

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

Bucharest. Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties

No. 5 (273)

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1954

PRICE 3d (8 cents)

STRENGTHEN IN EVERY WAY ALLIANCE OF WORKING CLASS AND PEASANTRY IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

The working people in the countries of people's democracy, under the leadership of their Communist and Workers' Parties, displaying tremendous revolutionary energy, activity and creative initiative, are working on the grand tasks of socialist construction. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the indispensable prerequisite and guarantee for the successful onward march of the countries of people's democracy. This alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which has been organised by the Communist and Workers' Parties and in which the working class is playing the leading role, has become in all these countries a mighty force and the indestructible basis of the people's-democratic system.

In their fight to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies rely on the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Having organised the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry the Communist Party of the Soviet Union overthrew the rule of the capitalists and landlords, established the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia; abolished the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man and ensured the construction of the first socialist society in the world. The indestructible alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This alliance enabled the working class in the USSR to exercise state leadership of the broad masses of the builders of socialist society and successfully to repel the onslaught of internal and external enemies. The Soviet people achieved world-historic success in developing the economy and culture of their country and are confidently going ahead along the pathway to Communism.

Widely utilising the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and their own experience, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies are working tirelessly to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This great alliance corresponds to the vital interests of the popular masses. Without the solid alliance of the working class and the peasantry the victory of Socialism is impossible.

The agrarian reform in the People's Democracies was a striking expression of the constant support by the Communist

Simultaneously the governments in the countries of people's democracy have made available more credit for the peasant households and have helped them by wiping out arrears. The producer co-operatives in Bulgaria, for instance, in 1953 gained more than 450 million leva from the wiping out of arrears and other debts. These measures express the solicitude of the Communist and Workers' Parties and Governments of the People's Democracies for the interests of the peasants and for the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

With a view to ensuring the further development of agriculture the countries of people's democracy are supplying more and more tractors and other agricultural machines to the countryside. Close attention is devoted to extending irrigation systems. In Rumania for example, the sum of 350 million lei has been set aside for irrigation work in 1953-55 in drought affected areas; in Albania, the irrigated area will be extended during the Five-Year Plan period from 39 thousand to 100 thousand hectares.

The working class and the Communist Party of China have brought the peasant masses of their country to great victories in building the new life. Immediately after the victory of the revolution in China the People's Government proclaimed the abolition of the system of feudal land-ownership. The land reform, as a result of which 300 million peasants received 47 million hectares of land, enabled the working peasantry to rid themselves forever of the feudal shackles. The working peasants have taken the path leading to their wellbeing and a steady rise in their material and cultural level. Strengthening in every way the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class the Chinese Communist Party has opened the path to Socialism for the people.

In the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the popular masses demonstrated to the world, in grim battle against the interventionists, their splendid solidarity and unity, the bedrock of which is the historic gain of the working people—the worker-peasant alliance. The Party of Labour and the people of Korea guard this sacred alliance as the apple of their eye and are doing everything to ensure its further consolidation.

The successful laying of the foundations of Socialism in the countries of people's democracy has graphically shown to the world the profound correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that in all vital problems

Working People in Czechoslovakia Fulfil First Five-Year Plan

On January 20 Josef Pucik, Minister and Chairman of the State Planning Board, announced the results of the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan at a session of the Czechoslovak National Assembly.

The goals set by the Plan were on the whole reached. Gross industrial output has doubled. Output of means of production increased 2.1 times and its share in overall output rose from 56 per cent in 1948 to 62 per cent in 1953. At the same time output in the engineering industry rose 3.3 times.

By the end of the Five-Year Plan period the socialist sector in industry was producing 99.6 per cent of the output; in the building industry 99.8 per cent; 100 per cent in transport; 99.7 per cent in trade and 45.4 per cent in agriculture.

Output of electric power in 1953 was more than three times the 1937 figure, steel output almost doubled, coal output (including lignite) showed an increase of more than one and a half times.

Labour productivity in industry rose 64 per cent, and average wages for all branches of the national economy rose 35 per cent, with the average wages for industrial workers rising 56 per cent.

State allocations on social and cultural needs in 1953 were 81 per cent more than in 1949 and comprised one-fourth of the entire state expenditure.

TOWARDS FURTHER UPSURGE

At a session of the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic held last week Comrade Bela Szalai, Chairman of the State Planning Board, reported on the 1954 state plan.

He said that the share of the consumption fund in the national income would rise this year from 75 to 82 per cent. Retail trade is expected to show an increase of nearly 20 per cent.

Compared with 1953, the 1954 plan envisages a 4.5 per cent increase in the output of socialist industry; output of goods of mass consumption will go up 16 per cent.

Compared with the average level of the 5 past years agricultural output is sche-

All-Union Conference of Personnel of Machine and Tractor Stations Held in Moscow

An all-Union conference of the personnel of the machine and tractor stations sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR opened in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow on January 25.

The conference was attended by the representatives of two million workers in the machine and tractor stations and agricultural bodies from all parts of the Soviet Union. The 2,140 people taking part in the conference include directors of the machine and tractor stations, engineers, mechanics, agronomists, zoo-technical specialists, tractor and combine drivers, chairmen of collective farms, functionaries of the Party, Komsomol organisations and agricultural bodies and workers in the realm of science.

The presidium of the conference included Comrades G. M. Malenkov, N. S. Khrushchev, K. E. Voroshilov, N. A. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich, A. I. Mikoyan, M. Z. Saburov, M. G. Pervukhin, N. M. Shvernik, P. K. Ponomarenko, M. A. Suslov, P. N. Pospelov, N. N. Shatalin and famous workers in the field of agriculture.

Comrade I. A. Benediktov, Minister of Agriculture of the USSR, opened the conference with the report: "Carrying out the decision of the September meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the statement of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU 'About measures to ensure the further improvement of the work of the machine and tractor stations'."

Referring to the decisive role played by the machine and tractor stations in solving the vital national task of bringing about a rapid advance in agricultural production the speaker said that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government create all the conditions necessary to attain a radical improvement in the work of the machine and tractor stations and to consolidate their organising role in collective-farm production.

The question now is to see to it, said Comrade Benediktov, that the two million-strong army of the workers in the machine and tractor stations and agricultural bodies ensure that the assignments for raising crop yields and developing animal husbandry are fulfilled in 1954.

He pointed out that in 1953 a large number of machine and tractor stations failed to cope with the tasks facing them and did not fulfil the assignment for crop yields in the collective farms which they serve.

Comrade Benediktov stressed that the task of ensuring a steep advance in agricultural production requires above all im-

He made a profound analysis of the work of the advanced machine and tractor stations.

At present the machine and tractor stations bear great responsibility for the development of the commonly-owned animal husbandry on the collective farms. They must pay particular attention to ensuring a reliable fodder base, to the mechanisation of labour consuming work on the livestock farms and to the provision of adequate care for the cattle in winter.

The speaker dwelt at length on the tasks facing the machine and tractor stations in the matter of preparing for and carrying out the spring sowing and replenishing with specialists the machine and tractor stations and the collective farms.

The agricultural bodies must resolutely improve the leadership given to the machine and tractor stations and collective farms, and popularise and introduce the achievements of science and advanced methods.

The report was followed by discussion. The workers of the machine and tractor stations and the collective farmers shared their experiences and spoke of high crop yields attained by the advanced collective farms with the help of the machine and tractor stations. For example, Comrade Burkatskaya, chairman of the advanced Khrushchev collective farm in the Ukraine (Cherkasskaya region) reported that last year the collective farm, helped by the Cherkasskaya machine and tractor station yielded wheat to the extent of 2,100 kilograms per hectare, millet 2,960 kilograms, sun flower seeds 2,700, corn 4,460, potatoes 15,100 and tomatoes 18,500 kilograms per hectare.

The speakers criticised the shortcomings in the leadership given to the machine and tractor stations and the collective farms, and stressed the need for the mechanisation of arduous work in agriculture.

The conference paid close attention to the tasks facing agricultural science in the struggle for a further advance of agriculture and animal husbandry. They pointed out that the work of the scientific-research institutes must be reorganised and that scientists must be directly linked with collective-farm production. Comrade Lysenko, Academician, stressed the need for close contact between the scientists and agricultural practice. The more we strengthen the unity of science with practice, he said, the better the results we shall achieve in the development of agriculture.

Many valuable suggestions aimed at improving the work of the machine and tractor stations and enhancing their role in ensuring the advance of agricultural production were made during the conference.

The four-day conference of the personnel of the machine and tractor stations completed its work on January 28. Comrades G. M. Malenkov, N. S. Khrush-

Another Powerful Upsurge of Patriotic Struggle of French People

The patriotic fight of broad masses of the French people against the Bonn and Paris military agreements is gaining momentum.

