50 per cent of the population. In colonial and dependent countries the peoples oppressed by imperialism are denied political rights.

Elections in the capitalist countries usually take place in conditions of overt and covert pressure on the electorate by the ruling circles, in conditions of political blackmail, police terror and persecution of democratic organisations.

Expressing the interests and aspirations of the broad popular masses the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries are courageously and selflessly fighting for democratic rights and freedom for the peoples. The Communist Parties of France, Italy and other countries resolutely and unremittably expose the anti-democratic and anti-popular machinations of the ruling circles. In their heroic struggle for the people's rights they are inspired by the triumph of democracy in the USSR and the other countries of the camp of peace, by the successes of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, by the successes of Communist construction in the land of Soviets and of the socialist construction in the People's Democracies.

During the elections for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the voice of the Soviet people resounded with tremendous force all over the world, calling on mankind to fight steadfastly for preserving and strengthening world peace, for settling controversial international problems by peaceful means and for lessening the international tension. Speeches by the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, by workers and collective farmers, by scientists and writers, contained inspiring calls for peace and peaceful labour, for friendship between all nations.

The powerful call of the Soviet people for peace merges with the voices of hundreds of millions of honest people all over the world. People of different social strata, of various political and religious views are uniting on the basis of defending peace and national independence. This indeed is a sign of the times!

The Soviet people, headed by the Communist Party, are confidently carrying out the great tasks with which their country is confronted on its way to Communism. The splendid, free and creative life of the Soviet people, their indestructible unity and life-giving patriotism fully demonstrate the all-conquering force of Socialism and democracy.

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The election of the supreme organ of power is an event of paramount importance in our democratic state. The Soviet people, the masters of their country, while preparing for the forthcoming elections are reviewing the path traversed during the four years that have elapsed since the previous elections for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The Soviet economy is firmly proceeding along the path of uninterrupted upsurge. The national income of the USSR during the period from 1949 to 1953 increased by 62 per cent and in 1953 was more than double the pre-war level.

During these years our industry has made a rapid leap in its development; 2,500 industrial establishments have been built; industry's basic funds have increased more than 1.5 times; industrial output increased 1.8 times. To give an idea of these achievements it is sufficient to mention the fact that the increase alone in industrial output during these years is much greater than the total output of industry in 1940. (Applause).

For many years our Party under the guidance of the great continuer of Lenin's cause, Comrade Stalin, has persistently and steadfastly conducted the policy of industrialising the country. The results of this policy are known to everyone. Our country has now a powerful heavy industry which we will continue unremittably to develop as the foundation ensuring the uninterrupted growth and development of the entire national economy, as the reliable bulwark of the country's defence. (Applause).

But today, enjoying the fruits and results of industrialisation, our Party has set the task of achieving in the next two or three years a steep advance in the production of consumer goods.

As for light industry, today we can already speak about certain initial results. Thus, as a result of the measures taken, production of consumer goods increased by more than 30,000 million roubles in the second half of last year compared with the first half. In the current year we must attain the level of output of consumer goods stipulated for 1955 by the fifth Five-Year Plan. This means that in the production of consumer goods the fifth Five-Year Plan will be completed in four years. (Tumultuous applause).

It is quite obvious that the further rapid development of agriculture is of special importance for increasing the output of consumer goods. It is known that the Party and the Government have drawn up and are carrying out a comprehensive programme of measures for eliminating the neglect and lag in a number of im-

portant branches of agriculture. Measures have been taken to secure a further development of animal husbandry, an increase in the production of potatoes and other vegetables and further expansion in the production of grain and the reclamation of virgin and unused lands. Important steps have been taken to stimulate materially the interest of collective farms and collective farmers in agricultural production.

The task of ensuring a steep upsurge of agriculture, of creating a sufficiency and then an abundance of all foodstuffs for the people and all raw materials for light industry is a task for the entire people. All our Party, Soviet, trade union and Young Communist League organisations, our industry and transport, all industrial establishments and scientific institutions must display constant business-like attention to ensure that all branches of agriculture thrive, help the collective farms, machine and tractor stations (MTS) and state farms in their efforts to increase agricultural production. There can be no doubt that our collective farms and state farms, our collective farmers and workers of MTS and state farms, surrounded by all-round attention and care, will, with honour, discharge their duty to the country. (Applause).

Considerable achievements in raising further the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people have been attained on the basis of the development of the entire national economy and the growth of the national income. During the past four years real wages of factory and office workers have increased, incomes of the collective farmers have risen. The total incomes of factory and office workers and the incomes of collective farmers, taking into account the reduction of state retail prices, have risen by 60 per cent in four years.

The rise in the material wellbeing of our people has necessitated the further expansion of Soviet trade. This year the sale of goods to the population by the state and co-operative trading network will be more than double that of 1940. In trade, as in the production of consumer goods, the fifth Five-Year Plan will be completed in four years. (Tumultuous applause).

Appropriations for the construction of schools, hospitals and children's institutions are being increased. Housing construction has been developed on a large scale in recent years but the need for dwellings is still very great. We will intensify the building of hospitals and schools and extend housing construction in every way.

Soviet people take legitimate pride in the successes achieved; they are firmly confident that our country will achieve a new and even more powerful upsurge of the economy. (Applause).

It must be admitted however that in our practical work there are still many shortcomings, and at times a lag and neglect which impede our advance. The elimination of shortcomings depends on ourselves, on the executives, on Soviet men and women. We have been bringing to

light these shortcomings and will continue to do so, disregarding the fact that by our self-criticism we for a time give cause for rejoicing to our ill-wishers and enemies in foreign countries. We will wage a resolute struggle for the swiftest elimination of the lag and neglect in all sectors of our socialist construction wherever they are to be found.

The task is: while eliminating shortcomings, overcoming the lag and neglect, to ensure a steady rise and perfecting of socialist production as the basis for consolidating the might of our homeland, raising the living standards of the people and developing science and culture in our country.

All of us, Soviet men and women, all our people must become fully conscious of the fact that the principal, decisive requisite for the further advance and all-round development of the national economy is an all-out increase in labour productivity in all fields—in industry, transport and agriculture. All must know that without a considerable and uninterrupted rise in labour productivity it is impossible to achieve a substantial and rapid improvement in the wellbeing of the Soviet people.

The founder of our Party and state, the great Lenin, in the very first years of Soviet rule, advanced as a basic directive that growth of labour productivity is a vital task of the new society, without which the transition to Communism is impossible.

It is generally known that the industrialisation of our country and reconstruction of the national economy have brought about a substantial rise in labour productivity. If we take a long period, let us say the last 25 years, labour productivity has increased approximately 6 times in industry and 3.5 times in construction and railway transport. Labour productivity in the collective farms and state farms is approximately three times higher than labour productivity in agriculture before the revolution.

These, of course, are important achievements when compared with labour productivity in the past. Matters stand differently if we look not at the past but ahead, with a view to accomplishing the task of maximum satisfaction of the rising material requirements of our people, accomplishing the task of successful economic competition with the advanced capitalist countries. Looked at in this way it must be admitted that the present level of labour productivity is insufficient.

We must achieve a substantial rise in the productivity of social labour. We have powerful technical facilities in all branches of the national economy which must be perfected and developed in every way; we must mechanise labour-consuming operations on a broader scale and develop in every way the electrification of the national economy, including the electrification of agriculture. Herein lies the means for raising labour productivity, for lightening the labour of the workers and collective farmers. Our national economy has skilled cadres who have mastered complex

advance in agriculture, for steady improvement of the material and cultural wellbeing of the people, for all-round consolidation of the might and strength of the socialist state, for its further success in the fight to preserve and strengthen peace.

technique; we must continue to display unflinching concern for raising the cultural and technical level of these cadres, train new cadres, constantly raise the discipline and self-discipline of the working people on all sectors of our construction.

Further improvement in the organisation of production and the organisation of labour is now of decisive importance for ensuring a swift rise in labour productivity. In this sphere we have very serious shortcomings. Yet the problem of labour organisation, that is of the planned and most expedient utilisation of social labour, both within the enterprises and on a national scale, will take on a still greater significance the farther we advance in strengthening the material and technical base and developing the productive forces of the country.

Our urgent task is to see to it that all practical work in guiding the further development of the national economy does in fact centre around concern for a substantial rise in labour productivity. We must launch a genuinely broad people's movement for a substantial rise in labour productivity, for the attainment of high labour productivity in every industrial enterprise, on every construction site, in transport, on each collective farm and state farm, in the MTS, on all fronts of our great construction. (Prolonged applause).

Of great national-economic significance is the question of quality of manufactured goods. We must no longer tolerate the fact that many of our enterprises still turn out inferior goods. We must not lose time in eliminating this disgrace of producing low-quality goods. Industry must turn out fine and elegant goods for our people. As for the foreign market we must see to it that the "Made in the USSR" trade mark should serve as a full guarantee that the goods are of the highest quality. (Applause).

Soviet science is called upon to play a great role in ensuring the further progress of our homeland. The Soviet people are proud of their scientists and wish the workers in science and technology success in bold creative searching, in new scientific discoveries. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

Comrades, life makes new high demands on our entire state apparatus. Yet to this day there are in its work bureaucratic distortions against which our Party is waging a resolute struggle. The Soviet state apparatus must perfect the methods of its work on the basis of day-to-day contact with the working people, must be attentive to their requirements, display solicitude for the needs of the working people, strictly observe Soviet laws and must not abuse its power in relation to Soviet citizens. (Prolonged applause).

The Soviet Union is striding ahead. The granite foundation of the Soviet system—the alliance of the working class and the peasantry—is strong and unshakable, the friendship of the peoples founded on full equality, mutual respect and fraternal co-operation is strong and unbreakable. Herein lies the might and strength

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Speech by Comrade G. M. MALENKOV

(Continued from page 1)

of our socialist state. (Tumultuous applause).

Comrades, in the sphere of foreign policy our invariable line is to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of Communist society in our country, to defend the cause of peace against the encroachments of aggressive circles. This line conforms to the fundamental, vital interests of the Soviet people and all mankind. (Tumultuous applause).

It goes without saying that so long as there are aggressive circles in the world who still have vain dreams of destroying our socialist system, the Soviet Union is obliged to keep its armed forces in such a state as to be able to cut short any possible venture of the aggressors. (Tumultuous applause).

The most important result of recent years is that millions of men and women are taking the defence of peace and the security of the nations into their own hands. It is a sign of our times that men and women of different social groups, different political and religious views are uniting to defend peace and national security.

Take Europe. In the recent period the aggressive circles have been more and more openly pursuing a policy of splitting the national forces within the European states, a policy of splitting Europe, of setting one grouping of European states against another. But this line is counterposed by the solidarity of the European people, which is growing stronger, in the struggle against the disastrous splitting policy, in defending peace and progress. There is growing determination among French patriots to safeguard their country from the looming danger of resurgence of German militarism, the sworn enemy of the great French nation. In Italy and in other European countries the peoples are ever more resolutely striving to uphold peace and safeguard their countries from the danger of being drawn anew into a world slaughter through the revanchist German military clique.

A powerful growth of the peace forces distinguishes the life of the Asian peoples who are fully determined to transform Asia from a chronic breeding ground of war into a reliable bastion of international peace. This determination is above all embodied in the People's Republic of China. (Tumultuous applause). The Soviet people greatly rejoice in the fact that, together with the Soviet Union, the glorious People's Republic of China is in the van of the struggle for peace and international security. (Applause). A valuable contribution to the strengthening of peace is being made by the great people of India. The vigilance displayed by statesmen of India in view of the growing intrigues in Asia of American aggressive circles can only be welcomed. The Prime Minister of India, replying to a statement by American diplomats about the intention of the United States to dominate Asia for an indefinite period, said recently that the "Asian countries and, of course, India, do not agree with this policy and by no means intend to be under the domination of any state". These words express a truth full of profound meaning: this is not the XIXth century but the second half of the XXth century; and the Asian peoples have not taken the path of national freedom and progress in order to allow anyone to hurl them back. (Prolonged applause).

It is generally recognised that the year 1953 was marked by a certain relaxation in the international tension. Peace-loving mankind succeeded in having the war ended in Korea.

Every thinking person cannot but ponder over the matter of how to ensure another step forward, how to find a real basis for the durable consolidation of peace and the security of the peoples. It is not true that humanity has only the choice between the two possibilities: either a new world war or the so-called cold war. The peoples are vitally interested in a durable strengthening of peace. The Soviet Government stands for

because this policy is one of preparing a new world slaughter which, with modern means of warfare, spells destruction for world civilization.

It is known that in waging the cold war the enemies of peace resort to all kinds of mendacious fabrications about the Soviet Union and its foreign policy and put their main stake on the myth they themselves have created about alleged aggressive aspirations of the USSR. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union has utterly blasted this falsity, once again confirming the old Russian proverb: "A lie never grows old. Falseness is short-lived". (Applause).

Our position is clear. We stand for peaceful economic competition of the Soviet Union with all the capitalist countries, including, of course, the United States of America.

The Soviet Government consistently adheres to the view that any disputed issue in present-day international relations, no matter how difficult it may be, must be settled in a peaceful way. (Applause). The Soviet Government favours international conferences at which representatives of the different countries, enjoying equal rights, would conscientiously work in the interests of bringing about the relaxation of international tension and seek and find a peaceful way for settling disputed issues. In accordance with this line the Soviet Union took an active part in the Berlin Four-Power Conference and, as you know, made proposals aimed at securing an effective solution of a number of important international problems. We attach importance to the forthcoming Geneva Conference of the Great Powers with the participation of other interested states at which the People's Republic of China will be a participant with equal rights. (Tumultuous applause).

It cannot but be recognised that the chief obstacle to the further easing of international tension is the fact that the Western Powers approach the settlement of important international questions as a closed military group, placing aggressive military-strategic considerations above everything else.

This alone can explain the attitude of the Western Powers towards the proposal to conclude a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe. As is known, the Western Powers counterpose to this treaty the formation of a military bloc of six states in which the West German militarists would be the strongest and play the chief role.

Attempts are made to assure us that with the formation of a "Little Europe" Germany would assume its place in Europe and would be pacified. This sounds like sheer hypocrisy. Is it not clear that as a result of the formation of the "European Defence Community" German militarism would seize in the West what it failed to achieve against the creation of a big aggressive Germany in the guise of a "Little Europe". (Applause).

There is no doubt that given a real desire to ensure security in Europe it would be possible to overcome the obstacles to the conclusion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe and carefully examine the proposals arising therefrom.

The Soviet Government stands for extending economic and trade relations with other countries on the basis of mutual advantage. We can express satisfaction at the fact that the importance of developing economic relations with the Soviet Union is beginning to be recognised in London. (Applause).

The continuous strengthening of the great friendship that binds our homeland with all the People's Democracies arouses the legitimate pride of every Soviet man and woman. This fraternal friendship is not only a source of strength of the democratic camp but also a most important bulwark of international peace. (Tumultuous applause).

for a better life and for the happiness of our people. Unbreakable ties link our Party with the Soviet people. The people trust their own Party and are rallying ever closer around it. (Prolonged applause).

Our Party has openly expressed its view on such an important question as the collective principle of leadership and it is confident that its statements have met with the support of the Soviet people. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause). It is indisputable that the collective principle in guiding the Party and the country is the essential guarantee for the correct and successful accomplishment of the vitally important tasks facing us, the correct and successful solution of fundamental problems affecting the destinies of the Soviet people.

The trust and support of the people enable our Party boldly and resolutely to bring to light mistakes and shortcomings in the work of central and local Party, Soviet and economic organs. Our Party is accustomed to share with the people sorrows and joys, victories and defeats, successes and failures. (Tumultuous applause).

Thirty-six years are a brief period for a new social system. Our Party and the people have done much to strengthen and develop it. The Soviet men and women have every reason to be proud of the successes and achievements of the new system, especially if we bear in mind that external aggressive forces imposed on us devastating wars, raised other obstacles, hampered and are hampering now the full development of the great construction potentialities of Socialism.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, under the guidance of our own Communist Party, have built a new society in which there is no exploitation of man by man, no political or national oppression. On this basis new relations among people have taken root in our country, relations of fraternal, friendly co-operation of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, of all Soviet men and women. (Applause).

We, all the working people of our country, have the same goal, the same tasks—to ensure the still greater prosperity and might of our homeland, to attain a rapid rise in the material and cultural standards of the people, to work tirelessly so that all Soviet men and women should live better and better. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

Conscientious labour, directed at attaining this great and noble goal, is prized and respected in our country. Men and women workers, engineering and technical personnel and other employees in industry, construction, the transport and communication services, men and women collective farmers, all the workers of agriculture, the workers of the trading network—all working people who are creating and multiplying the wealth of our country; workers in the realm of science who are opening up new possibilities for technical progress, for subjugating the forces of nature and lightening human labour; workers of education, literature and art who are dedicating their labour to the noble cause of the Communist education of the Soviet people; the selfless medical workers who are safeguarding the health of Soviet people; men and officers of the heroic Soviet Army and Navy covered with the glory of victories—all Soviet men and women are the architects, the builders of the new life. It is to their selfless labour that our homeland owes its greatness and glory. (Tumultuous applause).

The Soviet man looks to the morrow confidently, cheerfully and boldly. He knows that the Communist Party dedicates all its energies to his happiness, to the peaceful development and prosperity of our glorious homeland. (Prolonged applause).

Long live our great heroic people! (Tumultuous applause).

Long live our own Communist Party—the inspirer and organiser of all our victories! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

May our homeland flourish for the happiness and joy of all Soviet men and

Close of Second Congress, Polish United Workers' Party

The Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party continued in session from March 12 to 17. The delegates discussed the report of the Central Committee of the Party delivered by Comrade Bierut; the report of the Central Auditing Commission by Comrade Rozca; matters relating to the main economic tasks for the two last years (1954-55) of the Six-Year Plan by Comrade Minc; tasks connected with the development of agriculture in 1954-55 and the essential measures for ensuring an advance in agricultural production by Comrade Nowak; a number of organisational matters and amendments to the Rules of the Party by Comrade Ochab.