Numerous meetings and peasants' peace rallies are being held all over the country. Petitions are being signed, resolutions adopted and delegations elected to visit Deputies. Partisans of peace in the Seine Department are engaged in active work, carrying out the task set by the Department Peace Council—to collect in the near future one million signatures against the Bonn and Paris agreements. Opposition to these military agreements has been expressed by 39 out of 57 Deputies and 14 out of 20 Senators in this Department. In a few days peace supporters in Drancy collected 6,000 signatures against the agreements.

A week of struggle against the military agreements was declared in the Seine-et-Oise Department. In this connection preparations are under way for convening peace rallies in 7 cantons on January 31.

265,000 signatures were collected against the Bonn and Paris agreements in the Bouches-du-Rhone Department.

Numerous nation-wide actions testify to the fact that the people are fully determined to see to it that the representative of the Government expresses in Berlin the will of the people not to ratify the Bonn and Paris military agreements.

STRUGGLE IN HOLLAND FOR UNITED ACTION AGAINST REVIVAL OF GERMAN MILITARISM

The National Congress of United Action against the Revival of German Militarism, convened by the Dutch Peace Council on January 17 in Amsterdam, was attended by some 1,500 delegates and visitors from all parts of the country, representing most varied political trends. They included workers' delegations, professors, students, part workers, a group of employees of the Hilversum broadcasting station, artisans, small businessmen, etc. The delegates unanimously supported the main slogan of the Congress: "Unity, unity and again unity against the danger of the revival of German militarism, against the 'European Defence Community'". This call was addressed to the entire Dutch people. The Congress addressed a message to the Chairman of the First Chamber of the Dutch Parliament, which points out that the "European De-

is the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This alliance enabled the working class in the USSR to exercise state leadership of the broad masses of the builders of socialist society and successfully to repel the onslaught of internal and external enemies. The Soviet people achieved world-historic success in developing the economy and culture of their country and are confidently going ahead along the pathway to Communism.

Widely utilising the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and their own experience, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies are working tirelessly to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This great alliance corresponds to the vital interests of the popular masses. Without the solid alliance of the working class and the peasantry the victory of Socialism is impossible.

The agrarian reform in the People's Democracies was a striking expression of the constant concern shown by the Communist and Workers' Parties for strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, for satisfying the urgent needs of the working people in the countryside. The liberation of these countries from the yoke of fascism and imperialism was immediately followed by the fight to transfer the landlords' land to the landless and landhungry peasants. The land reform was effected by the working peasantry with the aid and guidance of the working class.

In the subsequent years the material and cultural level of the workers and the working peasantry has risen. The role and significance of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry became more pronounced in the course of the struggle for carrying out the economic plans and creating the economic basis of Socialism in the People's Democracies; the aid given by the town to the countryside has increased and likewise the role of the town as the leading force in taking the countryside along the pathway to Socialism. While giving every support to the producer co-operatives in the countryside and taking steps to strengthen and develop them on a voluntary basis the Parties are, at the same time, taking important measures to stimulate greater production by the individual peasant households, the poor and middle peasants.

The chief task of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy is the construction of socialist society. This task is indissolubly linked with concern for the wellbeing of the people and for the fullest satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of society. And precisely for the purpose of carrying out this task the countries of people's democracy recently decided on important measures aimed at increasing agricultural production and ensuring bigger capital investments in agriculture, in light industry and in the food industries, at ensuring bigger supplies of manufactured goods for the population, at extending the exchange of goods between town and country, at improving the work of the trading network, at ensuring adequate satisfaction of the growing cultural requirements of the working peasants.

In the People's Republic of Poland, for instance, last year state capital investments for development of agriculture doubled as against 1949 and in 1955 will be 45 per cent greater than in 1953; in the Hungarian and Rumanian People's Republics capital investments in agriculture in the current year will be double the 1953 figure. The peasants will benefit greatly from the recent increase in the prices paid by the state for agricultural products. In 1953, as a result of this measure, the agricultural population of Czechoslovakia benefited to the amount of nearly 900 million crowns.

The land reform, as a result of which 300 million peasants received 47 million hectares of land, enabled the working peasantry to rid themselves forever of the feudal shackles. The working peasants have taken the path leading to their wellbeing and a steady rise in their material and cultural level. Strengthening in every way the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class the Chinese Communist Party has opened the path to Socialism for the people.

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The successful laying of the foundations of Socialism in the countries of people's democracy has graphically shown to the world the profound correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that in all vital problems the interests of industrial workers and working peasants are common interests. Workers and working peasantry alike are deeply interested in preserving and consolidating peace; in seeing their people's democratic state growing stronger day by day, the economic might of their countries increasing and the standard of living rising; they are deeply interested in the blossoming of the spiritual forces of the people, in strengthening the positions of Socialism in the countryside, in restricting and dislodging the kulaks and in seeing that the country develops along socialist lines.

In the countries of people's democracy the alliance of the working class and peasantry is being consolidated in conditions of sharp class struggle. The enemies of people's democracy, using all ways and means in their subversive activity, try to sow strife between the urban workers and the peasantry, to weaken their alliance. The carrying out of the measures for improving the material and cultural life of the working peasants, the further successful development of socialist construction, the organisational and economic consolidation of the producer co-operatives in the countryside and the new labour enthusiasm of the broad popular masses in the countries of people's democracy evoke fury in the camp of the enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The enemies of people's democracy fear the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, seeing in the unity of the working masses of town and country the formidable force which dooms to inevitable failure all their attempts against the people. Persistently pursuing the tried Lenin policy of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy resolutely expose the enemies of Socialism and peace, consolidate their solidarity, enhance the militancy of the Party organisations in town and countryside, strengthen their contact with the broad working masses and sharpen their revolutionary vigilance.

The home and foreign policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy is clear to the working people and is regarded by them as their own policy. They give it their wholehearted backing and fight selflessly for its implementation. Rallied around the Communist and Workers' Parties the workers and working peasants in the People's Democracies are stepping out shoulder to shoulder along the pathway of building the new life. Nothing can violate their alliance which has been cemented by the years of joint and heroic struggle for democracy, Socialism and peace.

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Compared with 1953, the 1954 plan envisages a 4.5 per cent increase in the output of socialist industry; output of goods of mass consumption will go up 16 per cent.

Compared with the average level of the 5 past years agricultural output is scheduled to go up 8 per cent. Capital investments in agriculture this year will be nearly double the 1953 level, comprising 24 per cent of the total capital investments.

Imre Nagy, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, pointed out that the chief task of the Government in the sphere of economic policy in 1954 is greater concern in the matter of satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the population.

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Comrade Benediktov stressed that the task of ensuring a steep advance in agricultural production requires above all improved leadership of the machine and tractor stations on the part of the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR and its local bodies. The machine and tractor stations must in their turn, considerably improve their organisational work on collective farms, particularly on the backward farms, make better use of technique and constantly introduce into agriculture all that is new, progressive and advanced in order to raise crop yields, to increase the head of cattle and improve the breeds.

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A comprehensive speech was delivered by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The conference adopted an Appeal to the personnel of the machine and tractor stations in the Soviet Union to launch All-Union emulation.

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The report to the Congress was delivered by Prof. M. B. Minnaert-Coelingh. She emphasised that this Congress "must pave the way for a genuine popular movement against the 'European Defence Community'".

Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers of Four Powers

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, France, Britain and the USA opened in Berlin on January 25.

The Conference is attended by V. M. Molotov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR; G. Bidault, Foreign Minister of France; A. Eden, Foreign Minister of Britain and J. F. Dulles, the State Secretary of the USA.

After the Ministers had agreed on procedure, the floor was taken by G. Bidault.

Expressing confidence that the meeting would be the first step towards an enduring improvement in the relations between the Four Powers, and would again open the way to a general settlement which would put an end to the division of the world, Bidault recalled that there were differences between the countries taking part and that the Conference should consider all outstanding issues.

The French Foreign Minister, after admitting that the existing division of Europe was an "unhealthy phenomenon" went on to repeat the long refuted assertion that this division, actually the result of the policy of the Western Powers, "was forced" on the West.

Bidault expressed the view that the Conference must discuss the German peace treaty and the Austrian treaty. As to the German question he said that the prerequisite for preparing a peace treaty—the existence of a government that would represent the whole of Germany—was missing and again reiterated the old assertion of the Western Powers that the holding of so-called "free elections" should be the first step towards a settlement of the problem.

Bidault was followed by A. Eden who said that the Berlin Conference had given hope to the world. He said that the peace-loving peoples expect from us work for peace and we must not disappoint them.

After trying to justify the formation of the bloc of the Western Powers and the

policy of dividing Europe, Eden said that the aim of the Conference should be the removal of the barriers which exist in Europe and secondly, the fostering of greater trust in the relations between the countries of the West and the Soviet Union. Eden argued against discussing "world problems" saying that the Conference would achieve more if the Ministers succeeded in removing one or two of the main reasons for the tension, if it did not discuss the tension in an abstract way. This Conference, he said, is a conference of Europe and about Europe and, consequently, it must first of all tackle the major European problems: Germany and Austria.

Eden admitted that the peaceful unification of Germany and the signing of a German peace treaty would create fresh prospects for lasting peace in Europe. However, touching on the ways and means of solving this problem he again repeated the old assertions of the Governments of the Western Powers that the holding of so-called "free elections" throughout Germany must be regarded as the first step towards a settlement of the German question.

Eden was followed by V. M. Molotov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR. (V. M. Molotov's statement appears on another page).

J. Dulles was the first speaker at the January 26 session. He said that the questions of Germany and Austria were the first questions on which the Conference could achieve success. Dulles praised Bidault and Eden for their speeches which, in his view, were constructive and aimed at establishing co-operation. At the same time he expressed "disappointment" over the statement made by V. M. Molotov. He was dissatisfied, he said, because V. M. Molotov had "recalled the Yalta decisions" but as is known, these decisions were aimed precisely at smashing German militarism and nazism and met with the support of the

peoples of the world. Referring to the Soviet standpoint as a return to the outlived and dangerous past Dulles approved the stand taken by Bidault and aimed at bringing France into the "European Defence Community". Dulles said that the USA would not agree to a Five Power Conference, with China included, to discuss questions of world peace.

V. M. Molotov who took the floor after Dulles said that "we must not try and pretend that we have no controversial issues". Such controversial issues exist. Consequently, he went on, we have met here to reach agreement on the controversial issues.

V. M. Molotov dwelt in detail on the significance of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which, he said, have the common aim of ensuring that Germany becomes a democratic, peace-loving country, that it is unable to unleash another world war. Therefore, said the leader of the Soviet delegation, the Conference must be very critical of Dulles' remarks on this question. V. M. Molotov also showed the groundlessness of the arguments cited by Dulles that a Five Power meeting would not be in conformity with the UN Charter and the rights of the peoples. The head of the Soviet delegation declared that a meeting of the Five Powers, including the People's Republic of China, would be lawful in exactly the same way as the Four Power Conference is lawful.

The agenda proposed by the Soviet delegation was adopted by the Ministers on the same day.

The third session, held on January 27, opened with discussion on the first item: "Measures for lessening the tension in international relations and for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, USA, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China".

Speaking at this session J. Dulles said: The USA rejects the idea of a Five Power

Conference for ending the international tension. In a way, however, he admitted the possibility of reviewing the Korean and Indo-China questions at a Five-Power Conference. He concluded by saying that no decision should be taken on the first item of the agenda and that the meeting should proceed to the second and third items.

G. Bidault declared that differences in regimes should not become an obstacle in the way of agreement and suggested that the questions relating to Korea and South-East Asia should be discussed at special Political Conferences.

A. Eden said that the Berlin Conference should first of all discuss questions relating to Germany and Austria and in the event of agreement being reached on these questions the Conference could go on to other questions.

After this an important statement was delivered by V. M. Molotov who pointed out that one would be justified in expecting from the Conference steps that would conform to the aspirations of the millions and millions of people longing for an easing of the burden of armaments, an end to the arms drive and, consequently, for relaxation of the international tension.

V. M. Molotov pointed out that as yet the participants in the Conference did not have a common point of view in the matter of holding a Five-Power Conference. We should be able, he said, to define the concrete tasks for a Five-Power Conference by means of a further exchange of views on the matter.

On January 28 the fourth meeting was held, at which the first item of the agenda was discussed.

Towards the end of the meeting V. M. Molotov suggested that the proposal for a World Conference on universal reduction of armaments should be discussed at the Berlin Conference.

The Conference is continuing its work.

V. M. Molotov's Statement

at Berlin Conference

of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers on January 25th, 1954

Mr. Chairman, Messrs Ministers!

The present Conference of Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union is attracting the general attention of the public throughout the world.

Many people expect it to yield important results.

There are also directly opposite views.

It is known that certain circles declare in advance that the Berlin Conference is doomed to failure and that already now when the Berlin Conference has not even settled down to business it is necessary to prepare public opinion for its inevitable failure. Such statements of course do not emanate from those whom we could call wellwishers of the Berlin Conference.

As for the Soviet Government, it cannot accept the viewpoint of those who are ready to agree in advance to the fruitlessness of the Berlin Conference. I assume that among us, participants in the Conference, the aforesaid viewpoint will in general find no sympathy.

The Berlin Conference was preceded by a rather lengthy period of exchange of Notes in which the three Governments—France, Britain and the United States—as well as the Government of the USSR presented in detail their views as to the tasks of the present Conference. This exchange of views showed that, notwithstanding the difference in the positions of the Governments of the Four Powers on various questions, the need for a Conference of representatives of these countries was quite pressing.

Indeed, millions of people are waiting for an answer to the question as to whether the present Conference will help to strengthen peace, ease the tension in international relations and really ensure security in Europe. To the extent that the Berlin Conference conforms to this main task it will play its positive part in the further development of international relations.

The agenda of the present Conference was not fixed in advance. It was found to be more expedient that the Foreign Ministers' Conference itself draw up its agenda. As for the Soviet delegation, it proceeds from the premise that in determining the agenda of the present Conference this matter should be considered not formally but in substance. It is necessary to be guided by the consideration that the agenda of our Conference should include questions whose examination would contribute to the consolidation of peace and further relaxation of the tension in international relations, as regards which definite results were already attained last year. Indeed, we must not underestimate the fact of the termination of the war and the conclusion of the armistice in Korea, which were achieved first and foremost as a result of the initiative of the People's Republic of China and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The positive effects of this development have been felt in Asia, in Europe and in America.

Of the questions subject to discussion I will first dwell on the German issue.

German question is inseparably bound up with ensuring the security of Europe. The experience of history shows that this is also of great importance for ensuring world peace.

We must particularly stress the fact that both during the second world war and after it the Governments of the Four Powers represented at this Conference held common opinions, held common views on this question. Suffice it to recall in this connection the decisions of the Yalta Conference of the heads of the Governments of the United States, Britain and the USSR which was held in February 1945, and the agreements adopted by the same Governments at the Potsdam Conference in August 1945.

The decisions of the Yalta Conference stipulate that "it is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world". These decisions were fully supported by France as well as by all the other united nations. The countries which took part in the Potsdam Conference, confirming the aforesaid Yalta decisions, stated in the Potsdam declaration on Germany that "German militarism and nazism shall be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement with each other, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany will never again threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world". France also acceded to these decisions. They were supported by the peoples of the entire world.

The settlement of the German question in conformity with the requirements of ensuring European security corresponds not only to the interests of all European peoples, and especially the countries neighbouring Germany which more than once were victims of aggressive German militarism, but also to the national interests of the German people themselves. This aspect of the settlement of the German question is also envisaged in the aforesaid Potsdam declaration on Germany. This declaration states: "It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world". As far back as 1942 the same idea was expressed in the famous words of J. V. Stalin: "The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state live on".

Do these decisions about the peaceful and democratic path of Germany's development hold good today? There can be no two opinions on this point. The Soviet people and the peoples of France, Britain and the United States must take decisions on the German question in conformity with these international agreements signed by the Governments of Britain, the United States and the USSR, to which France acceded.

by its present representatives who are waiting for the adoption of a decision on the formation of the "European Army".

He who now entertains illusions about the possibility of containing German militarism within the bounds of the original plans for the establishment of the so-called "European Army", will perhaps regret this subsequently, but it will be too late. If German militarism is given the chance to revive, then, as testified by the historic experience of the two world wars, the danger of another world war will become inexorable, real and inescapable. Hence, it is not surprising that the peoples of Europe display such great interest in Germany's further development—whether along the path of peaceful co-operation of a united democratic Germany with other countries or along the path of preparing and unleashing another war, along the path which at the same time leads to a fratricidal war between the Germans themselves.

It is also necessary to give thought to the other serious consequences of the policy of restoring German militarism. The establishment of the so-called "European Army" or, to put it more exactly, the establishment of an army of several West European countries, in which a West German army pursuing revanchist aggressive aims would be the main military force, may result in the formation of a defensive alliance of other European countries with the aim of ensuring their security. In that case, instead of the European peoples being concerned with joint measures to ensure peace and security in Europe, the European countries would be split into two military groupings of states, counterposing each other, which would inevitably increase the danger of another war in Europe.