The delegates displayed vigorous activity and unanimity; the keynote of the Congress was criticism and self-criticism. The Party functionaries, leading workers from the industrial enterprises and building sites and the activists of the producer co-operatives actively discussed the report of the Central Committee and the other items on the agenda. Their contributions were imbued with one and the same idea: the Polish people, led by its United Workers' Party, have won brilliant victories in developing the economy and culture, in raising the standard of living of the working people and are marching confidently along the road to Socialism. Unanimously approving the course steered by the Party for raising the standard of living of the working people, the delegates spoke of the determination of the people to spare no effort in the struggle for realisation of the programme outlined by the Party. The discussion demonstrated the great desire of the delegates to disclose and fully utilise all available reserves in order to ensure increased production of manufactured goods and foodstuffs; they advanced concrete proposals for effecting an all-out upsurge in industry and agriculture, for raising the standard of living.

The report of the Credentials Commission was unanimously approved by the Congress. The report points out that the 1,277 delegates include 823 of working-class origin, 296 of peasant origin and 106 from the working intelligentsia.

The Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution on the reports of the Central Committee and of the Central Auditing Commission:

"The Congress accepts and approves the report of the Central Committee, recognises the political line carried out by the Central Committee in the period under review as correct and resolves to accept the report by Comrade Boleslaw Bierut as a guide for the work of the Party, especially in the struggle for carrying out the vital tasks of reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance and securing a rapid rise in the standard of living of the working masses".

The delegates likewise unanimously adopted the resolution relating to "the

achievements in carrying out the Six-Year Plan and the main economic tasks for 1954-55". This resolution outlines a broad programme envisaging the further advance of industry, development of agriculture and a steady rise in the standard of living of the working people in town and country.

The resolution "the tasks of developing agriculture in 1954-55 and essential measures for ensuring an upsurge in agricultural production" was also unanimously approved.

Having thoroughly discussed a number of organisational matters and amendments to the Party Rules the delegates unanimously approved the new Rules with the amendments and addenda submitted by the Rules Commission.

The delegates rose in their places in tribute to the memory of Klement Gottwald, outstanding figure in the international working-class movement and President of the Czechoslovak Republic, on the occasion of the anniversary of his death.

The Congress was greeted by Stefan Ignar, Deputy Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish United Peasant Party, and by Wacław Barcikowski, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party.

The delegates and guests listened with keen attention to the greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, which was read by Tseng Yung-chuan, representative of the Communist Party of China. Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, brought greetings from the French Communist Party. On behalf of their respective Parties the Congress was greeted by Vaclav Kopecky, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Ruggero Grieco, member of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party; Willy Mohn, member of the Secretariat of the Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany; Aimo Aaltonen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland; Willy Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Erno Geró, member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Working People's Party; Iosif Chişinevski, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party; Dimitr Dimov, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria; George Matthews, Assistant Secretary of the British Communist Party; Van Den Boom, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium.

Messages of greetings were received from the Party of the Working People of Viet

Nam, from the Communist Party of India and other fraternal Parties.

On March 17 the Congress elected the leading organs of the Polish United Workers' Party. 77 members and 50 alternate members were elected to the Central Committee by secret ballot. The new Central Auditing Commission was also elected.

The final session took place on the evening of March 17. The appearance in the presidium of the outstanding leaders of the Party and of the Government, headed by Comrade Boleslaw Bierut, the delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, first Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, and the representatives of other fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties was greeted by tumultuous and prolonged applause.

Boleslaw Bierut who was enthusiastically welcomed by the audience spoke at the final session.

"The Second Congress of our Party", he said, "has come to an end. Our Congress has confirmed the complete unanimity, the inviolable unity of will, the steadfast solidarity and oneness of aspirations and sentiments which inspired all participants without exception and guided the work of this Congress, which is of such importance for the Party, the entire country and the people.

"The Second Congress", continued Comrade Bierut, "has demonstrated, more strikingly than ever before, the irrefutable truth confirmed by the entire course of our development that the progress and happiness of all the working people, the progress and happiness of all the people of Poland depend on the strength and solidarity of our Party. The Party guided the people in their liberation struggle; the Party guided the rehabilitation work of our entire country; the Party was the heart of the great work of industrialising Poland; the Party is now rallying all the forces of the people for carrying out the great task of securing a rapid advance of agriculture, the victorious completion of the entire Six-Year Plan.

"Carrying forward the best progressive traditions of the Polish people the Party has become the backbone of the National Front and its main force guiding, in close contact with the people, all state and public organisations of the working masses.

"This knowledge will guide the entire Party, this knowledge will guide the Central Committee elected by the Congress in effecting the re-allocation of our forces while carrying out the tasks advanced by the Congress".

Comrade Boleslaw Bierut declared the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party closed. All rose and joined in singing the "Internationale", the Party anthem.

Fifth Congress of Communist Party of Indonesia

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Indonesia opened on March 15 in Djakarta. In addition to delegates from Party organisations the Congress is attended by representatives from the Central Federation of Trade Unions of Indonesia, the Agricultural Workers' Union and democratic peasant unions.

At its first meeting the Congress heard the political report delivered by Aidit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Next day the delegates proceeded to discuss the report, the Party's programme and agrarian problems.

The speeches delivered by members of the Political Bureau, Aidit, Njoto, Sundisman and others, in which they gave a political analysis of the present situation in the country and placed before the people

With close attention the participants of the Congress listened to messages of greeting from the fraternal Parties of China, India, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Holland,

Thailand, Malaya, France and other countries. The message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was greeted with tumultuous applause. The message reads:

TO FIFTH CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the delegates to the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Indonesia. The Communist Party of Indonesia has traversed a path of bitter struggle against the domination of foreign invaders, rallying the workers, peasants and all progressive forces of Indonesia for the fight for national independence, for the vital interests of the broad popular masses, for peace.

We wish the Communist Party of Indonesia further successes in its glorious struggle for strengthening the Party, for raising the living standards of the working people of Indonesia, for peace between the peoples.

rejoice in the fact that, together with the Soviet Union, the glorious People's Republic of China is in the van of the struggle for peace and international security. (Applause). A valuable contribution to the strengthening of peace is being made by the great people of India. The vigilance displayed by statesmen of India in view of the growing intrigues in Asia of American aggressive circles can only be welcomed. The Prime Minister of India, replying to a statement by American diplomats about the intention of the United States to dominate Asia for an indefinite period, said recently that the "Asian countries and, of course, India, do not agree with this policy and by no means intend to be under the domination of any state". These words express a truth full of profound meaning; this is not the XIXth century but the second half of the XXth century; and the Asian peoples have not taken the path of national freedom and progress in order to allow anyone to hurl them back. (Prolonged applause).

It is generally recognised that the year 1953 was marked by a certain relaxation in the international tension. Peace-loving mankind succeeded in having the war ended in Korea.

Every thinking person cannot but ponder over the matter of how to ensure another step forward, how to find a real basis for the durable consolidation of peace and the security of the peoples. It is not true that humanity has only the choice between the two possibilities: either a new world war or the so-called cold war. The peoples are vitally interested in a durable strengthening of peace. The Soviet Government stands for the further easing of the international tension, for a durable and lasting peace and resolutely opposes the cold-war policy

of militarists who would be the strongest and play the chief role. Attempts are made to assure us that with the formation of a "Little Europe" Germany would assume its place in Europe and would be pacified. This sounds like sheer hypocrisy. Is it not clear that as a result of the formation of the "European Defence Community" German militarism would seize in the West what it failed to achieve by war. The Soviet Union is resolutely against the creation of a big aggressive Germany in the guise of a "Little Europe". (Applause).

There is no doubt that given a real desire to ensure security in Europe it would be possible to overcome the obstacles to the conclusion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe and carefully examine the proposals arising therefrom.

The Soviet Government stands for extending economic and trade relations with other countries on the basis of mutual advantage. We can express satisfaction at the fact that the importance of developing economic relations with the Soviet Union is beginning to be recognised in London. (Applause).

The continuous strengthening of the great friendship that binds our homeland with all the People's Democracies arouses the legitimate pride of every Soviet man and woman. This fraternal friendship is not only a source of strength of the democratic camp but also a most important bulwark of international peace. (Tumultuous applause).

Beneath the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin forward to new victories! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

workers, engineering and technical personnel and other employees in industry, construction, the transport and communication services, men and women collective farmers, all the workers of agriculture, the workers of the trading network—all working people who are creating and multiplying the wealth of our country; workers in the realm of science who are opening up new possibilities for technical progress, for subjugating the forces of nature and lightening human labour; workers of education, literature and art who are dedicating their labour to the noble cause of the Communist education of the Soviet people; the selfless medical workers who are safeguarding the health of Soviet people; men and officers of the heroic Soviet Army and Navy covered with the glory of victories—all Soviet men and women are the architects, the builders of the new life. It is to their selfless labour that our homeland owes its greatness and glory. (Tumultuous applause).

The Soviet man looks to the morrow confidently, cheerfully and boldly. He knows that the Communist Party dedicates all its energies to his happiness, to the peaceful development and prosperity of our glorious homeland. (Prolonged applause).

Long live our great heroic people! (Tumultuous applause).

Long live our own Communist Party—the inspirer and organiser of all our victories! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

May our homeland flourish for the happiness and joy of all Soviet men and women! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

Beneath the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin forward to new victories! (Tumultuous, prolonged ovation. All rise).

the political line carried out by the Central Committee in the period under review as correct and resolves to accept the report by Comrade Boleslaw Bierut as a guide for the work of the Party, especially in the struggle for carrying out the vital tasks of reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance and securing a rapid rise in the standard of living of the working masses".

The delegates likewise unanimously adopted the resolution relating to "the

Peoples' Party; Dimitr Dimov, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria; George Matthews, Assistant Secretary of the British Communist Party; Van Den Boom, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium.

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effecting the re-allocation of the tasks advanced by the Congress".

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At its first meeting the Congress heard the political report delivered by Aidit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Next day the delegates proceeded to discuss the report, the Party's programme and agrarian problems.

The speeches delivered by members of the Political Bureau, Aidit, Nioto, Sundisman and others, in which they gave a political analysis of the present situation in the country and placed before the people the tasks in the struggle for national independence, friendship and peace between the peoples, aroused great interest among the delegates.

With close attention the participants of the Congress listened to messages of greeting from the fraternal Parties of China, India, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Holland,

Thailand, Malaya, France and other countries. The message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was greeted with tumultuous applause. The message reads:

TO FIFTH CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA
The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the delegates to the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Indonesia. The Communist Party of Indonesia has traversed a path of bitter struggle against the domination of foreign invaders, rallying the workers, peasants and all progressive forces of Indonesia for the fight for national independence, for the vital interests of the broad popular masses, for peace.

We wish the Communist Party of Indonesia further successes in its glorious struggle for strengthening the Party, for raising the living standards of the working people of Indonesia, for peace between the peoples.

Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The reading of the message was followed by cheers in honour of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

Germany and Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers

For a period of four weeks the attention of the world public was focused on the Berlin Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers.

All the peace-loving peoples anticipated that the negotiations would make a big contribution to the cause of settling the international issues, of strengthening international security, to the cause of strengthening world peace and the peaceful co-operation between the peoples.

The German nation, as yet split in two as a result of the ruinous policy pursued by US and West German imperialism, hoped to receive help and support in its demands for a just peace treaty with Germany and for the restoration of German unity on a democratic and peace-loving basis.

The countries bordering on Germany followed the negotiations in Berlin with particular attention since the dismemberment of Germany and the resurgence of militarism and fascism in Western Germany are fraught with great danger to the security and peace of the countries of Europe.

And though the Berlin Conference failed to settle such an important international issue as the German problem, the outcome of this Conference should, nevertheless, be regarded as fully positive; it signifies a big step towards lessening the tension in international relations. The opponents of a peaceful settlement failed to prevent the Conference from being convened, nor were they able to frustrate it despite the fact that they resorted to every possible means in their endeavour to do so. The representatives of the imperialist powers met failure with their "policy of force" and suffered completeiasco.

The course of the Berlin Conference and its outcome convincingly demonstrated to

★
Otto Grotewohl
Chairman of C.C., Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Prime Minister of German Democratic Republic
★ ★

the German people and to all other peoples that negotiations on international issues can and must be conducted and that such peaceful negotiations lead to success.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union the Berlin Conference discussed vital international problems and took steps for their solution. It was decided to hold a conference in Geneva in April of representatives of the USSR, the USA, France, Great Britain, the People's Republic of China and other states directly concerned with the settlement of the Korean conflict and the problem of Indo-China. In this way further steps have been taken towards easing the tension in the Far East.

Definite obligations also devolve on the Four Great Powers from their agreement to take measures for a successful solution of the problem of disarmament, or at least for a substantial reduction of armaments. This agreement has reinforced the hopes of the peoples to the effect that universal disarmament and control over the lethal atomic weapon can be achieved by means of agreement between the interested parties.

In addition, the attitude of the Four Great Powers to international policy was clearly defined. Now everybody can see who stands for peace and who for war.

The positive results of the Four-Power Conference have strengthened and intensified the idea of negotiations and mutual understanding throughout the world. These results stem solely from the real, deep-

going and consistent will for peace contained in the proposals made by V. M. Molotov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The proposals advanced by the delegation of the Soviet Union have shown to all peoples the way to security, to the preservation and strengthening of world peace. As to whether and when the goals pointed out in the Soviet proposals will be achieved, this depends now on the determination and the will of the peoples.

The struggle to reach these goals has been launched throughout the world. It impelled Germans to draw certain important and vital conclusions which will greatly influence the development of their just national struggle for peaceful development. These conclusions are:

1. The question of the peaceful reunification of Germany is above all a matter for the Germans themselves. Mutual understanding among the Germans is necessary for this purpose. All other attempts so far have suffered fiasco. Any attempt at forcible unification will lead to fratricide and war as was the case in Korea.

2. If the Four-Power Conference invited to Geneva People's China and Korea and the other interested states for negotiations after a bloody war, naturally, for the Germans, it would be better to sit around the table rather than see Germany involved in a similar war.

3. The main obstacle in the way of a peace treaty and peaceful reunification of Germany as well as of ensuring European security is the so-called "European Defence Community". However, insofar as the parties to the Berlin Conference failed to reach agreement, owing to the resistance of the Western Powers, for relinquishing the formation of the "European Defence Community", the Germans must, by launching a powerful campaign of a popular re-

ferendum in Eastern and Western Germany on the question: "Are you for the military treaty on the 'European Defence Community' or for a peace treaty?", do their best to render the implementation of the Adenauer policy of dismemberment and war impossible, they must win a peace treaty and in this way contribute to the strengthening of European security.

4. Without close and friendly relations with the camp of peace and particularly with the Soviet Union Germany cannot ensure its peaceful and democratic future.

At the same time these conclusions show to the Germans that the German problem can be considered solely within the framework of international problems, since progress or regress on the international scale means for Germany progress or regress on a national scale.

The course of the Berlin Conference convincingly showed to the German people that it was the Soviet Union alone which advanced a clear-cut programme for the settlement of the German problem, while the Western Powers did not produce any programme whatever. All they wanted was to frustrate the Soviet proposals at all cost.

The proposals made by V. M. Molotov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, concerning the German problem are a constructive and the sole programme for the peaceful reunification of Germany on democratic lines and a sharp weapon in the struggle waged by the German people for their national, vital rights.

The discussion of these proposals by the Foreign Ministers was most instructive for the entire German people. It exposed before the eyes of the world public the demagogic attitude of the three Western Powers to the German question and proved that the imperialist powers are ignoring the just demands of the German people and encroaching on their national rights.

The Soviet proposals, on the contrary, correspond to the interests of the German people as a whole and to the demands repeatedly put forward by the German Demo-

cratic Republic. They are based on the idea of mutual understanding and peaceful negotiations provided all militarist and nationalist aspirations and ventures are excluded. The proposals of the Soviet delegation such as the proposal to invite representatives from Eastern and Western Germany to the Conference; the proposal for a draft peace treaty with Germany and a conference for signing the peace treaty with Germany; the proposal to hold a popular referendum throughout Germany on the question "for a peace treaty or for the Bonn and Paris military agreements?"; the proposal for a provisional all-German government which would draft an all-German electoral law and ensure the holding of genuinely democratic all-German elections; for the withdrawal of the occupation forces from Germany; for easing the financial-economic obligations of Germany, as has already been done by the Soviet Union in relation to the German Democratic Republic, and for the conclusion of the General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe—all were rejected by the Western Powers.

These proposals of the Soviet Union and their rejection by the Western Powers show the utter groundlessness of the noisy allegations made by Adenauer and his US accomplices to the effect that the "failure" of the Berlin Conference during the discussion of the German problem is explained by the fact that the Soviet Union refused to discuss this problem.

Herr Adenauer declared on February 14 to his close associates in the Christian Democratic Union that "the Americans are firmly determined to stick to the line elaborated in relation to the German question. Consequently, all future plans must be based on the failure of the Berlin Conference..." It follows, therefore, that Mr. Dulles came to Berlin for the purpose of frustrating a settlement of the German problem. In order to conceal these intentions Adenauer, docile lackey of the US imperialists, seeks to put the blame on the Soviet Union. Under cover of hypocritical verbiage mixed with anti-Soviet slander and fascist-like threats, Adenauer read his "government programme" in the Bundestag, which envisaged accel-

ated formation of the "European Defence Community". At the same time he asserted that "the Federal Government would also that "the Federal Government would also the endeavour to facilitate an easing of the international tension".

A bare 24 hours later, however, he actually annulled the Bonn Constitution and passed the bill providing for compulsory military service. Such is Adenauer's "contribution" to the cause of easing the international tension. This signifies the beginning of the restoration of the new Wehrmacht on the Hitler pattern. But the German people will not allow this to be done. Never again must the German youth shed their blood in the interests of the US and German monopolists.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic is well aware that the West German youth have no desire to sacrifice their lives in the interests of the foreign and German monopolists and the big landowners. This explains why it has resolved that all citizens of military age in Western Germany and Western Berlin who refuse to serve in the West German mercenary army shall be regarded in the German Democratic Republic as citizens with equal rights and receive the necessary support.

It should be noted that the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders and the Social-Democratic group in the Bundestag are supporting the US war policy and West German militarism. Despite the fact that Ollenhauer, leader of the Right-wing Social Democrats, spoke against the "European Defence Community" agreement his "opposition" and the official statements made by the Bonn Board of the Social Democratic Party against the Adenauer policy cannot conceal the fact that the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders are simultaneously trying to prevent the formation of a united front of struggle of the West German working class against Western Germany's reactionary and militarist line of development.