Such continental European countries as the USSR and France must especially reckon with the development of such a dangerous situation in Europe. It is quite understandable that there is in France an increasing number of opponents of the "European Army", in which a dominating role will be played by the West German army headed by Hitlerite generals who revealed their true nature as the recent occupantists of France's territory.

The Soviet people, who lived through four years of occupation of a substantial part of their territory by the Hitlerite army and who sustained tremendous losses—human and material—in the war against Germany, cannot but manifest every concern for ensuring their security in the future. We are confident that these interests of theirs coincide with the interests of France and Poland, Britain and Belgium and Czechoslovakia as well as the other peace-loving peoples of Europe, and not only of Europe.

That is why the Soviet Union, like the other European countries and primarily the states neighbouring on Germany, legitimately raises the question that the solution of the German problem should conform to the requirements of ensuring the security of Europe. This can be attained only if Germany is reunited as a peaceful and democratic state, if her revival as an aggressive force is prevented. Only such a solution of the German problem will conform to the interests of the peoples of Eu-

We would like to express the hope that all the states represented at this Conference will strive precisely for the lofty and noble aims of ensuring peace and security in Europe because only in this way can we find a solution to the problem of ensuring genuine peace in Europe. To achieve this it would be necessary to agree not to postpone any longer a settlement of the main German questions related to the problem—a peace treaty with Germany and the re-establishment of the unity of the German state on democratic and peace-loving lines.

All this proves how closely the German question is bound up with the problem of European security.

The question of security in Europe, in its turn, is closely tied up with the cardinal task of our times—relaxation of the tension in international relations.

During the exchange of Notes between the Governments of the three Powers and the USSR no agreement was reached on the convocation of a Conference of the Five Powers with the participation of the People's Republic of China on measures to lessen the tension in international relations. At the same time it was recognised as being possible to return to this question at the Conference itself.

The Soviet Government holds that this matter demands the most serious attention of the Berlin Conference. And we are ready to submit a corresponding concrete proposal regarding the convocation of a Five-Power Conference which could be held some time following the Berlin Conference.

The convocation of a conference of Foreign Ministers of the Five Powers with the participation of the People's Republic of China has been a pressing matter for a long time. In the present conditions only the combined efforts of all the Great Powers, together with the efforts of the other states could ensure a relaxation of tension in the entire international situation and the achievement of corresponding agreements on all urgent international problems.

As is known, the United Nations Security Council is charged with the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". It is likewise known that according to the United Nations Charter, all important decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace require the unanimity of the Five Great Powers—France, Britain, the United States, the USSR and China.

At present these highly important provisions of the United Nations Charter cannot be complied with if only because of the fact that the Chinese People's Government, the sole lawful representative of the Chinese people, is not represented in the United Nations. Such a situation has arisen chiefly because one state, namely the United States of America, resists the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. The abnormality and impermissibility of this situation however are so evident that it would be incorrect to tolerate the situation that has arisen.

The convocation of a Conference of For-

North Africa, on the territory of certain Near and Middle Eastern countries has nothing in common with defence. There are not a few statements by military and non-military leaders of the United States who declare outright that the establishment of American military bases on foreign territories is directed against the Soviet Union, against the People's Republic of China, against the People's Democracies. But such a policy and such plans stand discredited in the eyes of the peoples and are doomed to inevitable failure.

Definite conclusions should be drawn from all the aforesaid.

First of all it is necessary to recognise the urgency of such measures as a substantial reduction of all armaments, especially the armaments of the Great Powers, and the need to adopt decisions to prohibit atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, to establish effective international control over this prohibition and, as a first step towards this, to recognise the need for renunciation by Governments of the use of atomic weapons. As regards this last question the Soviet delegation of course will proceed from the fact that a definite procedure for discussing the atomic question has been outlined recently, which should be adhered to.

The convocation of a Five-Power Conference and the discussion at that conference of measures for lessening the international tension including measures to end the armaments drive would be of paramount international significance. There is no people, no country which would not be interested at least in initiating a fruitful discussion of these major international problems. This conference in Berlin could in its turn take a concrete step forward to facilitate the ending of the armaments drive.

We also cannot but recognise as impermissible further delay in the examination of questions pertaining to the regulation of relations among the Great Powers, without which the solution of many international problems cannot be successfully promoted. Settlement of the questions pertaining to the People's Republic of China is of particular significance, including the restoration of her legitimate rights in the United Nations. Progress in this matter would be of great significance for the solution of major international political and economic problems, including a solution of the Korean problem.

As is known the very convocation of the Political Conference on Korea has encountered serious difficulties. Agreement has not yet been reached even on the composition of the conference. There are other sharp contradictions between the sides as can be seen from the gross violation of the armistice terms concerning the prisoners-of-war.

All this is largely due to the absence of normal relations between some of the Great Powers. There is no doubt that the convocation of a Five Power Conference

only on the territory of North and South America that not a single state has resolved to establish normal relations with People's Democratic China. There is no need to go into details to explain the reasons.

The Soviet Government considers that such a state of affairs cannot continue for long. The convocation of a Five-Power Conference with the participation of the People's Republic of China would greatly contribute to the relaxation and normalisation of the whole international situation.

Finally, if we all really strive to ease the international tension, this should also find its expression in international relations connected with the expansion of the trade between countries.

Some powers, and the United States in the first instance, have up to now carried out a policy of banning trade with the USSR and the People's Democracies. For this purpose the United States Government denounced three years ago the trade agreement between the United States and the USSR which had been in force for many years. It is also known that the Battle Act in the United States virtually puts a ban on trade by the United States and the countries of the American bloc with the USSR and the People's Democracies. These, just like a number of other measures taken by the United States, aim not only at creating all kinds of difficulties in international trade but also at aggravating international relations. Have all these obstacles to and discriminations against the expansion of international trade achieved their purpose? We all know that all these discriminatory measures against the USSR, China and the People's Democracies have by no means checked the economic progress of those countries but promoted the formation of a second world market and the considerable consolidation of economic relations between these countries. Judge for yourselves what a continuation of this policy of ban and discriminations in international trade can bring about, especially in present conditions when no one can deny that there are economic difficulties in some countries.

A Five-Power Conference would play a beneficial role in establishing normal conditions for the development of international trade in which many countries cannot but be interested.

A Five-Power Conference, of course, can be held only given the basic prerequisite that all the Five Great Powers really strive for a lessening of the tension in the international situation.

The Soviet delegation hopes that it will be possible to reach agreement on this question at the Berlin Conference.

Besides the question of a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Five Powers and the discussion of the German issue it would be advisable also to examine the Austrian problem at this Conference. The interests of strengthening

national relations and really ensure security in Europe. To the extent that the Berlin Conference conforms to this main task it will play its positive part in the further development of international relations.

The agenda of the present Conference was not fixed in advance. It was found to be more expedient that the Foreign Ministers' Conference itself draw up its agenda. As for the Soviet delegation, it proceeds from the premise that in determining the agenda of the present Conference this matter should be considered not formally but in substance. It is necessary to be guided by the consideration that the agenda of our Conference should include questions whose examination would contribute to the consolidation of peace and further relaxation of the tension in international relations, as regards which definite results were already attained last year. Indeed, we must not underestimate the fact of the termination of the war and the conclusion of the armistice in Korea, which were achieved first and foremost as a result of the initiative of the People's Republic of China and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The positive effects of this development have been felt in Asia, in Europe and in America.

Of the questions subject to discussion I will first dwell on the German issue.

It may be considered as agreed among all participants of the present Conference that the German question should be put on the agenda of our Conference. At the same time it is perfectly clear that the German question cannot be examined in isolation from other issues, that the examination of this question is inseparably bound up with the general problem of ensuring security in Europe. Only such a solution of the German problem will be lasting and just and would strengthen peace in Europe.

It is known that Germany bears the main responsibility for precipitating both the first world war and the second world war. In Kaiser Wilhelm's time the first world war was unleashed by the aggressive forces of German militarism. Notwithstanding the bitter defeat sustained by German militarism in that war, Hitlerite Germany unleashed the second world war which ended in a still graver defeat.

It is likewise known that the second world war exacted immeasurable sacrifices from the peoples of Europe. Those sacrifices greatly exceeded the misfortunes and calamities, the bloodshed and loss of human life caused by the first world war. The biggest sacrifices, not to speak of the greatest efforts, were made by the peoples of our country, the Soviet Union. Millions of Soviet families lost their closest kith and kin—husbands, sons, brothers. Soviet women too made the greatest sacrifices. The peoples of the USSR will never be able to forget all this.

We also fully appreciate the significance of the sacrifices made by the other peoples subjected to Hitlerite aggression.