Jointly with Adenauer they stand for the formation of the West German mercenary army and raise a hue and cry about "free elections". Together with Adenauer they vilify the Soviet Union, the

(Continued on page 3)

Speech by Comrade N. S. KHRUSHCHEV

at Second Congress of Polish United Workers' Party on March 11, 1954

Dear Comrades!

On this splendid occasion for people's Poland, when the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party is taking place, allow me, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the entire Soviet people, to convey to you and through you to the Polish United Workers' Party, to all the people of Poland cordial fraternal greetings! **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise.)**

Under the leadership of the United Workers' Party the free people of Poland, our friends, are building with their heroic labour a new socialist life. Our Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union sincerely rejoice at every success achieved by you along this glorious road.

We are particularly glad at the successes of the Polish people because we ourselves have traversed the great path of socialist construction, having learned from our own experience that this is the sole correct path which leads the working people to freedom and happiness, to the flowering of all the vital forces of the people.

In the struggle for the victory of the new social system, free from social and national bondage, working mankind is guided by the all-conquering teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

In a brief space of time, the Polish people, headed by the working class, have transformed the economically backward bourgeois-landlord Poland into an advanced people's-democratic state. The People's Republic of Poland, ruled by the people and for the people, now possesses a highly-developed industry, a rapidly growing national economy and is developing an advanced culture.

The new democratic Poland is not, as was the case in the past, the object of exploitation by foreign capital, a source of raw materials for the imperialist states, a tool for the aggressive designs, intrigues and provocations of the imperialists. People's Poland is a free state which has been reunited within its natural boundaries and affirmed its national independence; it is steadfastly pursuing a policy of peace and friendship between the peoples and is a firm link of the powerful democratic camp.

This is a fact of great historic significance which infuriates the imperialist sharks who had become accustomed to looking on the old Poland as a tasty morsel.

The great gains won by the Polish people along the pathway of building Socialism fill with pride the hearts of the Soviet people and of all true friends of people's Poland.

The report delivered at your Congress gives a striking picture of struggles and victories won by the Polish people, of the work of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and of the Government headed by the tried leader, Comrade Boleslaw Bierut. **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)**

The Polish people are successfully solving the great and complex tasks of economic and cultural upbuilding. Having fulfilled the Three-Year Plan of economic rehabilitation the working people of Poland, with patriotic enthusiasm, are working on the Six-Year Plan which you, with every right, have designated as the plan for industrialising the country and laying the

The national income in 1953 was double the 1938 figure and real income per capita has grown tremendously, a fact which testifies to the big improvement in the conditions of the working people compared with pre-war Poland. The science, literature, art and culture of the highly-talented Polish people are developing.

For people's rule and for the Communist and Workers' Parties there is not and cannot be any interest higher than the interests of the people, no concern greater than concern for the wellbeing of the people and for the satisfaction of their growing material and spiritual requirements, for the flowering of their homeland.

On the basis of the successes achieved in developing industry in people's Poland the necessary conditions have been created for ensuring the continued advance of agriculture. Socialist industry is supplying agriculture in ever-increasing quantities with up-to-date machinery, fertilisers and manufactured goods. The working class gives daily help to the working peasantry. Both workers and peasants are vitally interested in ensuring the further development of the agriculture of their country. A steady rise in the wellbeing of the working people can be ensured only by way of the all-round development of agriculture.

There can be no doubt that the Polish people, led by their United Workers' Party, will win fresh success in developing industry, in securing a powerful upsurge of agriculture and in raising the material wellbeing of the working people of town and country.

The indestructible alliance of the working class and peasantry is the basis and unconquerable force of the people's-democratic system. The rich experience of socialist construction in the USSR, the experience gained in laying the foundations of Socialism in your country, as well as in the other countries of people's democracy, convincingly prove that the victory of the new social system is possible only as a result of a solid alliance of the working class and peasantry who constitute the overwhelming majority of society. It is thanks to the worker-peasant alliance that in our country the exploiting classes were smashed, worker-peasant rule won and socialist society built. **(Applause.)**

The great Lenin taught that the worker-peasant alliance is the guarantee of our success and of our final victory. Day by day life confirms this wise Leninist principle. The Polish United Workers' Party, guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, is strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, strengthening the people's-democratic state.

Your achievements cannot be disputed, they are there for all honest people in the world to see and they are hailed with profound satisfaction by the working people of all countries.

The results of the heroic efforts and selfless labour of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in your country demonstrate the tremendous superiority of the people's-democratic system over the capitalist system. The people's-democratic system contains boundless opportunities for ensuring the steady advance of industry and agriculture, for raising the material and cultural level of the working people. The advanced people of the working class, working peasantry and people's intelligent-

It is common knowledge that for a long time there were bad and often even hostile relations between tsarist Russia and the old Poland of the gentry, as a result of which the Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian peoples suffered alike. This was the result of the anti-people's policies pursued by the ruling classes who prevented the establishment of friendly relations between the peoples.

History proves that the working people of Poland, Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia have always had much in common. There have never been and there could not be any contradictions, any strife or enmity between them. **(Prolonged applause.)**

This year the peoples of the Soviet Union are celebrating the tercentenary of an outstanding historical event—the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia. The struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence against the Polish gentry found warm sympathy among the Polish peasantry who suffered from the oppression of the Polish feudal lords. Fighting in the army of Bogdan Khmelnytsky during the liberation war of 1648-1654 were not a few soldiers from among the Polish peasants living in the Ukraine. The liberation war waged by the Ukrainian people created favourable conditions for the armed struggle of the Polish peasants against their oppressors—the landlords and magnates. Khmelnytsky himself was well aware of the sentiments of the Polish peasants when he declared that they would help him in the struggle for the independence of the Ukraine!

There were many examples in the past of personal friendship between progressive figures in Russia, Poland and the Ukraine. These figures, basing themselves on the common interests of the people, strove for friendly relations between our peoples.

Alexander Pushkin, the famous Russian poet, sharing the views of his close friend Adam Mickiewicz, the famous Polish poet, dreamt with him of the days to come "when the peoples would forget their discord and unite in one big family".

But for a long time these dreams of the best people in Poland and Russia for friendship and fraternity between the peoples were not to come true. The barriers placed by the gentry-landlord and bourgeois system in the way of bringing the peoples closer to each other were too great.

Taras Shevchenko, the famous Ukrainian poet, in a poem dedicated to the Polish revolutionary Bronislaw Zalesky, called him his friend and his brother and with indignation wrote that the avaricious Polish magnates and the Ukrainian landlords were sowing enmity between the fraternal Polish and Ukrainian peoples who wanted to live in peace and friendship.

From its earliest days the Polish working class fought shoulder to shoulder with the working class of Russia against the common enemy—Russian autocracy, against the capitalists and landlords. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our leader of genius, pointed out fifty years ago, in the period of the struggle of the Russian and Polish workers against the tsarist yoke, against the capitalists and landlords: "...we shall always say to the Polish workers: only the complete and most intimate alliance with the Russian proletariat can meet the requirements of the political struggle that is now going on against the autocracy, only this alliance

against the bourgeois-landlord system is the remarkable fact that one of the leaders of the victorious Russian Revolution, hero of October, as he is called by the Soviet people, was Felix Dzerzhinsky, outstanding figure in the revolutionary working-class movement, glorious son of the people of Poland. **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)**

Immediately after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution Soviet power proclaimed unconditional recognition of the sovereignty and independence of Poland. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, head of the Soviet Government, pointed out that we had no quarrel with the Polish peasants and workers and that we recognised and recognise now Poland's independence and the Republic of the people of Poland. But the then anti-popular Polish Government refused to establish friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

New relations—alliance and friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union—were established in the course of the joint struggle of the peoples of our countries against the common enemy—Hitler Germany. The friendship of our peoples was forever sealed with the blood shed in this struggle. **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)**

Ten years ago, when the Soviet Army with the participation of Polish troops, cleared the territory of Poland from the German fascist occupationists, favourable conditions were created for the establishment of genuine people's rule in Poland. In the course of these years fraternal friendship was established and consolidated between Poland and the Soviet Union and friendly relations between Poland and all the People's Democracies established.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish Republic are defined by the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Post-war Co-operation signed in 1945. Pointing to the great historic significance of this Treaty, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, great continuer of Lenin's cause, said that it marked a radical turn in the relations between the Soviet Union and Poland towards alliance and friendship. Life has fully confirmed these words. **(Prolonged applause.)**

Throughout these years the relations between the Soviet Union and people's-democratic Poland have developed and grown stronger, mutual co-operation in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life and in the international life of our countries has been extended.

These relations have had a favourable effect on the growth of trade between our countries based on mutual advantage. Whereas pre-war Polish-Soviet trade was barely one per cent of Poland's total trade turnover, by 1952 it had risen to 32 per cent. In 1954 Poland's trade turnover with the Soviet Union will be 8 times the 1945 figure.

The alliance and friendship of the Polish Republic with the countries of people's democracy and the Soviet Union, which are steadily becoming stronger, ensure and will continue to ensure fraternal support for people's Poland in its onward march, towards Socialism. The Soviet people have been and remain the true friend and reliable ally of the working people of the Polish Republic, of the working people of all the people's-democratic countries.

rebuff to the enemies of peace. The peoples have not forgotten that the war, which brought colossal suffering to our peoples, was caused by Hitler aggression, that peace came to Europe as a result of the defeat of German imperialism and the formation of the powerful camp of the peace-loving powers.

At the present moment the reactionary forces in the capitalist countries are doing all in their power to prevent a lessening of the international tension. They have formed the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance and are going ahead with a frantic arms drive, they are extending the network of US military bases in the countries of Europe and Asia, inciting revenge-seeking sentiments in Western Germany and steering a course for restoring German imperialism and recreating the aggressive German army.

In these circumstances all the peoples must be specially vigilant, must devote all their energies towards preventing the outbreak of war which they hate. The whole world knows that the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the countries of people's democracy is directed towards lessening the tension in international relations and reinforcing peace. The facts testify that these efforts are not without their fruits.

The peoples do not want war and they have a force capable of upholding the cause of peace. This force is the camp of the peace-loving powers, which is constantly growing stronger, the camp of the champions of peace and democracy in all countries.

The indestructible friendship and unity of the strivings of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Poland and of all the countries of people's democracy are the reliable foundation of the camp of peace and democracy, the powerful bulwark of world peace. **(Prolonged applause.)**

Comrades!

The tenth anniversary of the rebirth of Poland will be celebrated this year. People's Poland has traversed a great and glorious path in the course of these ten years. Having taken their fate into their own hands, having established the rule of the working people, the people of Poland have carried out tremendous transformations in their country during these years. The preparations for your Congress and the work of the Congress convincingly prove that the working people in Poland see in

the Polish United Workers' Party, which has rallied in its ranks the best and the most advanced forces of its people, a wise leader and teacher. The working people of Poland are aware that they are indebted for all their successes to the heroic struggle waged by the working class, to the leadership given by the Polish United Workers' Party.

The trust reposed in it by the popular masses places a special responsibility on the Party. The great tasks facing the Polish people demand from the Polish United Workers' Party, as correctly stressed in the report of the Central Committee of your Party, persistent effort for the further strengthening of the unity of its ranks, for raising its ideological level and the political efficiency of the Party organisations.

It is clear to all of us from the rich experience of the fifty years struggle waged by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the revolutionary party of the working class can successfully fulfil its historical tasks provided it is guided in its work by Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively applies this theory to the concrete conditions of its country, provided the party constantly reinforces the iron unity of its ranks and mercilessly combats each and every enemy of the people. **(Applause.)**

The experience of history teaches us that the strength of the Party lies in its unbreakable contact with the people, that the strength of the people lies in their unity around the revolutionary party. **(Applause.)**

The Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party is solving important tasks. It is summing up the results of the first four years' work on the Six-Year Plan and charting measures for the continued advance of the national economy, for raising the standard of living of the working masses, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the people's-democratic system, for still greater efficiency of the Party—the leading force in the struggle for Socialism.

There is no doubt that this Congress will be an outstanding landmark in the development of people's Poland along the pathway of socialist construction. With all our hearts we wish your Congress fruitful work on behalf of your people! **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise.)**

Dear Comrades!

When sending our delegation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union instructed it to convey to your Congress the following greeting:

"To the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party! **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise.)**

"Under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party the working people of Poland have achieved big success in the socialist industrialisation of the country, in the reconstruction of agriculture and the development of culture. People's Poland has become a firm link of the powerful democratic camp and is an active fighter for the preservation and strengthening of world peace.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly wishes the Polish United Workers' Party further successes in the work of socialist construction, in advancing agriculture, in securing a steady rise in the standard of living of the working people and in reinforcing the people's-democratic state. **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise.)**

"Long live the Polish United Workers' Party—organiser and leader of the Polish people! **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)**

had become accustomed to looking on the old Poland as a tasty morsel.

The great gains won by the Polish people along the pathway of building Socialism fill with pride the hearts of the Soviet people and of all true friends of people's Poland.

The report delivered at your Congress gives a striking picture of struggles and victories won by the Polish people, of the work of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and of the Government headed by the tried leader, Comrade Boleslaw Bierut. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

The Polish people are successfully solving the great and complex tasks of economic and cultural upbuilding. Having fulfilled the Three-Year Plan of economic rehabilitation of the working people of Poland, with patriotic enthusiasm, are working on the Six-Year Plan which you, with every right, have designated as the plan for industrialising the country and laying the foundations of Socialism.

Significant success has been registered in developing the national economy. Already last year over-all industrial output in Poland was 3.6 times the 1938 level. The socialist sector exercises complete sway in the industry. Agriculture is being developed in the Republic.

(Continued from page 2)

People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic. They portray the conditions in Western Germany and the USA as being "democratic", as those better and more advantageous for the working class than in the Soviet Union, the people's-democratic countries and the German Democratic Republic. They conceal and deny the successes achieved by the working class in these countries in the interests of the entire people.

In this connection the open letter addressed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on February 15 to all Social-Democratic workers and trade unionists in Western Germany is of great importance. This letter appeals to all sincere Social-Democratic workers to recall the great traditions of the German working class and to rally with all Communist, Christian-Democratic and non-party workers for united action and to fight, together with the working people of the German Democratic Republic, for their social and democratic rights, for genuine democracy and freedom in which there is no place for militarism, monopolists, junkers and war criminals.

The German working class and all the German people must fight for the realisation of the proposals advanced by the Soviet delegation at the Berlin Conference, which are aimed at helping the German people themselves to effect, without interference by foreign states and in conditions of complete freedom, the establishment of a democratic, peace-loving Germany, in order that the German people themselves, without pressure from the big monopolies, militarists and cannon kings, can build a new and better life.

The Soviet proposals were welcomed by the peace-loving population in Germany and met with a favourable response throughout Europe. They testify to the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and to its sincere and unswerving desire to reach agreement on all international issues. These proposals proceed from the fact that peace and security in Europe can be ensured only if the resurgence of German militarism—

in our country the exploiting classes were smashed, worker-peasant rule won and socialist society built. (Applause).

The great Lenin taught that the worker-peasant alliance is the guarantee of our success and of our final victory. Day by day life confirms this wise Leninist principle. The Polish United Workers' Party, guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, is strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, strengthening the people's-democratic state.

Your achievements cannot be disputed, they are there for all honest people in the world to see and they are hailed with profound satisfaction by the working people of all countries.

The results of the heroic efforts and selfless labour of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in your country demonstrate the tremendous superiority of the people's-democratic system over the capitalist system. The people's-democratic system contains boundless opportunities for ensuring the steady advance of industry and agriculture, for raising the material and cultural level of the working people. The advanced people of the working class, working peasantry and people's intelligentsia give splendid examples of how to utilise this superiority and these opportunities for strengthening the people's-democratic system.

The great life-giving force of Socialism is that it unites the people, does not divide them.

which has brought terrible suffering to the peoples and has twice involved mankind in fearful slaughter—is prevented. The imperialist Western Powers, on the contrary, persist in furthering German imperialism, fostered by them, since they need it for carrying out their aggressive military plans. This explains why they refused to hear the Germans themselves at the Four-Power Conference. They were afraid that through the medium of the representatives of the German Democratic Republic the democratic forces of the German people would have their say; this explains why they rejected the Soviet draft for a peace treaty with Germany, since this draft would deprive them of the possibility of promoting West German militarism and would also reduce to nought the Bonn and Paris military agreements.

For the same reason they also rejected the proposal to hold a national referendum in Germany as to whether we should have the "European Defence Community" or a peace treaty. Instead, they forced a discussion of the so-called Eden plan, which aims at including Germany as a whole in the American "Atlantic bloc" and building a strong aggressive West German army. This plan means the holding of so-called free elections designed to put power in the hands of the aggressive German imperialism and fascism, now being revived, elections to be held under the control and guidance of imperialist occupation troops and entailing recognition by the whole of Germany of the military commitments of the "European Defence Community" and the General Treaty signed by the Adenauer Government. These elections would neither be free nor democratic since, in reality, they would make the Germans the object of foreign interests. The German people, however, do not want elections conducted under pressure from the monopolies and the fascist and military blocs—they do not want elections in which war criminals and former Nazi "war economy leaders" would have any part.

In their own history the German people have enough examples showing the outcome of such elections. It was with an election of this kind that the German monopolists

not to come true. The barriers placed by the gentry-landlord and bourgeois system in the way of bringing the peoples closer to each other were too great.

Taras Shevchenko, the famous Ukrainian poet, in a poem dedicated to the Polish revolutionary Bronislaw Zalesky, called him his friend and his brother and with indignation wrote that the avaricious Polish magnates and the Ukrainian landlords were sowing enmity between the fraternal Polish and Ukrainian peoples who wanted to live in peace and friendship.

From its earliest days the Polish working class fought shoulder to shoulder with the working class of Russia against the common enemy—Russian autocracy, against the capitalists and landlords. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our leader of genius, pointed out fifty years ago, in the period of the struggle of the Russian and Polish workers against the tsarist yoke, against the capitalists and landlords: "...we shall always say to the Polish workers: only the complete and most intimate alliance with the Russian proletariat can meet the requirements of the political struggle that is now going on against the autocracy, only this alliance can assure complete political and economic freedom". (Applause). During the first Russian Revolution Lenin greeted the heroic proletariat of heroic Poland.