We also understand the feelings of the German people who were senselessly drawn into both the first and the second world wars by aggressive German militarism and who to this day are suffering from the disastrous consequences of the policy of German militarism. It follows from all this that in the present conditions the German question must be settled in a way that would exclude the possibility of new attempts by German militarism to precipitate a third world war. This means that the examination of the

bouring Germany which more than once were victims of aggressive German militarism, but also to the national interests of the German people themselves. This aspect of the settlement of the German question is also envisaged in the aforesaid Potsdam declaration on Germany. This declaration states: "It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world". As far back as 1942 the same idea was expressed in the famous words of J. V. Stalin: "The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state live on".

Do these decisions about the peaceful and democratic path of Germany's development hold good today? There can be no two opinions on this point. The Soviet people and the peoples of France, Britain and the United States must take decisions on the German question in conformity with these international agreements signed by the Governments of Britain, the United States and the USSR, to which France acceded. The Yalta decisions and the Potsdam agreements, as well as the basic aims as regards the German question formulated in these decisions, must indicate the main trend to which the decisions of the Berlin Conference on the German question should conform. Then they will promote the consolidation of peace in Europe. Then relations between the European peoples, including relations with the German people, will develop normally, along the line of strengthening international co-operation.

The situation that has arisen in Europe since the war fully confirms the correctness of the aforesaid decisions which envisage the need to settle the German question in conformity with the requirements of ensuring European security. It follows from this that the question of re-establishing Germany's unity and forming an all-German government is inseparably bound up with the question as to whether a united Germany will be a peace-loving democratic state or will again become a militaristic and aggressive state. From this also follows the impermissibility of Germany as a whole or any part of Germany being drawn into a grouping such as the "European Defence Community" which constitutes a military bloc of one group of European countries directed against other countries of Europe. The incompatibility of drawing, for example, Western Germany into the "European Defence Community" with the task of ensuring European security is already seen from the fact that the formation of such a military bloc of countries will not only make the re-establishment of Germany's national unity impossible but will also inevitably bring about a considerable increase in the danger of another war in Europe. This is precisely what we are being taught by the experience of the history of the twentieth century, since none of us have any grounds to doubt that restored German militarism will, sooner or later, inevitably tear to shreds any international agreements to which consent is now given

along with the development of such a dangerous situation in Europe. It is quite understandable that there is in France an increasing number of opponents of the "European Army", in which a dominating role will be played by the West German army headed by Hitlerite generals who revealed their true nature as the recent occupiers of France's territory.

The Soviet people, who lived through four years of occupation of a substantial part of their territory by the Hitlerite army and who sustained tremendous losses—human and material—in the war against Germany, cannot but manifest every concern for ensuring their security in the future. We are confident that these interests of theirs coincide with the interests of France and Poland, Britain and Belgium and Czechoslovakia as well as the other peace-loving peoples of Europe, and not only of Europe.

That is why the Soviet Union, like the other European countries and primarily the states neighbouring on Germany, legitimately raises the question that the solution of the German problem should conform to the requirements of ensuring the security of Europe. This can be attained only if Germany is reunited as a peaceful and democratic state, if her revival as an aggressive force is prevented. Only such a solution of the German problem will conform to the interests of the peoples of Europe and at the same time to the fundamental interests of the German people themselves. A different solution impels the German people onto a path holding out for them the threat of national suicide.

It is not difficult to understand that a solution of these problems requires necessary measures to prevent a situation enabling militarists and revanchists again to take into their hands the destinies of Germany, measures to bar the road to power to those elements in Germany who even now do not conceal their aggressive and revanchist plans in Europe.

In this connection it is necessary to recall certain documents of great international importance.

There is the Franco-Soviet Treaty on the prevention of new acts of aggression by German militarism. The same aims are pursued by the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942. There is also the Franco-British Treaty of 1947 which has the same purpose. Lastly, we must not underestimate the significance of the Potsdam decisions on the German question. Cannot all this and should not all this serve as a basis for taking such joint concrete steps as would meet the interests of ensuring lasting peace and the security of the European peoples.

It is known that the Four Powers assumed a commitment under the Potsdam agreement to sign a peace treaty with a government of Germany which they could consider "a government adequate for the purpose when such a government is established". A government of Germany "adequate for the purpose" can be only a peace government and not a war government, a government striving to maintain peaceful relations between the German people and the other peoples of Europe and not a government of aggression and revenge, not a government which for a certain time would be an instrument of the North Atlantic military bloc and would then come out arms in hand for revision of the frontiers, and consequently, for unleashing another world war.

a long time. In the present conditions only the combined efforts of all the Great Powers, together with the efforts of the other states could ensure a relaxation of tension in the entire international situation and the achievement of corresponding agreements on all urgent international problems.

As is known, the United Nations Security Council is charged with the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". It is likewise known that according to the United Nations Charter, all important decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace require the unanimity of the Five Great Powers—France, Britain, the United States, the USSR and China.

At present these highly important provisions of the United Nations Charter cannot be complied with if only because of the fact that the Chinese People's Government, the sole lawful representative of the Chinese people, is not represented in the United Nations. Such a situation has arisen chiefly because one state, namely the United States of America, resists the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. The abnormality and impermissibility of this situation however are so evident that it would be incorrect to tolerate the situation that has arisen.

The convocation of a Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Five Great Powers would be of particularly great importance just in the present conditions. The holding of such a Conference would greatly facilitate the reduction of international tension and consequently the consolidation of universal peace.

The convocation of a Five-Power Conference is necessary first of all in order to put an end to the armaments race. This must be done because a continuation of the armaments race not only makes the burden of armaments unbearable for the peoples but further aggravates international relations and leads to the establishment of military groupings of states both on the one side and on the other.

No state, no great power can in the present conditions attain any positive results by pursuing the armaments race policy. But this policy can undermine a country's national finances and economy if this aggressive and economically insolvent line is continued.

One can throw milliards upon milliards of dollars, more and more milliards of pounds sterling into implementing the armaments race policy and console oneself with seeming results in the armaments race and the "policy of strength". But all this has no reliable foundation and consequently cannot secure the attainment of the set goal, although it causes an exertion of efforts and brings about the implementation of more and more corresponding measures on the other side. In such cases there comes into force the well-known rule: action by one side causes corresponding counteraction by the other side.

Certain powers are carrying out far-reaching plans for the establishment of numerous military bases on foreign territories, far from their frontiers. It is said that this is being done in the interests of defence, although such statements are believed neither by those who make them nor by those who hear them. On the other hand, it is clear to all that the establishment of American military bases in a whole number of European countries, on the territory of

its turn take a concrete step to facilitate the ending of the armaments drive.

We also cannot but recognise as impermissible further delay in the examination of questions pertaining to the regulation of relations among the Great Powers, without which the solution of many international problems cannot be successfully promoted. Settlement of the questions pertaining to the People's Republic of China is of particular significance, including the restoration of her legitimate rights in the United Nations. Progress in this matter would be of great significance for the solution of major international political and economic problems, including a solution of the Korean problem.

As is known the very convocation of the Political Conference on Korea has encountered serious difficulties. Agreement has not yet been reached even on the composition of the conference. There are other sharp contradictions between the sides as can be seen from the gross violation of the armistice terms concerning the prisoners-of-war.

All this is largely due to the absence of normal relations between some of the Great Powers. There is no doubt that the convocation of a Five Power Conference would help to overcome a number of difficulties both in the Korean question and in the solution of some other urgent international problems.

There are countries which still refuse to "recognise" the People's Republic of China. But "non-recognition" of facts, and the more so "non-recognition" of major historic events has never yielded positive results. Further disregarding of the fundamental changes that have occurred in Asia and are reflected above all in the victory of the Chinese people and in the formation of the People's Republic of China aggravates relations between states and creates obstacles to a settlement of urgent international questions in which all the peoples of the world are vitally interested.

Twenty-five countries, big and small, with an aggregate population of about 1,000 million people, have already established or are establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. The number of such countries would be doubled, would reach 50 or exceed this figure were it not for the artificial barriers put up on this natural road.

There is not a single independent state in Asia that has not established political relations with the People's Republic of China or at least does not intend to establish political or economic relations with it. Such Asian countries as India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma have long since entered into diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. None other than Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India and outstanding statesman of Asia, said two days ago: "The United Nations weakens its position by refusing to admit Communist China. The emergence of the new China is a tremendous factor in the international situation. Not to recognise China means to shut one's eyes to reality".

Many European countries, including member states of the Atlantic bloc, recognised the necessity of establishing diplomatic relations with the new China. It is

second world market and the consolidation of economic relations between these countries. Judge for yourselves what a continuation of this policy of ban and discriminations in international trade can bring about, especially in present conditions when no one can deny that there are economic difficulties in some countries.