A striking expression of the joint struggle waged by the toilers of Russia and Poland

brought Hitler to power, with the result that the German people were hurled into the greatest catastrophe in their history. The German people do not want a repetition of such elections.

The voice of peace-loving Germany found expression in the memorandum submitted by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers.

This memorandum takes into account the lessons from Germany's history of the last 50 years. It proceeds from the fact that the monopolists, the militarist and the fascist forces must no longer dominate the German people and determine German policy. Germany must never again enter into any military grouping of some European countries directed against other European countries. The Bonn and Paris agreements, based on resurgence of German militarism, are aimed at involving Germany into this kind of military grouping of states. They are the main obstacle to signing a peace treaty, to building a united, democratic Germany, to a peace-loving German policy in the future. Only when Adenauer's military alliance with the American imperialists is destroyed, when there are no German mercenary troops of any kind, will it be possible to prevent the establishment of a new German Wehrmacht modelled on the Hitler army; only then will the security of the European peoples be guaranteed and the opportunity arise for a sovereign, new, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

The future German policy must provide guarantees for this. These guarantees are:

1. The united Germany must be a democratic and peace-loving country. There can be no place in it for anti-democratic forces and groupings, for militarist and fascist organisations; the monopolies must not have any say in German policy.

2. Germany must not enter into any militarist alliances.

3. The German defence forces will be allowed to have only a stipulated numerical strength.

longed applause).

Throughout these years the relations between the Soviet Union and people's-democratic Poland have developed and grown stronger, mutual co-operation in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life and in the international life of our countries has been extended.

These relations have had a favourable effect on the growth of trade between our countries based on mutual advantage. Whereas pre-war Polish-Soviet trade was barely one per cent of Poland's total trade turnover, by 1952 it had risen to 32 per cent. In 1954 Poland's trade turnover with the Soviet Union will be 8 times the 1945 figure.

The alliance and friendship of the Polish Republic with the countries of people's democracy and the Soviet Union, which are steadily becoming stronger, ensure and will continue to ensure fraternal support for people's Poland in its onward march, towards Socialism. The Soviet people have been and remain the true friend and reliable ally of the working people of the Polish Republic, of the working people of all the people's-democratic countries. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

The peoples of our countries, engaged in peaceful construction, are vitally interested in the maintenance and strengthening of peace. We cannot close our eyes to the machinations of the imperialist aggressors and must always be ready to give a fitting

4. The Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy must receive guarantees of security from German aggression, and also

5. Corresponding guarantees of security for the Western states bordering on Germany.

This means, above all, the prevention of any possibility of military, aggressive action by Germany against either side.

For the purpose of achieving this aim it is necessary to reach mutual understanding among the Germans on the question of the phases of national reunification: formation of a provisional all-German government, elaboration of an electoral law, the holding of really free, democratic elections and formation of a National Assembly. This policy entails the annulment of the Bonn and Paris agreements and the liquidation of the aggressive militarism now being revived in Western Germany; it guarantees the security of the countries which have twice been attacked by Germany, guarantees security of the Soviet Union, the countries of people's democracy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark and the other countries which suffered from German militarism and fascism. This policy will eliminate the danger of a fratricidal war in Germany as well as the frightful danger of becoming a strategic bridgehead and the main theatre of operations in an American-planned war.

This explains why the Government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the proposals made by the Soviet delegation at the Conference to the effect that pending the conclusion of a peace treaty there would be no rearming of Germany and that Germany would be neutralised for a definite period.

In this connection the Soviet proposal for the General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe is also of great significance.

The lessons of history convincingly prove the need for a system of collective security in Europe. Both first and second world wars were preceded by the splitting of

own hands, having established the rule of the working people, the people of Poland have carried out tremendous transformations in their country during these years. The preparations for your Congress and the work of the Congress convincingly prove that the working people in Poland see in

"To the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party"

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise).

"Under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party the working people of Poland have achieved big success in the socialist industrialisation of the country, in the reconstruction of agriculture and the development of culture. People's Poland has become a firm link of the powerful democratic camp and is an active fighter for the preservation and strengthening of world peace.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly wishes the Polish United Workers' Party further successes in the work of socialist construction, in advancing agriculture, in securing a steady rise in the standard of living of the working people and in reinforcing the people's-democratic state. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise).

"Long live the Polish United Workers' Party—organiser and leader of the Polish people! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

"Long live the indestructible friendship of the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union! (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION".

(Tumultuous, prolonged ovation. All rise. Cries of "Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!", "Niech zyje!", "Niech zyje!", "Niech zyje!").

Europe into separate and opposed hostile groupings of countries. In both cases one of these opposed groupings was responsible for the unleashing of war whose main instigator was aggressive German militarism. The so-called Triple Alliance of Wilhelm the Second led to the first world war and to the Versailles Treaty which was an enslaving treaty for the German people; the Hitler "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis" which was supposed to bring world domination for the German monopolists brought the German people to the brink of the abyss. At present the peoples in Europe watch with growing alarm the formation, in the shape of the so-called "European Defence Community", of a new aggressive bloc which, as the embodiment of the American strivings for world domination, is fraught with the danger of new military conflicts and the danger of a third world war. That is why the Adenauer revenge-seeking regime, directed by the American imperialists, is particularly dangerous for all the countries of Europe.

It is not fortuitous that Western Germany is assigned the main role in the war plans of American imperialism. Western Germany has a big military potential and considerable manpower resources. A remilitarised Western Germany, as a member-country of the "European Defence Community", would become a partner of imperialist America and Great Britain and would be brought into the North Atlantic military bloc. Hence, it presents the opportunity for concentrating foreign troops on its territory and for maintaining a permanent centre of unrest in the heart of Europe. Such a grouping of countries cannot guarantee peace either in Europe or throughout the world. Moreover, it would perpetuate the dismemberment of Germany and make the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany impossible.

The Soviet Union counterposed this one-sided, Western military alliance of six European countries with its plan for a General European Treaty on Collective Security for all the countries of Europe. The conclusion of such a treaty would create in Europe a camp of peace open to all countries irrespective of their social and economic system and would include, pending the reunifica-

tion of Germany, both the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic, which from the very first day of its existence has pursued a consistent policy of peace and co-operation between the nations, is ready to participate in such a system of collective security in Europe.

The creation of such a camp of peace in Europe would also contribute to a speedier settlement of the German problem. Moreover, this pact would remove the main obstacle in the way of settling the German problem, namely, the inclusion of Western Germany in the North Atlantic military bloc, which is incompatible with the creation of a peace-loving, democratic Germany. Such a pact would prevent the building of opposed military groupings in Europe and would avert a new war. This is precisely the aim and dream of the entire German people. The fact that the Berlin Conference failed to solve the German problem does not at all mean that this question is removed from the agenda.

Thus the results of the Four-Power Conference opened up a new stage in the national struggle of the German people. All Germans must draw conclusions from both the negative stand of the Western Powers and the positive stand of the Soviet Union and, with greater effort than ever, strengthen friendship with the Soviet Union—the powerful bulwark of world peace.

The German people must now resolutely and confidently take their cause into their own hands, because the solution of the German problem is, first of all, a matter for the Germans themselves. The first step in this direction will be the holding of a referendum among the German people on the question: shall we have the Bonn and Paris military agreements or a peace treaty.

The German Democratic Republic will spare no effort in its struggle, under the slogan "Germans sit around the same table", for a settlement of the problems of the German nation, for a peace treaty, for a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

For this aim we will rally the entire German people and, beneath this banner, win victory.

REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO SECOND CONGRESS OF POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY*

Character of our Revolution

Five years have passed since the First Congress of our Party. This was an extremely important and creative period in the history of our people.

In the course of the past five years the Polish United Workers' Party grew stronger ideologically and organisationally, established firmer contact with the working masses by expressing their needs and strivings, enhanced its prestige in society as the leading force of the people; it is now a political leadership united, solid and strong, enjoying the general recognition of the broad masses, such as Poland never had and could not have had before.

People's Poland like all the countries of people's democracy threw off the shackles of capitalism as a result of the victory won by the USSR over Hitler fascism. This victory was of enormous world-historic significance. It stemmed from the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution and at the same time became the criterion of the superiority of the socialist system over the imperialist system. It provided for the peoples emancipated by the Soviet Army the chance to begin a new and great period in their history, the period of building the new system of social justice, of paving the way for the building of Socialism.

We have gathered for the Second Congress of our Party at a time when the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Poland is drawing near. Today the socialist character of the political-economic transformations that have taken place in our country is plain for all to see. However, the development of the social processes which made possible the laying of the foundations of Socialism was extremely complicated.

Our revolutionary transformations can and should be divided, from the point of view of their social-political character, into two main phases: the phase of revolutionary-democratic transformations and the phase of transformations of the socialist type. It goes without saying that this division must not be done mechanically. The revolutionary processes and transformations have been taking place in our country ever since the liberation. The growth of these processes from one phase to another—from a revolution of the people's-democratic type into a revolution of the socialist type—embraced a whole period. Elements of the democratic and socialist transformations were interwoven, connected with each other and influenced each other practically from the very moment of the establishment and functioning of people's rule.

The great gain, the main instrument of the Polish people's revolution, is our state—the state of people's democracy.

The phases of development and the functions of our people's state corresponded in the main to the character of our tasks and the revolutionary transformations. However, it is necessary to draw attention to some special and most essential features in the process of the formation of the people's state in Poland:

1. This was a state created along completely new lines by the revolutionary forces of the people on the ruins of the apparatus of violence of the Hitler occupiers, which had been smashed by the Soviet Army. 2. The backbone of the new apparatus of people's rule consisted of cadres linked ideologically and organisationally with the Polish Workers' Party, a factor which gave to this apparatus a clearly-expressed proletarian character. These peculiarities of the state apparatus of people's rule were of great importance since they enabled the people's state consistently to carry out the tasks facilitating the process of the people's

The organisational-economic tasks of the state had to be accompanied by cultural and educational tasks on an ever-increasing scale.

The inalienable factor of the whole process of the revolutionary transformations is the growth of the political maturity of the working people who, in the course of the struggle against the class enemy and as a result of their practical experience, are becoming increasingly conscious of the deep-going and decisive community of interests of the workers and peasants along the pathway to Socialism and who, under the guidance of the Party, leader and guide of the struggle, are more and more actively participating in the work of running the state.

Summing up the results we must particularly stress the following:

1. Historically our people's revolution was prepared by the Great October Socialist Revolution and by the fact, which, for us, is immeasurably important, that our country was freed by the victorious liberation army of the socialist state which not only emancipated us from slavery but also gave us fraternal all-round help in beginning life anew and in building the new social system.

2. The hegemony, the leading force of our people's revolution was the Polish working class, tempered in years of class struggle and educated on the revolutionary traditions and in fraternity with the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, ever since their joint struggle against tsarism, the struggle against national and social oppression, a class united in inviolable alliance with the million-fold masses of the working peasantry.

3. The backbone and the motive force of our revolutionary transformations were and remain the worker-peasant alliance of which the working class is the leader. In the course of decades of struggle against capitalism and fascism, the working class strengthened its alliance with the main masses of the working peasantry. The extension, strengthening and deepening of this alliance is the main principle of the policy of people's rule, the guarantee of its strength and successes.

4. The organiser and leader of our people's revolution was the Polish Workers' Party; at present it is the Polish United Workers' Party—heir to the experience and revolutionary tempering of its predecessors: the "Great Proletariat", the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania and the Communist Party of Poland and also the left, united front trend in the Polish Socialist Party—the party which is loyal to the international slogans and principles of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the nationalist-opportunist, treacherous attempts of the Gomulka gang and of the right-wing elements in the Polish Socialist Party to undermine the ideological unity of the Polish working class, aimed, as was the case in Yugoslavia, at severing it from the socialist camp, not only had no success, but, on the contrary, alerted the ideological vigilance of the Party cadres and—after the defeat of the Gomulka gang and the right-wing in the Polish Socialist Party—helped forward the political unification of the working class on the sole correct basis—the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism.

5. The functions of the state as the chief instrument of the structural-political and social-economic transformations correspond now to the concrete functions of the revolutionary state in the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism, to the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, effected in the specific form of people's democracy.

Together with the USSR and the entire camp of peace we adhere to the standpoint of the possibility of the co-existence of the countries with different social systems.

Accordingly, people's Poland is extending its trade with capitalist states and in the course of the past five years concluded 126 treaties and trade agreements with capitalist countries providing for a total turnover of 11.7 billion roubles. This trade can be extended considerably on the condition of observing the principle of full equality and of excluding any discrimination. Our new tasks in the sphere of ensuring an accelerated raising of the standard of living open up new opportunities for extending trade.

The indestructible alliance with the great Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy is the guarantee of our security. The USSR is the chief adversary of the revival of German militarism. This explains why our alliance with the USSR is the guarantee of our security.

The Soviet proposals contained in the draft "General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe" are simple and understandable. They are permeated with especial concern for ensuring peace and envisage all the necessary guarantees against aggression and violation of peace in Europe.

The Polish people unanimously and with full confidence, based on their own experience, express themselves for the signing of such a "General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe".

Everything points to the fact that sooner or later the idea of collective security will triumph over the sinister design of reviving German militarism.

Poland is vitally interested in the German question being solved in a democratic way. The German problem is the central problem of security in Europe.

From an analysis of the international situation and Poland's role in world affairs the following concrete tasks emerge:

1. To strengthen in every way our indestructible fraternal ideological bonds and eternal friendship with the Soviet Union. Our strength is determined by the strength of this alliance just as in the past we were weak when the rulers of pre-September Poland, betraying the most vital interests of the people of Poland, opposed co-operation with the great people of the mighty land of Soviets.

Economic Achievements of People's Poland and the Course of Fulfilling Six-Year Plan

During 1950-53 the Party, the people's state and its organs concentrated and were obliged to concentrate mainly on solving questions pertaining to the socialist industrialisation of the country—the main lever for the development of the national economy as a whole.

It should be stated that the basic tasks of the socialist industrialisation of the country were, in the main, fulfilled successfully during 1950-53. From a backward agrarian country in the past, an agricultural-raw materials appendage to the imperialist states, Poland has been transformed into an industrial socialist state with a big and ever-growing economic potential.

The scale and character of the socialist industrialisation effected by people's rule especially in the past four years are borne out by the fact that industrial output in 1953 was 3.6 times the 1938 level—calculat-

Boleslaw Bierut
Chairman, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

2. To develop and consolidate the relations of friendship and co-operation with all the countries of the democratic camp. We are proud of our friendship with the great people of China. We are reinforcing

the friendly relations with fraternal Czechoslovakia, our neighbour. We are strengthening the good neighbourly and friendly relations as well as the bonds of solidarity with the German Democratic Republic. We shall continue to help the heroic Korean people. Relations of warm friendship link us with Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania and the Mongolian People's Republic.

3. We shall fight for a further lessening of the international tension, for continued negotiations, for prohibition of atomic weapons and all other weapons of wholesale extermination, for a reduction of armaments, for agreement between the five Great Powers, for a system of collective security in Europe, for the right of the nations to self-determination and to sovereignty. We shall support every sincere effort aimed at solving the German problem in a democratic way, on the basis of establishing a united, peace-loving Germany.

4. Poland will spare no effort in extending international co-operation with all countries irrespective of their social system and form of government, especially in the sphere of trade.

5. In striving for peace and progress we shall strengthen friendship and solidarity with the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of the world. We shall further popularise the idea of the international solidarity of the working people of the world.

6. The working population of Poland, all the people, must display greater creative effort in carrying through our plans, in consolidating our economic achievements—the bedrock of our foreign policy. We must not forget that the reactionary imperialist forces continue to exist, striving to sharpen and intensify international tension, to unleash a new war. Consequently, while devoting all our energy to the strengthening of the great cause of peace, which is sacred to all peoples, we must be mindful of the need to strengthen the defence-capacity of our country so as to be able together with the mighty forces of the USSR and the entire democratic camp to ensure general peace and in this way the security of our homeland.

What are the tasks in this connection?

The creation of a powerful base of the industry producing the means of production necessitates and allows for a change in the ratio between the different branches of industry which, to a greater degree than hitherto, will facilitate development of those branches of industry directly serving agriculture.

Relying on the base of the industry producing the means of production Poland can, in a brief space of time, turn its industry producing agricultural machinery and implements into a genuinely up-to-date branch of industry which, on the basis of mass production, could fully supply the needs of agriculture, both individual and collective agriculture. In this connection the proposed draft law on the economic tasks for 1954-55 advances the task of securing a more than twofold increase in output of agricultural machines and implements in 1955 compared with 1953, including production of those machines which are of vital significance for the mechanisation of agriculture.

Consequently the first and foremost task which arises from the analysis of the work of Polish industry during the four years is to eliminate, completely and as quickly as possible, the shortcomings and drawbacks in those branches of industry directly serving the production needs of agriculture, considerably to increase their output and to turn them into powerful levers for the technical reconstruction of agriculture and rapid growth of its output.

Industry manufacturing consumer goods, as is seen from the figures cited above, has expanded considerably during the four years of the Six-Year Plan. However, as everybody knows, this increase does not fully satisfy the growing requirements of the working people.

In developing the consumer-goods industry special stress must be laid on the growth of quantity and quality and also on enlarging the range of foodstuffs, textiles, leather goods and clothing.

The new distribution of forces and means which we are now effecting in our economic policy, the turn towards concentrating on ensuring an upsurge of agriculture does not signify any relaxation of our efforts in developing industry producing the means of production; it signifies its further steady development with simultaneous use of the base created by it for helping agriculture, for a more rapid development of industry producing the means of consumption and more rapid reconstruction of the other branches of the national economy.

In contrast to our industry which in the course of the four years of the Six-Year Plan developed on a socialist basis the development of our agriculture took place mainly on the basis of individual farming. This factor, as well as a number of others, which I will mention later, resulted in the slow development of agriculture.

Whereas in 1950-53 industrial output rose 118 per cent, output of agriculture showed a mere 10 per cent increase. These figures testify to the exceptional lag of agriculture and to the fact that the disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture has acquired a serious character and is holding back the further development of the national economy.

farms are not yet giving the country all that they can and must give, or that which should accrue from the expenditure on the development of the state farms.

The inadequate development of agriculture in the period under review was influenced, in addition to objective reasons, by a number of subjective factors of which the following can be listed as main factors: absence of concentrated effort to secure a more rapid development of agriculture arising from an underestimation of the significance of this branch of the national economy, insufficient use of economic incentives, inadequate production help to agriculture, unsatisfactory leadership given to agriculture and frequent distortions of the principle of the worker-peasant alliance.

From the time of the IXth Plenum until the present Congress our Party and Government have undertaken numerous measures aimed at rectifying this state of affairs.

The economic incentives for ensuring the development of agricultural production have been considerably increased and extended on many sectors. This is expressed in fixing the quotas for state deliveries at the previous level, in better terms for purchasing a number of agricultural products on the basis of contract agreements, in changing certain decisions bearing on taxation, etc.

Measures were taken to supply the countryside with more manufactured goods and articles of mass consumption and are already yielding results. State capital investments in agriculture have been considerably increased.

Clearly this is only the beginning of great work. An upsurge in agriculture can be achieved only when the entire Party, relying on correct decisions and on better economic incentives and greater production help, takes the matter of developing agriculture into its own hands, only when the entire Party and all the links of people's rule feel responsible for agriculture.

In this respect our Soviet comrades have set us a splendid Bolshevik example.

Let our Second Congress become the opening of the great battle for ensuring the advance of Polish agriculture.

Along with the accelerated development of industrial output and with a certain also shown an increase.

In 1949 the total amount of goods sold to the population by the publicly-owned and private trading network amounted to 83 billion zloty (in terms of 1953 prices prior to the price reduction effected on November 15). In 1953 the goods sold to the population totalled 106.5 billion zloty.

Thus, the goods sold to the population showed a 28 per cent increase for a period of four years. This increase, however essential, did not keep pace with the growing requirements of the population.

A radical change in the social structure of trade took place in the course of the four years of the Six-Year Plan. While in 1949 the private-trade network embraced roughly 44 per cent of the total, in 1953 the share of the publicly-owned retail trade amounted to 96.1 per cent and the share of private trade a mere 3.9 per cent. Consequently, the socialist sector is now dominant in both retail and wholesale trade.

The draft law on economic tasks submitted to the Congress envisages approximately a 25 per cent increase in the turnover of the publicly-owned retail trade and the public catering establishments. This signifies that we must ensure, within the next two years, an increase in the retail

processes from one phase to another—from a revolution of the people's-democratic type into a revolution of the socialist type—embraced a whole period. Elements of the democratic and socialist transformations were interwoven, connected with each other and influenced each other practically from the very moment of the establishment and functioning of people's rule.

The great gain, the main instrument of the Polish people's revolution, is our state—the state of people's democracy.

The phases of development and the functions of our people's state corresponded in the main to the character of our tasks and the revolutionary transformations. However, it is necessary to draw attention to some special and most essential features in the process of the formation of the people's state in Poland:

1. This was a state created along completely new lines by the revolutionary forces of the people on the ruins of the apparatus of violence of the Hitler occupiers, which had been smashed by the Soviet Army. 2. The backbone of the new apparatus of people's rule consisted of cadres linked ideologically and organisationally with the Polish Workers' Party, a factor which gave to this apparatus a clearly-expressed proletarian character. These peculiarities of the state apparatus of people's rule were of great importance since they enabled the people's state consistently to carry out the tasks facilitating the process of the people's revolution in Poland passing to a higher phase—the socialist revolution.

The chief goal of our state in the first phase of the people's revolution was to make the greatest possible contribution to the victorious termination of the national-liberation war, ensure the maximum aid for the army in the field, break the resistance of the parasitic classes and their armed gangs, hostile to the people, to effect the land reform by confiscating the estates of the landlords, to organise economic and social life on the reunited territories in a new way, to head the tremendous work of rehabilitating the entire country and to solidify the democratic transformations effected by people's rule.

However, it should be stressed here that already in the period immediately following the liberation, people's rule in our conditions had to carry out on a wide scale organisational-economic tasks which went far beyond the usual limits of general democratic transformations. From the very moment of the liberation the people's state took into its hands big and medium industrial enterprises which, as a rule, were previously run either by the Hitler occupiers or by collaborator capitalist groups closely linked with the occupiers and directly protected by them. The same thing took place in relation to transport, communications and banks—in fact in relation to all key branches of the economy. This meant in fact that the working people and their state took over, by revolutionary means, all the key positions in the national economy, this meant a nationalisation which considerably outstripped the corresponding legislative and juridical acts.

International Situation

The initiative of the Soviet Union aimed at solving the existing controversial international problems by peaceful means is yielding positive results. Today no one can deny that despite stubborn resistance on the part of the reactionary forces a certain lessening of the tension has taken place in international relations. In this respect the Korean armistice and the Berlin Conference constitute a big success.

From the very first days of its existence people's Poland has spared no effort in furthering the cause of peace. An important element of the economic development of people's Poland is the extremely advantageous and growing trade with the countries forming the world democratic market. Com-

4. The organiser and leader of our people's revolution was the Polish Workers' Party; at present it is the Polish United Workers' Party— heir to the experience and revolutionary tempering of its predecessors: the "Great Proletariat", the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania and the Communist Party of Poland and also the left, united front trend in the Polish Socialist Party—the party which is loyal to the international slogans and principles of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the nationalist-opportunist, treacherous attempts of the Gomulka gang and of the right-wing elements in the Polish Socialist Party to undermine the ideological unity of the Polish working class, aimed, as was the case in Yugoslavia, at severing it from the socialist camp, not only had no success, but, on the contrary, alerted the ideological vigilance of the Party cadres and—after the defeat of the Gomulka gang and the right-wing in the Polish Socialist Party—helped forward the political unification of the working class on the sole correct basis—the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism.

5. The functions of the state as the chief instrument of the structural-political and social-economic transformations correspond now to the concrete functions of the revolutionary state in the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism, to the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, effected in the specific form of people's democracy.

6. The historic document wherein our revolutionary transformations, their outcome and their clearest reflection are inscribed is the Constitution of our state—of the People's Republic of Poland—recognised and approved by the Polish people, The National Front, whose hegemony, leading force and ideological inspirer is the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, unites the broad masses for active participation in carrying out the tasks of our people's rule and in going ahead with the social transformations.

7. The development and the destiny of our people's revolution are indissolubly linked with the developing correlation of forces on the international arena, with the struggle between the forces of the camp of peace and Socialism throughout the world and the imperialist forces striving for war, aggression, intensified and unrestricted exploitation and robbery of the oppressed peoples.

8. The social-economic base and the goal of our people's revolution is peaceful construction of socialist economy—material and cultural base of a society free from all exploitation and class divisions and having powerful productive forces, which is capable of rebuffing any attempt at imperialist aggression, of ensuring better, all-round and fuller satisfaction of the growing requirements of the people, of adding to the constructive contribution of people's Poland to the common cause of all, the cause of strengthening peace, co-operation and friendship between the nations. The way to this goal is the ever-growing industrialisation of the country, a substantial increase in agricultural production and gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

prehensive exchange of achievements in the realms of culture and science contributes to strengthening the links between the USSR and the other countries of the camp of peace. Poland's relations with the Soviet Union, China, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the other countries of the camp of democracy and Socialism are characterised by cordiality, mutual respect for the rights of every nation and maximum mutual aid. These relations are based on the mutual desire of each of these countries to strengthen the new social system and ensure peace.

The main line of our foreign policy is our readiness to co-operate also with the countries having a different social system.

Our strength is determined by the strength of this alliance just as in the past we were weak when the rulers of pre-September Poland, betraying the most vital interests of the people of Poland, opposed co-operation with the great people of the mighty land of Soviets.

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It should be stated that the basic tasks of the socialist industrialisation of the country were, in the main, fulfilled successfully during 1950-53. From a backward agrarian country in the past, an agricultural-raw materials appendage to the imperialist states, Poland has been transformed into an industrial socialist state with a big and ever-growing economic potential.

The scale and character of the socialist industrialisation effected by people's rule especially in the past four years are borne out by the fact that industrial output in 1953 was 3.6 times the 1938 level—calculated per capita of the population it was 4.8 times greater. These figures testify to the radical and qualitative changes that have taken place in the national economy.

The share of socialist industry in over-all industrial production amounted in 1953 to over 99 per cent.

Here are the data pertaining to the development of socialist industry for the years of the Six-Year Plan: taking 1949 as 100, the output of socialist industry was 130.8 in 1950; 162.7 in 1951; 194.5 in 1952 and 228.6 in 1953.

Thus, the assignments of the Six-Year Plan for 1953 were overfulfilled, since according to plan the output of socialist industry in 1953 was scheduled to reach 197.1 per cent compared with 1949 but actually reached 228.6 per cent.

A particularly rapid rate of development was registered in 1950-53 by industry producing the means of production, expansion of which is the necessary prerequisite for the further development and reconstruction of the national economy as a whole.

Production of the means of production in 1953 reached 236.1 per cent compared with 1949, instead of the 190.2 per cent envisaged by the plan for 1953.

The highest rate of development was observed in the machine-building industry which is the core of the industrialisation of the country. Output of the machine-building industry is now more than 2.5 times the 1949 level or 9 times the pre-war level per capita of the population. A high rate of advance was also registered in the chemical industry which in our country has favourable conditions for development. Output of the chemical industry is at present nearly 2.5 times the 1949 level or nearly 5.6 times pre-war calculated per capita of the population.

The development of industry producing the means of production has been accompanied by the continued development of technique and by the appearance of new branches of industry. We started and to a large degree completed the modernisation of the old industry; with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union we have built a whole number of up-to-date industrial enterprises based on the latest achievements of science and technique.

In the past, as is known, Poland had no shipbuilding industry, but now we have shipyards which are successfully expanding production and giving the country annually dozens of large modern ships.

great cause of peace, which is sacred to all peoples, we must be mindful of the need to strengthen the defence-capacity of our country so as to be able together with the mighty forces of the USSR and the entire democratic camp to ensure general peace and in this way the security of our homeland.

As is known, in the past the tractor industry was non-existent in our country, but now we have serial and ever-expanding production of tractors.

As is known, in the past we had no modern industry producing agricultural machines, whereas now we are producing modern agricultural machines although output still lags far behind requirements. This year we shall begin production of such a complex machine as the self-propelled harvester combine.

As is known, in the past the automobile industry was non-existent in Poland, but now we have a successfully developing branch of this industry.

It is generally known that in the past our country did not make ball-bearings, but now, despite some difficulties and obstacles, we are producing ball-bearings in ever-increasing quantities.

In the past, as is known, the production of heavy machine-tools was only in an embryonic state, whereas now we have large-scale production of these machines. The same can be said about the production of mining equipment, of heavy electrical equipment, about the production of precise optical instruments, about the synthetic chemical industry, artificial fabrics and a number of branches of the pharmaceutical industry, etc.

As regards output of consumer goods it has increased considerably during the first four years of the Six-Year Plan. Last year the output of consumer goods by socialist industry was 219.8 per cent compared with 1949, instead of the 205.3 per cent envisaged for 1953 by the Six-Year Plan. This signifies that the output of consumer goods, though insufficient due to the constantly-growing requirements of the population, surpassed the level planned for 1953.

At the same time it should be noted that the planned assignments for a number of mass-consumption goods were not fulfilled.

It follows from this that, first, in the period under review, industry producing the means of production was powerfully developed on the basis of modern technique as result of which Poland now has a strong lever for effecting the further development of the national economy as a whole and for raising the standard of living of the population; secondly, during this period there was a substantial development of consumer-goods production, although it must be stated that these branches still lag behind the constantly-growing requirements of the working population.

As can be seen from the above-mentioned figures and data, a tremendous historic leap forward has been made during the period under review. Poland has become a strong and industrialised country.

The task is properly to utilise the results achieved and to direct the further development of our industry in a way that would enable us, relying on the base which we now have, to eliminate as far as possible the uneven development of our national economy. The task now is to facilitate to the utmost the growth of agricultural production, accelerate increased output of consumer goods, to speed up housing and cultural upbuilding for the working people and in this way accelerate the raising of the standard of living of the working people in town and country.

leather goods and clothing. The new distribution of forces and means which we are now effecting in our economic policy, the turn towards concentrating on ensuring an upsurge of agriculture does not signify any relaxation of our efforts in developing industry producing the means of production; it signifies its further steady development with simultaneous use of the base created by it for helping agriculture, for a more rapid development of industry producing the means of consumption and more rapid reconstruction of the other branches of the national economy.

In contrast to our industry which in the course of the four years of the Six-Year Plan developed on a socialist basis the development of our agriculture took place mainly on the basis of individual farming. This factor, as well as a number of others, which I will mention later, resulted in the slow development of agriculture.

Whereas in 1950-53 industrial output rose 118 per cent, output of agriculture showed a mere 10 per cent increase. These figures testify to the exceptional lag of agriculture and to the fact that the disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture has acquired a serious character and is holding back the further development of the national economy. It should be noted that we are confronted in all its magnitude with a problem which demands a rapid and complete solution—the grain problem and the problem of ensuring the fodder base.

The agricultural producer-co-operative movement has been making progress in the countryside during the four years of the Six-Year Plan. While in 1949 the number of producer co-operatives was only 243, with a membership of merely 6,000, by the end of 1953 the number of co-operatives had exceeded 8,000, uniting more than 200,000 peasants. The land at the disposal of the producer co-operatives is about 9 per cent of the land of the peasant households. In the period under review the producer co-operatives demonstrated their vitality and, although young and lacking experience, demonstrated their superiority over individual farming. The Party attaches decisive importance to the development of the producer co-operatives, regarding them as the way forward to the radical reconstruction of Polish agriculture and to a rapid rise in the standard of living of the working peasants and all the people.

The Party has always opposed every attempt at artificial intensification of the producer-co-operative movement, against every violation of the voluntary principle. The Party regards as incorrect and false both artificial intensification of the producer-co-operative movement and tardiness in this highly important matter, the tendency to leave this development to spontaneity and to retreat before the attacks of the class enemy.

It is obvious that special attention must be given in the next two years to ensuring a more even development of the producer co-operatives, a greater extension of the co-operatives in the central and eastern regions, to make sure that the newly formed co-operatives include a large part of the peasants in the given village and that the old ones increase their membership.

During the four years of the Six-Year Plan a vital lever for the reconstruction of agriculture came into being in the shape of the state machine and tractor stations (MTS).

State farming was greatly developed during the four years of the Six-Year Plan. It should be noted, however, that the state

of mass production in agricultural output also shown an increase.

In 1949 the total amount of goods sold to the population by the publicly-owned and private trading network amounted to 83 billion zloty (in terms of 1953 prices prior to the price reduction effected on November 15). In 1953 the goods sold to the population totalled 106.5 billion zloty.

Thus, the goods sold to the population showed a 28 per cent increase for a period of four years. This increase, however essential, did not keep pace with the growing requirements of the population.

A radical change in the social structure of trade took place in the course of the four years of the Six-Year Plan. While in 1949 the private-trade network embraced roughly 44 per cent of the total, in 1953 the share of the publicly-owned retail trade amounted to 96.1 per cent and the share of private retail trade a mere 3.9 per cent. Consequently, the socialist sector is now dominant in both retail and wholesale trade.

The draft law on economic tasks submitted to the Congress envisages approximately a 25 per cent increase in the turnover of the publicly-owned retail trade and the public catering establishments. This signifies that we must ensure, within the next two years, an increase in trade turnover equivalent to that achieved in the past four years. This can be done only on the basis of increased agricultural output and greater production of mass-consumption goods.

The period under review was a period of big efforts in the sphere of capital investments. Proof of this is the following: In the four years between 1946 and 1949 the basic investments amounted to 31.8 billion zloty, while in 1950-53 this sum totalled 102.6 billion. This means that the present average rate of capital investment is more than three times greater than during the rehabilitation period.

Although the direction in which we invested capital was in the main correct and expedient, we failed to avoid a number of errors which to a certain degree lessened the effect of the tremendous efforts made in the sphere of capital investment.

In fixing the level of capital investments for the next few years we must be guided by two basic premises.

Firstly, investments must be fixed at a level corresponding to the principle of extended socialist reproduction and ensure the steady and rapid growth of production and of the national income.

Secondly, capital investments must be fixed at a level that does not withdraw personnel and means on too great a scale from other branches of the national economy and, at the same time, does not reduce the opportunities for a rapid growth of consumption or violate the tempo of raising the standard of living of the working masses.

At the same time the structure of investments must be changed. Taking into account the present level of heavy industry and the need for greater allocations to these branches of economy which directly influence the raising of the standard of living it is necessary considerably to increase capital investments in agriculture and in the production of mass-consumption goods, in housing and municipal construction and the construction of social and cultural establishments.

In the period under review the real incomes of the working people in town and country have risen somewhat on the basis of the growth of the national income.

However, despite certain achievements in the sphere of raising the standard of living of the population we cannot regard them as satisfactory. The targets of the Six-Year Plan in this respect for the period 1950-53 were not reached precisely because agri-

(Continued on page 5)

* From the report by Comrade Boleslaw Bierut to the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on March 10.

REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO SECOND CONGRESS OF POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

(Continued from page 4)

culture failed to keep abreast with the general economic advance.

For the purpose of ensuring a rapid rise in the wellbeing of the working people as a whole the IXth Plenum of the Central Committee held last October advanced the task of maximum concentration of effort and means in order to ensure the advance of agriculture and the increased output of mass-consumption goods.

The draft submitted to the Congress considers that the main task is to achieve in the next two years a substantial rise in the standard of living of the working population in town and country. With this aim in view it is necessary to create conditions during 1954-55 for effecting a 15-20 per cent increase in the real wages of industrial and office workers and in working-peasant incomes.

In order to do this we shall pursue a policy of gradual price reduction for mass-consumption goods, a policy of raising wages based on the growth of labour productivity, a policy of gradual wage increases for those categories of industrial and office workers whose wages do not correspond to the work they are doing. We shall gradually improve the conditions of

Our Achievements and Our Tasks on the Front of Education, Culture, Public Health and Social Insurance

An inseparable component and essential condition of our construction is the upbuilding of a Polish socialist culture. Our efforts in this sphere are concentrated on two tasks, equally essential and vital and indissolubly connected:

The first task is to spread education and culture among the broad masses, to open wide the doors to cultural values for the millions of workers and peasants whom the bourgeoisie deliberately deprived of access to education and culture, to the achievements of science, literature and art.