A Five-Power Conference would play a beneficial role in establishing normal conditions for the development of international trade in which many countries cannot but be interested.

A Five-Power Conference, of course, can be held only given the basic prerequisite that all the Five Great Powers really strive for a lessening of the tension in the international situation.

The Soviet delegation hopes that it will be possible to reach agreement on this question at the Berlin Conference.

Besides the question of a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Five Powers and the discussion of the German issue it would be advisable also to examine the Austrian problem at this Conference.

The interests of strengthening peace in Europe and the necessity of ensuring the national rights of the Austrian people demand the early restoration of a free and independent Austria and a settlement of the Austrian question.

The Soviet Government considers that this question must be settled in accordance with the existing agreement between the Four Powers. While examining this question it is necessary to proceed from the premise that its settlement should ensure the security of the European peoples and the independence of Austria and should prevent Austria from once more becoming a tool of the aggressive forces, and of German militarism in particular.

Everything I have said allows me to submit the following proposal for the agenda of the Berlin Conference:

1. Measures for lessening the tension in international relations and the convocation of a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

2. The German question and the tasks of ensuring European security.

3. The Austrian state treaty.

By adopting such an agenda we should be able to concentrate on those questions which are the most urgent and essential today.

M. Bidault on behalf of France and Mr. Eden on behalf of Britain made statements before I took the floor. We listened with great attention to their speeches.

Both M. Bidault and Mr. Eden, as well as the American Secretary of State Mr. Dulles in his introductory speech, voiced their hopes for positive results from this Conference. As representative of the Soviet Union I express full readiness together with M. Bidault, Mr. Eden and Mr. Dulles to strive at this Conference for such results as would accord with the interests of ensuring the security of the peoples of Europe and simultaneously promote the consolidation of world peace.

In Communist and Workers' Parties

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The tasks of the Party for the achievement of united action by the working class and questions relating to the preparations for the XVIIth Congress of the Communist Party of Austria were discussed at the Central Committee meeting held on January 20-21.

In his report to the meeting Comrade Kopenig, Chairman of the Party, reviewed in detail the struggle for the freedom and independence of Austria and the conclusion of an Austrian state treaty and stressed that the political issue at the moment is the threat to Austria arising from the rearmament and militarisation of Western Germany. History shows, said Comrade Kopenig, that German militarism is the deadly enemy of a democratic and independent Austria. Explanatory work among the people as to the danger facing Austria from the rearmament of Western Germany and the struggle against Pan-German propaganda form therefore an inseparable part of the common fight for the independence and progressive development of Austria.

CONFERENCE OF FIRST SECRETARIES OF REGIONAL AND DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

A three day conference of first secretaries of regional and district Party committees and of secretaries of the branches in some of the big enterprises in the German Democratic Republic was recently held in Berlin. The conference, convened by the Central Committee, was attended by members and alternate members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee.

Comrade Walter Ulbricht, first Secretary of the Central Committee, who spoke on the present international situation and tasks of the Party, pointed out that since the 16th meeting of the Central Committee the membership had increased. However, he said, in explaining to the masses the questions which had been discussed at that meeting of the Central Committee and in carrying out the new course, many comrades not infrequently devote all their attention to the task of improving the material conditions of the working people and overlook the major political ideas which lie at bedrock of the policy of the new course.

The strengthening of the political struggle for the democratic unity of Germany, Comrade Ulbricht stressed, must become the basic task of Party organs during the preparations for the IV Party Congress.

WIDE DISCUSSION OF DRAFT RULES OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA

The draft Rules of the Communist Party of Bulgaria are being thoroughly discussed by the Party organisations of the country.

In accordance with the instruction of the city committee, district meetings of the secretaries of Party branches of Sofia have been held. The secretaries were recommended to concentrate on the discussion of the draft Rules, primarily in the Party groups. The group organisers thoroughly explain to the members of their groups the proposed draft amendments to the Rules. General Party meetings are also being held at which lecturers of the city and district committees deliver reports on the significance of the Rules and the amendments. Suggested amendments are advanced and discussed at these general meetings. All the suggestions are submitted to the district and city committees of the Party and then forwarded to the Central Committee.

Comrade Kopenig emphasised that the Austrian people are especially interested in the successful outcome of the Berlin meeting since mutual understanding among the nations would not only signify the conclusion of an Austrian state treaty and the end to the occupation of the country; it would also signify the willingness on the part of the Great Powers to create a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany which would result in eliminating the threat to Austria from German militarism and in securing the independence and peaceful development of Austria.

The speaker said that at the present moment the most important political task facing the Party is the struggle for united action by the working class since it is the only way to strengthen the militancy of the workers and achieve the desire of the working people for better conditions.

The meeting decided to convene the XVIIth Congress of the Communist Party of Austria on May 13-16, 1954.

In this connection, Ulbricht pointed to the need for large-scale explanatory work among the people and advanced the following tasks: to extend and strengthen bonds with the masses; educate Party activists; raise the activity of organisations and every Party member; strengthen the Party and convert it into a true militant Party.

Eighteen comrades took part in the discussion of Comrade Ulbricht's report.

The conference heard and discussed a report dealing with the implementation of the decisions of the Council of Ministers on the improvement of the working conditions and the wellbeing of the workers and on trade-union rights, given by Comrade G. Ziller, Secretary of the Central Committee, and a report on the expansion of the production of the consumer goods, improvement of their quality and on some aspects of the development of trade by Comrade E. Lange, head of a department of the Central Committee.

Comrade Karl Schirdewan, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, made a report on tasks of the Party concerning the improvement of work among youth.

The personnel of the Hadji Dimitr enterprise, the Georgi Dimitrov state printing works and other enterprises in Sofia actively discussed the draft amendments to the Rules. The Communists at the G. Dimitrov textile mill discussed the draft Rules at meetings of Party groups and then at shift meetings.

The Pleven district committee organised discussion of the draft amendments to the Rules at two-day seminars of members of bureaus of the Party organisations in the agricultural producer co-operatives.

While discussing the draft Rules the Communists stress the great importance of amendments submitted by the Central Committee which contribute to the further strengthening of inner-Party democracy, development of criticism and self-criticism and enhancement of the advanced role of Communists in building Socialism.

CONCERN FOR WELLBEING OF WORKING PEOPLE IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

The Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments in the People's Democracies, following the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, see their main task in securing an accelerated rise in the standard of living and cultural level of the masses. This task is closely linked with the task of building Socialism, fully corresponds to the basic economic law of Socialism and is conditioned by it.

In keeping with the basic economic law of Socialism the growing material and cultural requirements of society must be satisfied in ever increasing measure, by means of uninterrupted expansion and perfection of production on the basis of higher technique. The basic economic law of Socialism becomes operative in socialist society in which exploitation of man by man has been abolished and where the entire national economy is a socialist economy. Hence, in the Soviet Union, the first country in which Socialism has triumphed, this law operates on the widest scale. In the countries of people's democracy, engaged in building Socialism, this law clears the way for itself as the socialist sector expands and the national economy gains in strength. The conscious and planned activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of people's rule aimed at developing the productive forces, at developing and consolidating socialist production relations opens the ever broader way for the operation of the economic laws of Socialism.

The economic laws of Socialism clear the way for themselves in an atmosphere of sharp struggle waged by the working people against the capitalist classes in society, against the agents of imperialism, and demand that the resistance of the forces of reaction be overcome and that the opportunities for the exploitation of the working people by all kinds of exploiters be restricted. The capitalist elements and the agents of imperialism strive to retard technical progress in the countries of people's democracy, to check the growth of production, to thwart the policy of people's rule aimed at securing a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the working masses.

The standard of living of the working people in the People's Democracies, depending on the correlation of class forces and development of the class struggle and on circumstances linked with the international situation, rose, at times rapidly, at others slowly, but nevertheless rose constantly, as the productive forces of socialist production relations grew.

This, of course, did not exclude the fact that because of certain difficulties due to objective reasons, such as bad harvests, plus increased resistance by the capitalist elements, the countries of people's democracy experienced brief periods when the rise in the standard of living was temporarily retarded. In these circumstances the Workers' Party always regrouped and regrouped its forces and reinforced still further the worker-peasant alliance, the backbone of the might of the people's state, consolidates the economic bonds between town and country and leads the working class and the broad working masses in a renewed and victorious offensive. The people's state emerges from every class battle of this kind stronger than before, while reaction is further weakened.

I.

In recent years the countries of people's democracy have developed their national economies at an accelerated rate, particu-

merical growth in the numbers employed on construction. The utilisation of the available manpower resources in the towns was accompanied by an influx of hundreds of thousands of people from rural districts. The growth in the urban population made growing demands for agricultural products and goods manufactured from agricultural raw materials. The increase in gross and marketable output of agriculture did not always keep pace with the growing requirements of the population. This meant temporary difficulties in the matter of supplying the population with agricultural products and led to higher prices on the free market and temporary rationing in order to guarantee the real wages of factory and office workers. Obviously these things retarded the rise in the standard of living of the working people, particularly the standard of the working-class.

Taking advantage of this the capitalist and profiteering elements and the kulaks tried to weaken the economic bonds between socialist industry and small-commodity agriculture and, in this way, to undermine the worker-peasant alliance.

A further increase in the disproportion between industrial and agricultural development would undoubtedly involve the danger of holding back the development of the national economy as a whole. In view of this, the task of ensuring a speedy rise in the standard of living of the working population of town and country was advanced as the cornerstone of the economic policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments in all countries of people's democracy. Increased agricultural production is the main link on which the realisation of this task depends.

The words spoken by Comrade G. M. Malenkov at the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have a profound and topical meaning for all the People's Democracies. The countries of people's democracy, said Comrade Malenkov, justly consider that the strengthening of the firm worker-peasant alliance is the necessary condition and guarantee for their successful advance. Obviously all the tasks facing the People's Democracies can be solved only by unswerving adherence to this tried Lenin policy.

II.

What should be done in order to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, to accelerate the growth in the wellbeing of the working people of town and country and to extend the sphere of operation of the basic economic law of Socialism?

This problem can be solved by each country of people's democracy in keeping with the given conditions, the level of development of the productive forces, the results of socialist industrialisation, the achievements of the socialist transformation of the national economy and the correlation of the class forces.

However, because of the similarity in the basic conditions in the European countries of people's democracy and the fact that they are at a similar stage of development the changes in their economic policies follow a common line.

The changes now taking place in the countries of people's democracy have found expression in the statements issued by the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments.

All the countries of people's democracy

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Stefan Jendrichowski
Member, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

★ ★

more material incentives to ensure the development of production and an increase in the ratio of commodity production by the individual peasant households.

In the countries where the state delivery quotas were at an excessively high level or the prices for the delivered produce were too low, quotas have been reduced and prices for the produce delivered by the peasantry increased. Thus, quotas have been reduced in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Albania; in Czechoslovakia prices for agricultural products delivered to the state have been raised 24-46 per cent. To strengthen the confidence of the peasants and give them greater incentives to increase production the state delivery quotas in Hungary have been defined for three years ahead. In Poland, where only part of the basic agricultural produce is delivered to the state and where considerable surpluses remain in the hands of the peasants which they can sell in the market, it has been decided to keep quotas on the same level for the next two years although there will be an increase in agricultural production. Some reductions have been made in state delivery quotas, particularly where the poor peasantry are concerned. With a view to increasing the peasants' material interest in developing animal husbandry and extending the fodder base additional measures have been taken to encourage the contracting principle and the sale of the surplus produce of animal husbandry to the state. In a number of countries arrears of state deliveries have been cancelled and tax and levy payments made by the peasant households reduced.

In all countries of people's democracy the state gives greater assistance to the working peasants by increasing supplies of agricultural machinery and tools, chemical fertilisers, building materials and agricultural implements. Supplies of manufactured goods of mass consumption to the countryside are improving. Greater sums are being spent on melioration measures and electrification of the countryside, while credits for agricultural construction work are also being increased.

The countries of people's democracy have set themselves the task of achieving within the next few years a considerable increase in agricultural output and the development of various branches of agricultural production and are now working out concrete measures to this end.

In October last the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party outlined a series of concrete measures towards a further steep rise in agricultural production.

The theses for the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party adopted by the IXth Plenum of the Central Committee contain a detailed programme of measures for raising the level of agricultural production; the programme calls for an increase of approximately 10 per cent in agricultural production during the next two years. The measures envisaged are now being detailed in a number of separate decisions.

On December 17, the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic decided on measures for the further development of animal husbandry and increased stocks and supplies of fodder. This decision outlines the tasks of increasing the head of livestock and

the principal source of production and supply of agricultural produce in the majority of the People's Democracies for some years to come. The people's states are introducing

In all the countries of people's democracy measures are being taken to increase house building. In conformity with the decision of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and the Government in the second half of 1953, Hungary began to carry out a more extensive programme of housing construction and the repair of dwelling houses. The rate of house building is also being intensified in Rumania. 1,730,000 square metres of dwelling space have already been put into use and an additional 50,000 working families will move into new flats by the end of 1955. In Poland where the state plan has hitherto provided for the construction of over 135,000 rooms a year, the number of completions will increase by 20 per cent during the next two years. Funds for housing and communal construction will increase by 26 per cent.

The development of city transport, particularly in Budapest, Bucharest, Prague, Warsaw and in cities of the industrial areas of Upper Silesia in Poland is an important task.

More funds are being spent on the construction of social and cultural establishments, schools, students' hostels, kindergartens, creches, medical establishments, rest homes, sports sites, and also on carrying out new measures for ensuring the protection of labour.

In order to carry out the plans to develop production and construction the structure of capital investments must be changed. In Hungary, for example, capital investments devoted to agriculture over the past three years amounted to 5,000 million forints and during the next three years will increase to 2.5 times the present figure. In Bulgaria capital investments in agriculture will be at least double the figure in the first Five-Year Plan.

In Poland the proportion of capital expenditure allocated for the development of agriculture, light industry and the food industries, housing and communal construction, social and cultural construction will be increased within the total volume of capital investments. At the same time, in order to reduce the proportion of accumulation funds and increase the proportion of the fund of consumption in the national income, the total volume of capital investments will be kept at the same level or even reduced.

This year in Hungary capital investments have been reduced by 3,000 million forints as against 1953. During the next two years capital investments in Poland will be kept at the 1953 level. The result will be that while the national income will increase, the share of accumulation funds in the national income will drop from 25.1 per cent in 1953 to 19.8 per cent in 1955. During 1953-55 Rumania plans to reduce the proportion of accumulation funds in the national income to 27.8 per cent.

V.

As a result of the growth of agricultural production and of the development of light industry and the food industries and of the growth of the proportion of the fund for consumption in the national income, possibilities will arise for further increasing the purchasing power of the working people. Of great importance are the successive price reductions for mass consumption goods and public utilities effected last year, as well as those planned for the future. At the same time some countries have been introducing tax reliefs, reducing loans and raising wages and bonuses for some categories of factory and office workers.

The growth of purchasing power of the

parations for the IV Party Congress.

cerning the improvement of work among youth.

WIDE DISCUSSION OF DRAFT RULES OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA

The draft Rules of the Communist Party of Bulgaria are being thoroughly discussed by the Party organisations of the country. In accordance with the instruction of the city committee, district meetings of the secretaries of Party branches of Sofia have been held. The secretaries were recommended to concentrate on the discussion of the draft Rules, primarily in the Party groups. The group organisers thoroughly explain to the members of their groups the proposed draft amendments to the Rules. General Party meetings are also being held at which lecturers of the city and district committees deliver reports on the significance of the Rules and the amendments. Suggested amendments are advanced and discussed at these general meetings. All the suggestions are submitted to the district and city committees of the Party and then forwarded to the Central Committee.

The personnel of the Hadji Dimitr enterprise, the Georgi Dimitrov state printing works and other enterprises in Sofia actively discussed the draft amendments to the Rules. The Communists at the G. Dimitrov textile mill discussed the draft Rules at meetings of Party groups and then at shift meetings.

The Pleven district committee organised discussion of the draft amendments to the Rules at two-day seminars of members of bureaus of the Party organisations in the agricultural producer co-operatives.

While discussing the draft Rules the Communists stress the great importance of amendments submitted by the Central Committee which contribute to the further strengthening of inner-Party democracy, development of criticism and self-criticism and enhancement of the advanced role of Communists in building Socialism.

FROM COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PRESS

For Higher Ideological Level of Regional Newspapers

"Pravda"—Central Organ of Communist Party of Slovakia

"Pravda", Slovak paper, recently published an article "For higher ideological level of regional newspapers" which stated that the regional papers in Slovakia were now studying and featuring in a much better way the life in their respective regions and the work of local Party organisations. However the regional papers still fail to give proper treatment to questions of the ideological work of the Party, the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and problems of the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

Items on ideological subjects, says "Pravda", are too rare in the columns of the Slovak regional papers. Most of these articles are divorced from reality, from the vital tasks facing the Party and sometimes are not even free from distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory. As an example "Pravda" analyses one of the articles featured by the newspaper "Glas" of the Nitrya region, which draws the somewhat peculiar conclusion that the Czechoslovak people could not completely defeat the bourgeoisie in 1945 because "it would require much effort on the part of the Party and the working class so that they would not have enough strength left for the restoration of production..." (?!).