The second task is to ensure that our science and culture, our literary and art work are given a new, socialist content, which makes possible the moulding of the new man—the man of Socialism.

In the past five years we have had good results in the realms of culture and education.

As a result of the big campaign carried out by the leadership of the educational authorities illiteracy among the people up to the age of 50 has been abolished as a mass phenomenon. It should be recalled that in pre-war Poland 23.1 per cent of the population of the age of 10 years and upward was illiterate.

The slogan of the Party "Not a single child outside school!" has been fully realised.

In the past five years the schooling of adults was greatly extended. The number of elementary schools for adults rose in this period from 208 to 1,606, showing an eight-fold increase.

Since the time of the First Congress of the Party the number of higher educational establishments rose from 57 to 79, with the student body rising from 101,000 to 121,000 (these figures do not include the higher educational establishments under the Ministry of National Defence and the correspondence courses).

the working people in receipt of old-age and disability pensions. At the same time, by giving corresponding material incentives and pursuing a corresponding policy of procurements, contracting and state deliveries, we shall increase working-peasant incomes on the basis of their increased output and commodity production.

For the purpose of attaining this rise in the standard of living of the working population it is necessary above all to speed up the growth of agricultural production, considerably to increase production of manufactured goods for mass consumption and to extend housing, communal and social-cultural construction.

It should be realised, however, that the job of securing a noticeable rise in the standard of living of the working people calls for greater economy and the continued growth of labour productivity, complete fulfilment of plans in the sphere of lowering the cost of production by cutting down inflated staffs, resolutely cutting out excessive expenditure of materials and doing away with waste. It is likewise necessary to cut the excessive overhead expenditure on some sectors of the state and administrative apparatus.

The class composition of the students has radically changed. Before the war only 8.8 per cent of young people of working-class origin and 8.4 per cent of peasant origin attended higher educational establishments. In 1952-53, 34.1 per cent of the students in the higher educational establishments were of working-class origin and 25 per cent of peasant origin.

The rapid development of the national economy and national culture confronts Polish science with big and urgent tasks in addition to the job of making good the heavy losses sustained during the war.

The job is, by utilising the splendid progressive traditions of Polish science, by closely linking it with practice and by introducing the method of dialectical materialism, to direct it along the pathway of full development. Scientific workers in the realms of biology and history, political economy and philosophy are confronted with particularly important tasks in this respect.

We allocate considerable funds and devote close attention to the matter of public health. In the past, Poland was among those European countries which had the smallest number of doctors. For every 10,000 of the population there were 3.7 doctors and since the doctors were concentrated in the towns the countryside was practically deprived of medical help. During the period under review the number of doctors increased by 5,840 (a 70 per cent increase) and the number of dentists by 2,477. The number of hospital beds increased, roughly, by 28,000. The average annual increase in the number of beds is almost sevenfold compared with pre-war.

Thanks to the higher standard of living, the better sanitary services and improved health service, the birth rate has gone up and the death rate has fallen, with the result that the natural increase in population in 1952 was 82 per cent higher than in 1938 and 10 per cent higher compared with 1949.

insidiously, cunningly, disguised and not in the open.

We must, therefore, not weaken but sharpen our vigilance against the hidden and masked enemies of the working people.

An exceptionally important task of the Party during the coming period is the preparation for the coming campaign of elections to the People's Councils at all levels, which should take place in the autumn of this year. This will be one of the greatest and most important of mass political campaigns. The organisational

Worker-Peasant Alliance—Main Principle of Party Policy in Period of Building Socialism

The idea of the worker-peasant alliance is one of the basic principles of Lenin's theory of revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently of the building of Socialism.

The worker-peasant alliance in Poland is founded on the revolutionary experience accumulated in the common struggles for the most vital rights and interests of the working people. It has been formed in long years of conflicts and struggles of the Polish people against their oppressors.

People's rule in Poland has emancipated and stirred to activity millions of the Polish working people. The worker-peasant alliance constitutes the solid basis of the ever-growing power and might of our system, of our state of people's democracy—the state of workers and peasants.

Our main mistake in the sphere of relations between the working class and the peasantry was that we were unable to prevent in time, with adequate energy and a sufficient outlay of means, the deepening of an excessive disproportion between the development of industry and that of agriculture. Insufficient observance of the law of planned, proportionate development of all branches of the national economy made itself felt in the long run.

However, it would be altogether wrong to think that the prevention of the excessive disproportion between our industrial and agricultural production depended merely on our planning. The main source of the extremely inadequate growth of our agricultural production compared with our requirements lies above all in an unsatisfactory struggle launched against various deviations from the implementation of our already planned tasks.

The roots and sources of the difficulties can be summarised as follows:

1. Yielding to a certain spontaneity of processes, characteristic for the dispersed, small-scale peasant economy regulated by commodity exchange, and consequently, inadequate directing of the many-sided levers of the economic bond between town and country.

2. Underestimation in practice by many links of our state apparatus, and not infrequently even of the Party apparatus, of the role and importance of the worker-peasant alliance,—resulting from underestimation of agricultural production and from an inadequate understanding of the fundamental, economic and political importance of the alliance, of the dialectics of the worker-peasant alliance. Particular shrewdness and flexibility are needed in order to be able to discern and to follow changes in the class content, in the forms

preparation for this campaign must begin at once, the more so as it is related to the necessity of reorganising the present rural district councils and replacing them with village councils. The purpose of this reform is to widen and deepen the ties between people's rule and the broad masses of the working peasants. Lively and direct daily contact with the working masses of the countryside is an indispensable condition for the realisation of the task of securing a substantial increase in agricultural production.

peasants and organise them around their own problems, needs and properly conceived interests. To connect the problems and needs of the working peasantry with the whole complex of our tasks, with the guiding principles of our policy, and to direct them into the proper channels—strengthening the bonds between the town and country. Herein lies the art of leadership in the worker-peasant alliance.

Just as in industry, in agriculture too the questions of production are basic, and it is on them that our chief attention should be concentrated. Similarly, the level of labour productivity in small-scale commodity agriculture is of great importance to us, that is to say, the yields in plant cultivation and the productivity in animal husbandry. The raising of yields and income in animal husbandry, in conditions of ensuring the bond between town and country, decisively improves the situation of peasants' economy, facilitates the discharge of their obligations to the state and raises their material wellbeing. On this then, on the raising of labour productivity, side by side with the strengthening of that bond, there should be concentrated the common efforts of peasants, as producers, and the organs of the local authorities, which are obliged to extend to the peasants all-round assistance in order to promote a systematic increase in their yields.

The production aid given by the state to the small-scale commodity farms, which at the same time serves to strengthen the bond between town and country and, consequently, to strengthen the people's state, is an expression of a higher form of the worker-peasant alliance and contributes to its enrichment.

It is not restricted to the means of material assistance. The material and technical aid given by the state must be accompanied at the present stage of our construction by broad political and organisational aid on the part of the working class,—aid serving the cause of the gradual but fundamental transformation of the peasant economy and raising it to a higher level, to the level of a modern, leading, socialist collective economy. Ever-broader masses of the working peasantry mature in this direction and it is our duty to extend to them our most extensive material, technical and organisational aid in this task, so significant for their future and for the strength and needs of the entire nation.

Our Party, like the working-class Parties of the entire camp of Socialism, has put forward a great unifying and creative slogan: accelerate the raising of the standard of living of the toiling masses in town and country.

members of the technical and creative intelligentsia, teachers, students, public and political workers, 17.6 per cent workers of the administrative and trade apparatus, etc. 2.1 per cent are employed in other occupations.

What conclusions should we draw for the future on the question of the growth and regulation of Party composition?

Firstly: It is necessary to overcome completely the spontaneity in the Party development and to assure the further proper growth of the Party ranks and the constant improvement in the quality of the Party membership.

We should pay special attention to the growth of the Party ranks in the key industries with the aim of winning for the Party the best and key workers in production—the shock-workers, the devoted builders of Socialism.

It is absolutely necessary that in our Party the number of leading peasants should increase significantly, especially from the villages where up to now no Party organisations have existed. This is also true of the number of farm workers from the state farms. All Party organisations should place before themselves as their most important task the strengthening of our Party organisations in the countryside through the improvement of mass-political work, through the strengthening of the organisational and ideological bonds with the countryside.

Secondly: It is necessary to purge continuously the ranks of the Party of adventitious, bureaucratic elements, those discrediting the noble title of Party member, as well as to free the Party from people who are indifferent, passive, elements who have lost contact with the Party and are lowering the activity of the Party organisations.

The main condition for successfully overcoming the obstacles in the way of socialist construction is constant improvement in the methods of Party leadership and the observance of the Leninist principles and the norms of Party life.

The ensuring of free development of criticism and self-criticism, and above all of rank-and-file criticism, is the major question of our inner-Party life, of Party leadership and training of cadres. A tolerant attitude towards absence of criticism and self-criticism, towards instances of suppressing criticism gives rise to "commandism", to arbitrariness, bureaucrats are multiplied and the way is paved for distortions, abuses and violations of Party policy.

We must engage in an uncompromising struggle against any manifestation of suppressing criticism, we must rid the Party of people who do not stand criticism.

It is necessary that the Party organs should not only support and protect those who come forth with constructive criticism, but should also evaluate self-critically their own work. Open and concrete self-criticism of the leadership before the Party masses, self-criticism which is not of a formal nature but which reaches down to the roots of errors, creates an atmosphere favourable for a bold exposure of shortcomings and deficiencies, an atmosphere in which criticism from below will develop.

Only the free development of criticism and self-criticism can ensure the actual observance of inner-Party democracy—the most important principle of Party life.

The principle of collective leadership is an inseparable part of inner-Party democracy; it is the main principle underlying the activity of the Party organs. Only collective leadership in the work of the Party organs can ensure that correct deci-

practice of an excessive number of meetings, of idle talk, of unnecessary circulars, of too much reporting. This practice of red tape takes up an enormous amount of the time and energy of the Party leadership, turning it away from active everyday organisational work in the area.

An end should be put to this excess of conferences, briefings and meetings, sterile idle talk should also be done away with; more time and care should be devoted to work with the people who put the Party policy into practice. A stop should also be put to the flood of superfluous reports, statistics, etc.

Only keen supervision of implementation of the work on the spot, only concrete assistance given to the basic organisations in their everyday work among the masses can be an effective means of improving Party leadership.

The greatest assistance and political and organisational care are called for by our rural organisations which continue to be the weakest link in our Party. At this most important front of the class struggle at the present moment, our Party organisations frequently remain neglected, despite the fact that they are exposed to attacks of the kulaks and reactionary clergy. They meet only from time to time and they are inadequately instructed. For this reason their activities are often feeble, they frequently do not play the leading role, failing to fulfil their tasks of the vanguard force in the countryside. That is why the expansion of the Party ranks in the countryside encounters such serious difficulties.

Many areas particularly in the countryside are seriously neglected as concerns the allocation of our propaganda forces and means. There are village communities where no propaganda work has been done for months, where agitators did not assemble, where the newspapers arrive irregularly, where there is no radio and where the mobile cinema appears very rarely. The necessity to concentrate our strength particularly in these forgotten areas, to bring them increased assistance, must find its expression in the work of Party and public organs and cultural and educational institutions.

Party propaganda and agitation are not sufficiently militant yet, they do not combat with sufficient thoroughness and stubbornness the remnants of bourgeois ideology in the outlook and behaviour of people, and they do not equally combat with the necessary sharpness, militance and passion the hostile ideology spread by the imperialist propaganda centres and their agencies inside the country.

A particularly serious shortcoming in our mass political work is the fact that it does not sufficiently nor convincingly link the everyday practical tasks with the programme-directives of the Party. It is true that lately in our press and in oral agitation the fight has been undertaken against narrow practicalism and onesidedness, attempts being made to explain in a deeper way the basic political and economic problems of our life. These achievements however cannot be regarded as sufficient and have not become part and parcel of all propaganda centres.

Every active member of our Party and especially every Party functionary acts as a real leader only if he himself takes an active and direct part in mass agitation, if in his contributions at Party meetings, in the press and among non-party working people he always explains the policy of our Party, answers the questions of people and listens attentively to suggestions and criticism made by the rank and file.

We ought to set ourselves the task that

As a result of the big campaign carried out by the leadership of the educational authorities illiteracy among the people up to the age of 50 has been abolished as a mass phenomenon. It should be recalled that in pre-war Poland 23.1 per cent of the population of the age of 10 years and upward was illiterate.

The slogan of the Party "Not a single child outside school!" has been fully realised.

In the past five years the schooling of adults was greatly extended. The number of elementary schools for adults rose in this period from 208 to 1,606, showing an eight-fold increase.

Since the time of the First Congress of the Party the number of higher educational establishments rose from 57 to 79, with the student body rising from 101,000 to 121,000 (these figures do not include the higher educational establishments under the Ministry of National Defence and the correspondence courses).

Structural-Political Achievements and the Necessity of Establishing Village People's Councils

The period under review covers a great historical event: the adoption, on July 22, 1952, of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland, which has defined our social and political changes within the framework of a basic law common to all citizens. The unanimous adoption of the Constitution by the Sejm was preceded by a nation-wide discussion in which eleven million people participated. This was, consequently, a great plebiscite which reflected not only the political maturity but also the splendid patriotic unity of the overwhelming majority of our people. This unity was corroborated in a no less striking manner by the subsequent elections to the Sejm—the supreme organ of state power of the People's Republic of Poland. The election demonstrated the powerful strength of the slogans of the National Front, of the slogans of rallying the people in the struggle for peace and the fulfilment of the policy of industrialising Poland.

What is the National Front in Poland when viewed as a special form of mobilising public opinion for questions which are of decisive importance for the future of the nation? It is the expression of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the nation, irrespective of the differences that may still divide it, has understood the great importance of the unity and solidarity of the people at a moment when the most essential national interests and needs are at stake, that it is ready to demonstrate this unity in action. Such a national and at the same time universal necessity is first of all the preservation of peace. The political and ideological unity of the National Front grew stronger accordingly as the policy of industrialisation pursued by people's rule demonstrated its ever more evident influence on social life, on the increase of the productive forces of the country, on the development of the national economy and culture. In the light of the experience of our social and political life during the period between the Unity Congress and the Second Congress it has become clear beyond any doubt that the National Front will be consolidated, will become wider and more deeply-rooted, will become stronger as the policy of people's rule realises further achievements, as our national-economic plans are victoriously fulfilled, and as the strength of the people's state continues to grow.

planning. The main source of the extremely inadequate growth of our agricultural production compared with our requirements lies above all in an unsatisfactory struggle launched against various deviations from the implementation of our already planned tasks.

We allocate considerable funds and devote close attention to the matter of public health. In the past, Poland was among those European countries which had the smallest number of doctors. For every 10,000 of the population there were 3.7 doctors and since the doctors were concentrated in the towns the countryside was practically deprived of medical help. During the period under review the number of doctors increased by 5,840 (a 70 per cent increase) and the number of dentists by 2,477. The number of hospital beds increased, roughly, by 28,000. The average annual increase in the number of beds is almost sevenfold compared with pre-war.

Thanks to the higher standard of living, the better sanitary services and improved health service, the birth rate has gone up and the death rate has fallen, with the result that the natural increase in population in 1952 was 82 per cent higher than in 1938 and 10 per cent higher compared with 1949.

The worker-peasant alliance and the leading role played in this alliance by the politically united working class constitute the social and political foundation of the National Front.

The close co-operation between our Party and the United Peasant Party represents an important factor in the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and the political and organisational flexibility of the National Front. The ideological substance of this front consists in the integration of the growing strength and the patriotic feelings of our people.

Unity of will and harmony in action in the most essential and decisive questions do not by any means exclude criticism, discussion and conflicts of opinions. On the contrary, this should favour the development of criticism, the encouragement of discussion and the deepening of their content.

The National Front is a particular form of relationship in which not organisational but moral and political criteria are the binding force. The powerful mainspring of this Front should be the moulding and educating of the broadest masses in the spirit of concern for the principal, most essential, basic interests and needs of the people, in the spirit of common responsibility for national affairs and the firm determination to secure them by effecting indestructible unity of the overwhelming majority of the nation. In developing this consciousness in every direction, in sparing no efforts to strengthen the National Front, our Party activists should not for one moment forget that the struggle for the political and moral unity of the nation in basic and decisive matters is going on and will continue for a long time. This struggle will continue as long as there are remnants of the defeated old parasitic classes trying to restore capitalism, elements which have not reconciled themselves to the loss of their privileges. It will continue as long as there are classes in our country who, although being restricted and dislodged, still live by exploitation, namely: kulaks in the villages, and speculators, small capitalists in the towns, etc.

The struggle of all these elements against our people's state, against our achievements is becoming ever more desperate and ruthless. It is being conducted under-cover,

The roots and sources of the difficulties can be summarised as follows:

1. Yielding to a certain spontaneity of processes, characteristic for the dispersed, small-scale peasant economy regulated by commodity exchange, and consequently, inadequate directing of the many-sided levers of the economic bond between town and country.

2. Underestimation in practice by many links of our state apparatus, and not infrequently even of the Party apparatus, of the role and importance of the worker-peasant alliance,—resulting from underestimation of agricultural production and from an inadequate understanding of the fundamental, economic and political importance of the alliance, of the dialectics of the worker-peasant alliance. Particular shrewdness and flexibility are needed in order to be able to discern and to follow changes in the class content, in the forms and in the nature of economic relations with the countryside, in the strength of the resistance, influence and undermining activity of the kulaks, in the influence exerted by the working class on the peasant masses and in the help which we should give them, in the class differentiation in the countryside.

3. The shortcomings and deficiencies of the local authorities and of some of the central organs in carrying out the basic task of raising the level of agricultural production, particularly the inability to promote to a sufficient degree production of animal-husbandry products in the dispersed mass of individual holdings. All this calls for working out a number of forms and methods.

4. Frequently inadequate methods, a still general weakness of our organisational and mass-political work in the countryside and the insufficient ability to expose and isolate the kulaks.

What is the way out? There is only one way out—to strengthen daily our link with the working peasants, to listen to their voices, organise the poor peasants, to tighten the alliance with the middle peasants, to oppose the kulaks, who try to stir up trouble, weaken the co-ordinating role of the state in the relations between town and country and undermine the worker-peasant alliance. The chief task of our Party is to activate the

In the period under review the ranks of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) tempered its ranks, drawing inspiration for its work from the powerful source of Marxist-Leninist teaching and from the ever-lasting example of the work and experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The unity of our united Party is today not only an organisational unity but above all an ideological unity, a militant unity, a unity of the Party—as the heir of the great fighting traditions of the Polish revolutionary movement.

In the period under review, the leading role of the Party in all spheres of the country's life has been constantly growing in the crucible of the sharp class struggle and profound socialist transformations. The Party has been the driving force which imparted direction to the work of all organs of people's rule, of the state and economic apparatus, of the public organisations and the educational and cultural institutions. The Party has been able to play its leading role in the construction of Socialism due to the fact that while constantly strengthening its internal unity, it became tempered

by the state of the small-scale commodity farms, which at the same time serves to strengthen the bond between town and country and, consequently, to strengthen the people's state, is an expression of a higher form of the worker-peasant alliance and contributes to its enrichment.

It is not restricted to the means of material assistance. The material and technical aid given by the state must be accompanied at the present stage of our construction by broad political and organisational aid on the part of the working class,—aid serving the cause of the gradual but fundamental transformation of the peasant economy and raising it to a higher level, to the level of a modern, leading, socialist collective economy. Ever-broader masses of the working peasantry mature in this direction and it is our duty to extend to them our most extensive material, technical and organisational aid in this task, so significant for their future and for the strength and needs of the entire nation.

Our Party, like the working-class Parties of the entire camp of Socialism, has put forward a great unifying and creative slogan: accelerate the raising of the standard of living of the toiling masses in town and country, as the main task in the present stage of socialist construction.

The slogan of accelerating the rise in the wellbeing of the working masses in town and country may be and is the slogan of the worker-peasant alliance, the slogan creatively linking common interests, needs and desires of all the working people under the direction of the working class, under the leadership of our Party. The aim of the working class, the aim of the construction of Socialism, is precisely to satisfy to the fullest measure the material and cultural requirements of the whole of society, and the workers and peasants are, indeed, the basis of this society. Not only because workers and peasants together constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation, but above all because they are its principal and decisive creative force, because their common work is decisive for the life, development and wealth of the nation. The standard of living of the working masses in town and country cannot be raised rapidly without a considerable rise in agricultural production, just as it cannot be brought about without the corresponding direction and developing of industrial production. To raise as rapidly as possible to a higher level the living conditions and cultural level of the masses of the people, to concentrate all efforts in this direction—this is our new task today, the new essence of the worker-peasant alliance.

The Party

politically and enhanced its vigilance, improved the composition of its membership and methods of leadership, became, to an ever-increasing degree, a Party of the new, Leninist type.

The prestige, the moral and political influence of the Party among the working people have grown tremendously. The popular masses became convinced in practice that the Party leads our people along the only correct pathway, that it upholds their most vital interests, that it serves their cause, that its sacred goal is the welfare of the working man, the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the country.

The Party comes to its Second Congress more consolidated and unified than ever, conscious of the fact that the constant strengthening of the unity and the improved quality of its ranks constitute the main condition for the growing strength and fighting efficiency of the Party.

At the present moment the Party has 1,297,000 members and probationers. 48.3 per cent of the members are workers, 13.2 per cent working peasants, 18.8 per cent

of the remnants of bourgeois ideology in the outlook and behaviour of people, and they do not equally combat with the necessary sharpness, militance and passion the hostile ideology spread by the imperialist propaganda centres and their agencies inside the country.

We must engage in an uncompromising struggle against any manifestation of suppressing criticism, we must rid the Party of people who do not stand criticism.

It is necessary that the Party organs should not only support and protect those who come forth with constructive criticism, but should also evaluate self-criticism of their own work. Open and concrete self-criticism of the leadership before the Party masses, self-criticism which is not of a formal nature but which reaches down to the roots of errors, creates an atmosphere favourable for a bold exposure of shortcomings and deficiencies, an atmosphere in which criticism from below will develop.

Only the free development of criticism and self-criticism can ensure the actual observance of inner-Party democracy—the most important principle of Party life.

The principle of collective leadership is an inseparable part of inner-Party democracy; it is the main principle underlying the activity of the Party organs. Only collective leadership in the work of the Party organs can ensure that correct decisions are made and safeguard the Party organisations against errors and distortions, from the arbitrariness of individuals.

Widespread in the work of our Party organs, our Party apparatus is the harmful

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In the sphere of strengthening the Party politically and organisationally we are confronted with the following tasks:

1. To strengthen in every way the Party as the leader of the working class and the people in the struggle for the quickest possible improvement in the standard of living of the working people in town and country, for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance—the basis of our people's rule, the main lever for the building of Socialism.

2. To strengthen the Party ideologically, to consolidate its unity and oneness, to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist knowledge of its cadres, to combat each and every manifestation of opportunist and sectarian distortion of the Party line, to abolish the liberal attitude towards bureaucratism in the Party apparatus, in the mass organisations and in the state apparatus.

3. Systematically to strengthen the Party organisations with regard to their quality and to improve the composition of their membership; to direct particular attention to the task of strengthening the working class core of the Party and of extending our organisations in the countryside, among the small and middle peasants.

4. To train and allocate cadres, Party forces, our mass transmission links, so as to strengthen mass political and organisational work in the countryside: in state machine and tractor stations, state farms, in all branches of the rural co-operative system, and among the individual peasants.

5. To rally around the Party the leading activists of the countryside, and, with their support, to explain to the broad masses of the peasants the aims of the policy of the Party and Government; to call upon the peasant masses to support and carry out the directives of the Party and the decrees of the Government aimed at a rapid rise in agricultural production.

6. To render more efficient the work of the People's Councils and other local organs of state administration, and in particular of those which serve the needs of agriculture, by linking them more closely with the countryside, with the peasant activists; to assist these organs in concentrating on the working peasants' vital production needs, to reinforce these organs with new cadres by directing there the best and most experienced organisers.

A particularly serious shortcoming in our mass political work is the fact that it does not sufficiently nor convincingly link the everyday practical tasks with the programme-directives of the Party. It is true that lately in our press and in oral agitation the fight has been undertaken against narrow practicalism and onesidedness, attempts being made to explain in a deeper way the basic political and economic problems of our life. These achievements however cannot be regarded as sufficient and have not become part and parcel of all propaganda centres.

Every active member of our Party and especially every Party functionary acts as a real leader only if he himself takes an active and direct part in mass agitation, if in his contributions at Party meetings, in the press and among non-party working people he always explains the policy of our Party, answers the questions of people and listens attentively to suggestions and criticism made by the rank and file.

We ought to set ourselves the task that every Party member be an active agitator and transmitter of the Party line to the masses, that his example and his passionate word inspire the working people to fight for the victory of our cause.

7. To improve unceasingly the methods of Party leadership by laying the main emphasis on the proper selection of cadres and verification, to develop inner-Party democracy, to ensure full freedom of criticism and self-criticism, particularly rank-and-file criticism; strictly to observe the principle of collective leadership; relentlessly to combat all red tape and bureaucratic distortions and to extend steady and concrete help to the Party branches.

8. To develop on a wider scale militant propaganda and agitation exposing the real character of the enemy and imperialism; to raise the level of these activities, to fight against rigid patterns and routine in propaganda, closely linking it with vital local problems; to react vigilantly to the needs and sentiments of the masses; to strengthen the ties between the Party and the working masses.

9. To give proper political guidance to the Union of Polish Youth, to the trade unions and to other mass organisations; to raise their prestige, to encourage their own initiative, to encourage their active attitude and to strengthen their role in rallying the masses in the ranks of the National Front in the struggle for peace, for the victorious completion of the Six-Year Plan, for the further advance in agriculture and for a more rapid rise in the standard of living of the working masses in town and country.

10. Ceaselessly to raise the vigilance of the masses in the face of the foul plottings of the enemies of the people and of the imperialist agents; to surround with care and raise the political level of the organs of state security; to strengthen within the entire state apparatus the spirit of abiding by law and concern for ever-closer contact with the masses; to cultivate in the masses cordial feelings of unity with our People's Army; to strengthen in every possible way our people's state; to intensify the warm feelings of friendship and international solidarity with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and all the countries of the socialist camp, with all the forces of peace and progress throughout the world.

In our efforts to consolidate the ranks of the Party and to enhance its leading role in all spheres of the life of our country, we will draw most extensively from the historic experience of the CPSU, the leading Party of the world working-class movement.

Struggle Against "European Defence Community" — Central Task of the French Communist Party*

At the Berlin Conference, held on January 25—February 18, France had the opportunity to solve the two questions that are most of all worrying all French men and women, namely to secure a peaceful solution of the German problem and an end to the war in Indo-China.

But from the very first until the very last day of the Conference the French Foreign Minister strove to prevent concrete results being reached on these questions.

The three Western Ministers stubbornly opposed all the proposals aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution of the German problem. They rejected all the Soviet proposals which were motivated by the desire to prevent the revival of German militarism.

On February 10 the Soviet delegation submitted the proposal for a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe.

Had M. Bidault striven for a concrete solution of the European problems confronting our country, he would have found in Molotov's proposal a means to achieve this end.

But at the moment when this important political step was made, a step of undoubted historic significance, M. Bidault was concerned far less about defending France's interests by means of aligning himself with this policy of ensuring European security than in obediently following Dulles who is against the European countries uniting to ensure security and peace, since this would block the carrying out of the expansionist designs of the American imperialists.

The Soviet proposal is aimed at ensuring—instead of a Europe of six countries with its "European Defence Community", with its "Coal and Steel Community", instead of a Europe of 14 countries with their "Council of Europe" in Strasbourg—the formation of a genuine Europe consisting of all the European countries without exception.

No matter what obstacles are placed in the way of accepting this proposal it will reach the consciousness of the European peoples who want an agreement that will guarantee their security while safeguarding their independence.

At the very beginning of the Berlin Conference the Soviet delegation proposed the convening of a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, the USA, the USSR and the People's Republic of China to discuss measures aimed at lessening the tension in international relations.

This Conference is scheduled to take place on April 26 in Geneva and is to discuss above all the Korean question and later the question of Indo-China; different countries interested in the solution of either of these questions are to be invited.

Naturally Bidault could not reject the holding of a conference at which the question of the war in Indo-China, which the French people want ended, will be discussed; however, one is entitled to ask whether this was not above all a political manoeuvre on Bidault's part.

The attitude of the French Government and Plevin's recent visit to Indo-China have thrown into relief the efforts of our rulers obediently to follow the Americans whose main concern is to maintain the centre of war in Indo-China with all the consequences arising therefrom.

The Conference scheduled for April 26 must contribute to the solution of the Korean question, and also to the solution of the question of Indo-China if the French Government does not place obstacles in the way of such a solution; however, as

tely strive to ensure united action by the working class and also to ensure that all honest French men and women, whoever they are, who oppose the revival of German militarism, unite in an irresistible protest movement.

The duty of every Party member is to take an active part in the collection of signatures against the ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements side by side with all patriots, irrespective of their origin and convictions, and to use every opportunity for forming peace committees, both in enterprises and in localities, with a view to strengthening and consolidating the movement of peace supporters.

At the end of the current month peace supporters will hold Department rallies in preparation for a mighty national demonstration.

There is no doubt that the Communists will be at the side of the patriots of all convictions, among the most active organisers of these Department rallies and will take an active part in all actions against the "European Defence Community" by this or that organisation.

The manifestations of crisis which are now observed in a number of capitalist countries also affect to lesser or greater degree the national economy of France. In addition it is experiencing the disastrous consequences of the Schuman plan, which directly threaten some branches of our industry.

Growing unemployment, accompanied by the displacement or eviction of working people,—such are the bitter fruits of the Schuman plan and of the contradictions of the capitalist system itself.

It is only natural that the working class wants its miserably low wages to be raised to the guaranteed minimum and is fighting for a general increase in wages.

Taking into account the will of the working people to resume, in conditions of the broadest possible unity, the struggle for higher wages, the Administrative Commission of the General Confederation of Labour, in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the Government's decisions concerning increasing the guaranteed minimum wage, has resolved to hold a 24-hour strike to achieve the satisfaction of the immediate demands.

The preparation of this strike is the paramount task of all Party members, which must be persistently carried out in all enterprises, workshops and offices. The main attention must be devoted to building united action.

At the meeting of the Central Committee held in Drancy, Maurice Thorez pointed out that in recent months the idea and the practice of united action had taken root among the masses who are conscious that unity is their main weapon.

Further successes have since been registered and profound changes have already taken place in the attitude of the Socialist working people to the members of the Communist Party.

These changes have been recognised by the guiding committee of the Socialist Party. In a circular issued on January 29, the day on which the working people fought unitedly for a guaranteed minimum wage of 25,166 francs, the guiding committee of the Socialist Party, far from urging unity of the working people to fight for the satisfaction of this demand by the Laniel Government, warned all elected persons and

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Jacques Duclos
Secretary, French Communist Party

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Bonn and Paris treaties. It is necessary to restore peace in Indo-China and secure satisfaction of the demands of the working class and the working masses.

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With a view to successfully carrying out the tasks facing the Party in the present political situation, our great Party—the instrument of our struggle and our victory—must further strengthen its ranks, raise to a higher plane its ideological and political level, its organisational power and ability to carry out mass political work. However, of late we have witnessed serious distortions in the sphere of organisational work.

These distortions were contained in Comrade Lecoeur's report to the meeting of the Central Committee in Drancy, a report which calls for a number of observations and in which we can read the following lines:

"The condemnation by the Central Committee in December 1952, of opportunist errors should have served as a lesson and led us to examine to what extent these errors affected organisational work. This would have enabled us to correct our organisational work".

The Central Committee must know that it required a great deal of argument to get this self-critical phrase included in the report on organisational questions, the very phrase to which the reporter sought to impart a purely impersonal character as if he, as the man directing the organisational work of the Party, were not supposed to admit his responsibility in the matter.

It should also be pointed out that this report on organisational questions was written after the Political Bureau had unanimously rejected its first version wherein all these important problems were arbitrarily excluded by the reporter.

On the pretext of the alleged isolation of the Party Comrade Lecoeur went so far as to propose a political line which runs counter to the decisions adopted by the XIIth Party Congress, which, in the long run, is tantamount to reducing the Communist Party to the status of a secondary force to serve as a support for certain political bourgeois groupings.

The inevitable results of this policy would have been the loss of the Party's class character and political independence, whereas it is only its political independence which enables the Party to play its historic role and successfully realise the policy of united action by the working class and the unification of all national and democratic forces in order to bring about the change in the political course desired by the French people.

The opportunist tendency, which the Organising Secretary of the Party did not consider it necessary to explain in his report at the recent meeting of the Central Committee, manifested itself, in particular, in abandonment of mass-political work. Some of his personal directives which run counter to the Party's political line were aimed at replacing the mass-political work by a false and dangerous concept of work by small groups which are not and cannot be subject to any control.

Thus, the Secretary of the Party, responsible for its organisational work, aggravated his openly opportunist concept of the role and forms of Party work by carrying out the dangerous and adventurist policy arising

same time to present himself as a kind of "rectifier of errors".

Lecoeur's actions testified to his patent unwillingness to examine his activities in a self-critical way. And indeed since the utterly erroneous and dangerous character of the circular creating the post of political instructor was proved, Comrade Lecoeur, who wrote it, has never subjected its political consequences to thorough examination.

The establishment of the post of political instructor would have led inevitably to the main emphasis being placed on recruiting new members to the territorial branches with the result that attention would be diverted from what must be the main thing for us, i.e., strengthening the factory branches.

The line taken by Comrade Lecoeur which found expression in particular in completely ignoring mass-political work and in the tendency to substitute for this important sphere of work the activity of the minority, enables us to realise why, on occasions, some slogans were arbitrarily advanced by him in violation of the norms of Party life and at a moment when these slogans in no way corresponded to the degree of development of the mass movement.

Of the reports submitted to the Political Bureau by the different departments of the Central Committee the report of the Organising Department was the shortest. It consisted of 18 lines of typescript and began as follows:

"The chief job of the Organising Department is to ensure the political links between the Central Committee, Party Federations and the mass organisations".

Underlying this definition, which was strongly criticised by the Political Bureau, was the undisguised tendency of the Organising Department to come between the Party leadership and Federations, the tendency to promote leading Federation Party workers without the knowledge of the leadership of the Party, the tendency to interfere widely on any or on no pretext at all in the work of the other departments, as was the case in particular in relation to the intelligentsia, the tendency to enable the instructors on organisational questions to act as though they were members of the Central Committee and sometimes in fact to substitute for them.

All this in the final analysis had as its object the transformation of the Organising Department into an organ replacing the leadership of the Party.

The fact that it took a great deal of time to discuss with the head of the Organising Department such simple and at the same time important problems shows his real attitude to the question of collective leadership.

All this adversely affected the work of the Federations and the problems facing their leadership, problems which the Organising Department sought to solve, by bypassing the Party leadership.

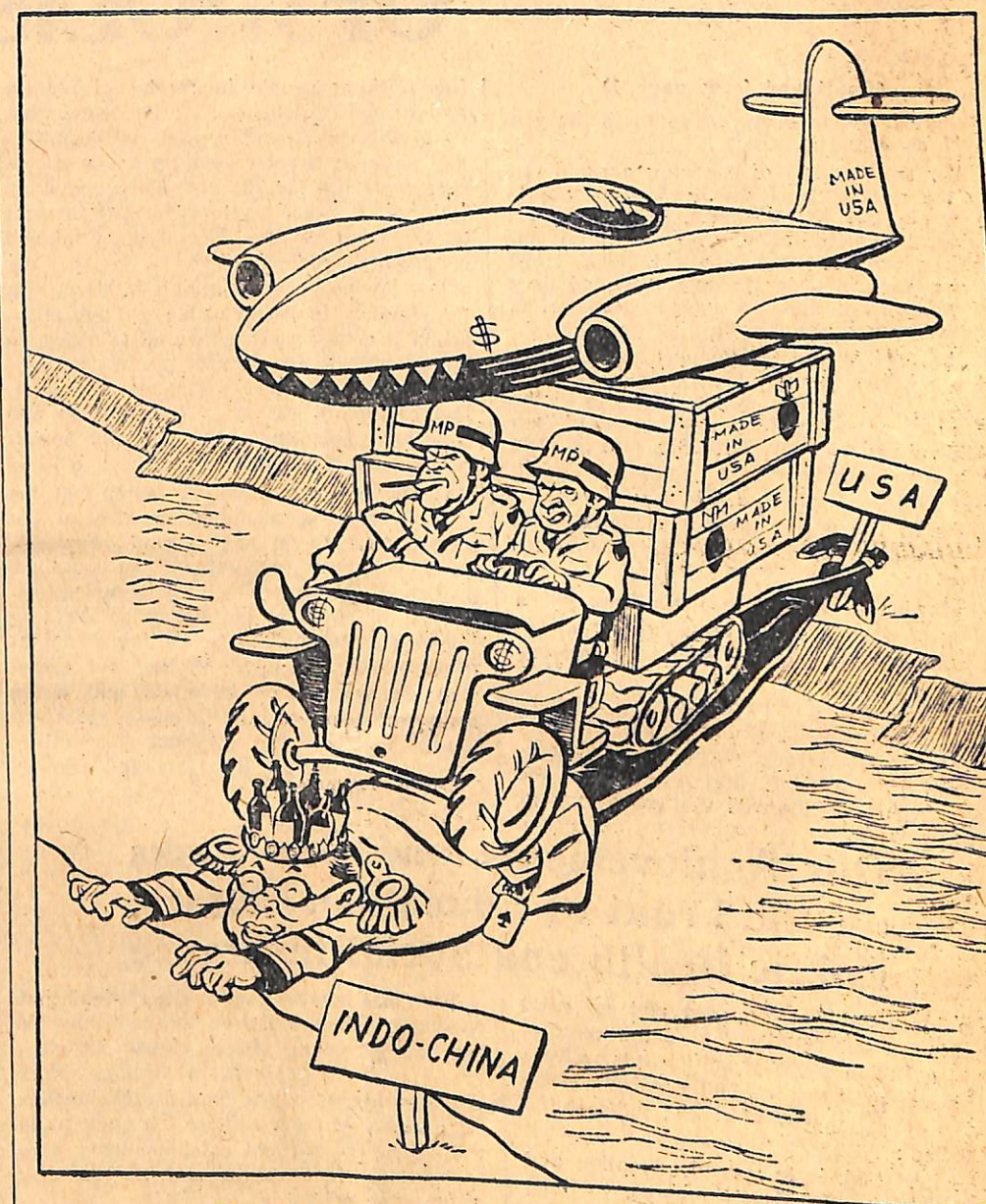
One can easily understand that in these circumstances the Organising Secretary of the Party considered the promotion of certain cadres from the point of view of personal interests and personal loyalty rather than from the standpoint of loyalty to the Party.

The Organising Secretary did not take into account in his work the counsel given by Maurice Thorez who declared in January 1948 when addressing the secretaries of the Party Federations:

"The real Federation secretary must reason in the following way: if things go

Seeking to drag out and extend the war in Indo-China the US reactionary circles are not only increasing the supply of arms and equipment to the French Expeditionary Corps and the Bao Dai troops and sending "technicians" to help them, they are also holding talks on the question of "declaring war" on the peoples of Indo-China.

—(Press item)



THEIR AID TO "INDEPENDENT" BAO DAI

Drawing by J. Novak.

Fresh Demonstrations in France Against Rearming German Revanchists

Protest demonstrations against the "European Defence Community" held on March 12-14 all over France showed how strongly the French people feel about the rearming of the German revanchists. The demonstrations were an important phase of the struggle being waged by the French patriots in ever-increasing unity against ratifying the Bonn and Paris agreements.

In response to the appeal issued by 22 prominent citizens, people all over the country gathered around memorials to the victims of the war and monuments in memory of the French men and women who fell victims during the Nazi occupation, thus expressing their opposition to the military agreements.

The workers of many factories declared lightning strikes. Work was stopped, in particular, by metal workers of the Saurer factory in Suresnes (Seine Department), and the Fives-Lille factory (Nord Department) and by the dockers of Boulogne.

Despite the presence of numerous police many bouquets and wreaths symbolising the tricolor were laid at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior beneath the Arc de triomphe in Paris. In the city of Rochefort a mass demonstration was led by the members of the municipal council which includes representatives of different parties. Police detachments concentrated around the monument to the victims of the war could not stop the demonstration. Delegates to a congress of ex-POWs joined the thousands of residents of Nancy gathered around the war memorial. A meeting held in the grounds of the Sorbonne University was attended by 3,000 students and teachers.

A recent congress of Radicals turned down a proposal of the advocates of the rearmament of Germany recommending that the debate on the "European Defence Community" be held in the National Assembly prior to the convening of the Geneva Conference.

"European Defence Community" — Menace to Italy's Independence

Following the Berlin Conference of the 1 from all

their independence. At the very beginning of the Berlin Conference the Soviet delegation proposed the convening of a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, the USA, the USSR and the People's Republic of China to discuss measures aimed at lessening the tension in international relations.

This Conference is scheduled to take place on April 26 in Geneva and is to discuss above all the Korean question and later the question of Indo-China; different countries interested in the solution of either of these questions are to be invited.

Naturally Bidault could not reject the holding of a conference at which the question of the war in Indo-China, which the French people want ended, will be discussed; however, one is entitled to ask whether this was not above all a political manoeuvre on Bidault's part.

The attitude of the French Government and Plevin's recent visit to Indo-China have thrown into relief the efforts of our rulers obediently to follow the Americans whose main concern is to maintain the centre of war in Indo-China with all the consequences arising therefrom.

The Conference scheduled for April 26 must contribute to the solution of the Korean question, and also to the solution of the question of Indo-China if the French Government does not place obstacles in the way of such a solution; however, as was recently proposed by India's Prime Minister Nehru, to secure a cease-fire there is no need at all to wait for this Conference. Consequently, we must intensify our struggle for the opening of negotiations with Ho Chi-Minh with the purpose of concluding an immediate armistice which could contribute to the success of the forthcoming Geneva Conference.

We must intensify our struggle, stressing that the opposition of the French Government to this policy is a betrayal of France's interests and at the same time a manifestation of intolerable servility to the American imperialists whose policy is diametrically opposed to French interests both in relation to the question of the continuation of the war in Indo-China and to the revival of German militarism.

Consequently, the struggle for establishing peace in Indo-China is closely linked with the struggle which we must wage with increasing energy for preventing the ratification of the treaties for establishing the "European Defence Community".

The voting held on the eve of the Bermuda Conference both in the Council of the Republic and the National Assembly showed that the growing hostility of the French people to the building of the "European Army" finds its expression even in Parliament.

But the struggle against the "European Defence Community" has not yet been crowned with victory and it is to be expected that the advocates of the "European Army" will try might and main to ensure victory for their policy of betrayal.

However, the mass rallies against the "European Defence Community" and the popular demonstrations against the ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties have made a powerful impression. At the same time they showed the possibilities for the further intensification of the struggle of the French people for ensuring the security of France's boundaries and for preserving peace.

The decisive moment is approaching when the deputies in Parliament will have to take a decision on the "European Defence Community" and the popular masses must exert increasing pressure on them; this explains why the Communists must resolutely

* From Comrade Jacques Duclos' report to meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on March 5.

mission of the General Confederation of Labour, in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the Government's decisions concerning increasing the guaranteed minimum wage, has resolved to hold a 24-hour strike to achieve the satisfaction of the immediate demands.

The preparation of this strike is the paramount task of all Party members, which must be persistently carried out in all enterprises, workshops and offices. The main attention must be devoted to building united action.

At the meeting of the Central Committee held in Drancy, Maurice Thorez pointed out that in recent months the idea and the practice of united action had taken root among the masses who are conscious that unity is their main weapon.

Further successes have since been registered and profound changes have already taken place in the attitude of the Socialist working people to the members of the Communist Party.

These changes have been recognised by the guiding committee of the Socialist Party. In a circular issued on January 29, the day on which the working people fought unitedly for a guaranteed minimum wage of 25,166 francs, the guiding committee of the Socialist Party, far from urging unity of the working people to fight for the satisfaction of this demand by the Laniel Government, warned all elected persons and activists of the Socialist Party against such unity. Moreover, the circular repeated the warning about the "impossibility of holding joint meetings by any organisations of the two Parties and that no Socialist activist should give his support to any demonstration sponsored by the Communist Party or its 'branches'".

On February 20-21 the National Council of the Socialist Party reiterated this ban. It is obvious that had the united action between Communist and Socialist working people not developed, Guy Mollet and his accomplices would not have considered it necessary to repeat these directives which meet with the approval of the extreme reactionaries who regard these splitters of the working class as their best helpmates.

Small wonder then that the rabid advocates of the "European Army" are campaigning jointly with the extreme reactionary elements for the creation of the "European Defence Community", seeking to prevent the Socialist activists from taking action together with all other patriots against the attempt to put an end to our national independence.

Guy Mollet certainly does not want the Socialists and Communists to fight together shoulder to shoulder against the resurgence of German militarism, which he accepts, without any hesitation in connivance with Adenauer and taking no account of the stand taken by the German Socialists who are against the "European Defence Community", as was demonstrated at the recent Brussels Conference of the European Socialist Parties.

No one can deny that without the Communists it is impossible to prevent ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties. It is only logical that he who opposes the "European Defence Community" must direct all his efforts against the Laniel Government and its accomplices.

From an examination of the facts it appears that considerable achievements have already been registered; these achievements, however, make us think of what could have been done in this respect if the desire to devote all efforts to the task of realising united action of the working class had prevailed in our Party.

The examples quoted show that the Socialists and the Communists reached agreement more frequently in words than in joint concrete actions. We must never lose sight of the fact that it is precisely these concrete actions which must be our aim since, as Maurice Thorez put it, "The united front means action".

as to propose a political line which runs counter to the decisions adopted by the XIIIth Party Congress, which, in the long run, is tantamount to reducing the Communist Party to the status of a secondary force to serve as a support for certain political bourgeois groupings.

The inevitable results of this policy would have been the loss of the Party's class character and political independence, whereas it is only its political independence which enables the Party to play its historic role and successfully realise the policy of united action by the working class and the unification of all national and democratic forces in order to bring about the change in the political course desired by the French people.

The opportunist tendency, which the Organising Secretary of the Party did not consider it necessary to explain in his report at the recent meeting of the Central Committee, manifested itself, in particular, in abandonment of mass-political work. Some of his personal directives which run counter to the Party's political line were aimed at replacing the mass-political work by a false and dangerous concept of work by small groups which are not and cannot be subject to any control.

Thus, the Secretary of the Party, responsible for its organisational work, aggravated his openly opportunist concept of the role and forms of Party work by carrying out the dangerous and adventurist policy arising from this very concept.

I now proceed to the examination of a number of questions and above all to the circular letter sent to the secretaries and treasurers of the Party branches in connection with the card exchange for 1952. This letter was a clear violation of the Leninist organisational principles: on the one hand, it proposed the establishment of the post of political instructor which would lead to the isolation of the rank and file from the leadership of the branch, on the other hand, it proclaimed the principle according to which anyone who paid membership dues could be a member of the Party without active participation in the work of one of the Party branches.

The directives laid down in the letter simply questioned the validity of Article 2 of the Party Rules which reads:

"A person who accepts the programme and the Rules of the Party, who belongs to one of its branches and who undertakes actively to participate in its work and regularly pay his membership dues can be a member of the Party".

It should also be pointed out that the author of this letter went so far as to propose—though his proposal did not meet with approval—changes in Article 2 of the Rules, namely to strike out the part which points out that every Party member is in duty bound to take an active part in the work of one of its organisations, and, in addition, to eliminate the name of "branch" from the definition of the basic Party organisations.

The crux of the matter was not merely a change in name but a change in the political and organisational character of the Party.

This was the essence of the opportunist and liquidatory line in organisational work, on some aspects of which Comrade Lecoœur made a point of keeping quiet in his report on organisational questions at the recent meeting of the Central Committee.

As can be seen, he did not make the slightest allusion in his report to the personal responsibility of the leader of the Organising Department for these distortions of the Party line.

In an article published in the latest issue of "Cahiers du Communisme" (January-February) Comrade Lecoœur again kept silent about his personal responsibility and this calculated silence enabled him at the

in relation to the intelligentsia, the tendency to enable the instructors on organisational questions to act as though they were members of the Central Committee and sometimes in fact to substitute for them.

All this in the final analysis had as its object the transformation of the Organising Department into an organ replacing the leadership of the Party.

The fact that it took a great deal of time to discuss with the head of the Organising Department such simple and at the same time important problems shows his real attitude to the question of collective leadership.

All this adversely affected the work of the Federations and the problems facing their leadership, problems which the Organising Department sought to solve, by bypassing the Party leadership.

One can easily understand that in these circumstances the Organising Secretary of the Party considered the promotion of certain cadres from the point of view of personal interests and personal loyalty rather than from the standpoint of loyalty to the Party.

The Organising Secretary did not take into account in his work the counsel given by Maurice Thorez who declared in January 1948 when addressing the secretaries of the Party Federations:

"The real Federation secretary must reason in the following way: if things go well, this is because all of us together worked well; if things go badly, this is my fault as secretary of the Federation".

The sum total of all these facts, which moreover, Comrade Lecoœur is unable to refute, will obviously make it imperative for the Central Committee, together with the Political Bureau, to decide on the necessity of making changes in directing the organising work of the Party.

In order to strengthen the Party, and this can be achieved only through the application of the Leninist organisational principles, we must make considerable efforts to ensure:

1. Normal functioning of the elected organs of the Party and the directing of its organisational efforts to work in the enterprises and primarily in the big enterprises.

2. Realisation and observation of the principle of democratic centralism by means of strengthening collective leadership at all levels in the Party and by raising the level of criticism and self-criticism.

No Communist must ever forget that our Party, provided only it is organised and works actively in the enterprises, can, in very great measure, influence the development of the struggle for immediate demands, that it can draw the workers into active participation in the struggle against the "European Defence Community", for ending the war in Indo-China and effecting a change in the political course.

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The problem of the struggle against the "European Defence Community" must be in the centre of our attention.

The forthcoming struggle demands from each of us a thorough understanding of the significance of this battle which we must win.

But, I repeat, it would be naive not to realise that our enemies will strain every nerve in this struggle.

That is why we must, in a most responsible way, take the necessary measures, display the maximum initiative and see to it that the Party activists and all Party organisations fight tooth and nail to prevent ratification of the "European Defence Community" agreement by making united working-class action a living reality, by making it the factor for uniting all the national and democratic forces.

Protest demonstrations against the "European Defence Community" held on March 12-14 all over France showed how strongly the French people feel about the rearming of the German revanchists. The demonstrations were an important phase of the struggle being waged by the French patriots in ever-increasing unity against ratifying the Bonn and Paris agreements.

In response to the appeal issued by 22 prominent citizens, people all over the country gathered around memorials to the victims of the war and monuments in memory of the French men and women who fell victims during the Nazi occupation, thus expressing their opposition to the military agreements.

The workers of many factories declared lightning strikes. Work was stopped, in particular, by metal workers of the Saurer factory in Suresnes (Seine Department), and the Fives-Lille factory (Nord Department) and by the dockers of Boulogne.

"European Defence Community"— Menace to Italy's Independence

Following the Berlin Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers the struggle of the Italian people against the "European Defence Community" has gained in strength.

Numerous meetings, rallies and conferences are being held all over the country. These gatherings are attended by people from all walks of life and of diverse political trends. Those taking part resolutely protest against the formation of the "European Defence Community" and against reviving German militarism. Such meetings and rallies have already been held in Bologna, Parma, Reggio-Emilia, Naples and in many other cities. Addressing a meeting in the city of Avellino, Genovese, chairman of the local ex-servicemen's organisation, said that to join the "European Defence Community" meant "to repudiate national sovereignty and sow the seeds of civil war".

A conference of lawyers held on March 13-14 in Rome discussed the juridical aspect of the agreement on the "European Defence Community". Lawyers

Statement by Communist Party of Pakistan Concerning Turkey-Pakistan Military Pact

The Indian newspaper "New Age" published a statement made on behalf of the Communist Party of Pakistan by Acting General Secretary F. Mansur.

The statement reads: "The Communist Party of Pakistan protests against the Turco-Pakistan Military Pact and Pakistan-US Military alliance because such American designs not only bring the threat of war nearer to our door but they endanger our sovereignty...".

Concerning the Turco-Pakistan military agreement the statement points out that nothing could be farther from the truth than the claim that this pact is a step towards strengthening the Muslim East.

"Can any alliance with Turkey," the statement continues, "which has all along voted in Uno with the imperialists of the USA, Britain and France against the

many bouquets and wreaths of the Unknown tricolor were laid at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior beneath the Arc de triomphe in Paris. In the city of Rochefort a mass demonstration was led by the members of the municipal council which includes representatives of different parties. Police detachments concentrated around the monument to the victims of the war could not stop the demonstration. Delegates to a congress of ex-POWs joined the thousands of residents of Nancy gathered around the war memorial. A meeting held in the grounds of the Sorbonne University was attended by 3,000 students and teachers.

A recent congress of Radicals turned down a proposal of the advocates of the rearmament of Germany recommending that the debate on the "European Defence Community" be held in the National Assembly prior to the convening of the Geneva Conference.

from all parts of the country and of diverse political views took part in the conference. The participants stressed that the "European Defence Community" runs counter to the Constitution and is incompatible with it. Giuseppe Nitti, M.P., pointed to the serious danger to Italy's independence arising from the creation of the "European Defence Community". He characterised the "European Defence Community" as an anomaly from both the juridical and the Constitutional points of view.

In conclusion the conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling on all lawyers to initiate a public discussion on the "European Defence Community" treaty and widely to explain to the population the menace which the "European Defence Community" represents for the Italian Constitution and independence of the country. In conclusion the resolution appeals "in discussing the question in relation to the national interests, particularly for the purpose of ensuring a further lessening of the international tension".

liberation movements of the Muslim countries of the Middle East, strengthen the Muslim world?".

Denouncing the so-called "global" policy of the USA of forming military blocs, the statement emphasises: "It is a policy of the economic and political enslavement of the entire world, particularly the underdeveloped countries of Asia. It is a policy of aggression and war".

The Communist Party of Pakistan, the statement goes on, calls upon all patriotic political parties and individuals to realise this grave danger to the freedom of the country, to unite in order to defeat these sinister designs of the traditional enemies of the peoples of the Middle East.

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