However, the major shortcoming of the Slovak regional newspapers, "Pravda" stresses, is the fact that they do not publish articles directed against bourgeois nationalism and Social Democratism, despite the fact that the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Party membership to the dangerous manifestations of these hostile "theories". The struggle against bourgeois ideology in the columns of Slovak newspapers mainly takes the form of general appeals and declarations urging the necessity of such a struggle.

The newspaper recommends that the Marxist-Leninist directives in relation to the concrete manifestations of bourgeois ideology in the life of the region should be creatively applied; it recommends that this struggle be waged on all fronts. While resolutely acting against bourgeois nationalism, writes the newspaper, it is constantly necessary to illustrate the great help given

by the Czech working class to Slovakia, to give concrete examples of the rapid economic development in Slovakia, of the improved material and cultural wellbeing of the working people as a result of the common efforts of the Czech and Slovak working people under the people's-democratic system.

"Pravda" states that in their fight against Social Democratism the regional newspapers must give particular attention to its manifestations which take the form of underestimating the peasantry. To our regret, says the paper, the newspapers give inadequate attention to the question of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance. For example, the newspaper "Novy Zivot", published in the Presov region where there have been cases of gross distortions of the Party policy for the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, cannot confine itself to general declarations on these questions. It is in duty bound to help to destroy these distortions by citing concrete examples of the aid rendered by the working class to the poor and the middle peasants, by showing successes attained by the regional Party organisations in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

The ideological level of the newspapers, writes "Pravda", will be raised only when the regional committees, following the decision of the Central Committee, daily give leadership to the press, keep the press supplied with ideologically-trained cadres and when the most experienced activists of the regional Party organisations contribute to the columns of the newspaper. As regards the editorial boards they are duty bound to improve the methods of collective work, constantly to increase the number of the non-staff contributors and extend the network of the worker and rural correspondents.

Joint efforts on the part of the regional Party committees and the editorial boards to improve the ideological level of the regional press, writes "Pravda", constitute one of the major factors which will lead to a considerable improvement of the Party work in the regions, and will help to put an end to the state of affairs in which it lags behind the daily increasing tasks of socialist construction.

slowly, but nevertheless rose constantly, as the productive forces of socialist production relations grew.

This, of course, did not exclude the fact that because of certain difficulties due to objective reasons, such as bad harvests, plus increased resistance by the capitalist elements, the countries of people's democracy experienced brief periods when the rise in the standard of living was temporarily retarded. In these circumstances the Workers' Party always regrouped and regroups its forces and reinforces still further the worker-peasant alliance, the backbone of the might of the people's state, consolidates the economic bonds between town and country and leads the working class and the broad working masses in a renewed and victorious offensive. The people's state emerges from every class battle of this kind stronger than before, while reaction is further weakened.

I.

In recent years the countries of people's democracy have developed their national economies at an accelerated rate, particularly heavy industry. Carrying out the programme of socialist industrialisation these countries consolidated their defence capacities, raised the wellbeing and cultural level of their peoples.

Particularly big successes have been achieved by the countries of people's democracy in the sphere of industrial development. For example, in Poland, during the first four years of the Six-Year Plan (1950-53) industrial production rose 115 per cent which includes a 135 per cent rise in output of the means of production and a 99 per cent rise in production of manufactured mass consumption goods. Gross industrial output is now 3.6 times the 1938 figure (calculated per head of the population it is 4.7 times more). In Czechoslovakia industrial output in 1953 was 100 per cent above the 1948 level. In Bulgaria the Five-Year Plan assignments for increasing industrial output envisaged for 1949-53 were already overfulfilled in 1952. Gross industrial output in Bulgaria has increased fourfold compared with 1939. The same rapid development has been witnessed in Hungary, Rumania and Albania. For these considerable achievements in the sphere of socialist industrialisation the countries of people's democracy are, in large measure, indebted to the tremendous, selfless, first-class technical and economic aid given by the Soviet Union, and also to mutual economic co-operation.

At the same time a disproportion between the rate of the development of industrial production and the development of agriculture made itself felt in the countries of people's democracy. For example, in 1953 Polish agricultural production outstripped the 1949 level by a mere 9 per cent. True, agricultural output per head of the population was 30 per cent higher in 1953 than in 1938; however, from the point of view of the increased requirements of the population and of the national economy the increase in the gross and marketable agricultural output was insufficient.

The growth of industrial output in recent years has been determined only partially by increased labour productivity. It was mainly due to the significant growth in the numbers employed in industry. The big capital investments, necessitated by the accelerated development of heavy industry also resulted in a considerable nu-

II.

What should be done in order to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, to accelerate the growth in the wellbeing of the working people of town and country and to extend the sphere of operation of the basic economic law of Socialism?

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However, because of the similarity in the basic conditions in the European countries of people's democracy and the fact that they are at a similar stage of development the changes in their economic policies follow a common line.

The changes now taking place in the countries of people's democracy have found expression in the statements issued by the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments.

All the countries of people's democracy have advanced the task of ensuring within the next few years an increase in agricultural output with a view to eliminating or reducing the disproportion between industrial and agricultural development, increasing output of agricultural products in order to satisfy the immediate requirements of the population and to supplying light industry and the food industry with agricultural raw materials.

The countries of people's democracy are faced with the task of stimulating a considerable upsurge in agricultural production in conditions in which three social economic sectors exist in their agriculture; in conditions in which agriculture in most of these countries is still dominated by individual peasant-farming and in which capitalist elements are still of considerable significance.

Though the socialist sector in agriculture represented by the producer co-operatives, state machine and tractor stations and state farm has been successfully developing, it comprises the lesser part of agricultural production in the majority of the People's Democracies. What is now necessary is the skilful combination of efforts to ensure further consolidation and development of socialist farming—producer co-operatives, state machine and tractor stations and state farms—with the use of all productive resources and capacities inherent in individual working peasant farming.

Strict observance of the voluntary principle is the basis of the policy of consolidation and development of agricultural producer co-operatives in all countries of people's democracy. The Communist and Workers' Parties are rectifying their mistakes and eliminating all distortions made in practice while carrying out their general line of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The Communist and Workers' Parties and the Governments in the People's Democracies take measures aimed at raising the production of the producer co-operatives and strengthening them organisationally and economically.

III.

In addition to the task of economic consolidation and further development of the socialist sector, there is another task—the need to use all productive capacities of individual-peasant farming, which will remain

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The theses for the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party adopted by the IXth Plenum of the Central Committee contain a detailed programme of measures for raising the level of agricultural production; the programme calls for an increase of approximately 10 per cent in agricultural production during the next two years. The measures envisaged are now being detailed in a number of separate decisions.

On December 17, the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic decided on measures for the further development of animal husbandry and increased stocks and supplies of fodder. This decision outlines the tasks of increasing the head of livestock and improving the breeds of cattle, hogs, sheep and horses and provides for better supplies of concentrated fodder. It also calls for the regulation of the system of state deliveries, an extension of the system of purchasing beef and pedigree cattle by contract, increasing credits for the development of animal husbandry and improving the supply of building materials and implements to stock-breeders. The vast measures for raising the level of agricultural production in the countries of people's democracy will undoubtedly result in raising this link in the national economy to a higher level.

IV.

Alongside the raising of agricultural production, all countries of people's democracy are also striving to speed up the output of manufactured goods of mass consumption. In People's Poland, the pre-Congress theses point out, the rate of growth in the output of light industry and the food industry will be equal to the rate of growth of production of the means of production. During the next two years the output of light industry and the food industry will increase approximately 24 per cent.

In 1954 industrial output in Czechoslovakia is to increase nearly 5.1 per cent compared with 1953, and the output of consumer goods 7.5 per cent. In Rumania the rate of production of meat, fish products and all kinds of fats will be higher than in 1953.

Some countries of people's democracy revised their production plans way back in 1953 with a view to increasing output of consumer goods. Along with light industry and the food industry a number of branches of heavy industry—for example, enterprises in the metal-working and chemical industries—are engaged on large-scale production of mass consumption goods. These measures, which aim at increasing the manufacture of consumer goods, obviously do not obviate the need for a further development of heavy industry, which is the basis for the development and reconstruction of the entire national economies in People's Democracies. Without such development the programme of accelerating the growth of wellbeing of the working people would not be realised.

forints as against 1953. During the next two years capital investments in Poland will be kept at the 1953 level. The result will be that while the national income will increase, the share of accumulation funds in the national income will drop from 25.1 per cent in 1953 to 19.8 per cent in 1955. During 1953-55 Rumania plans to reduce the proportion of accumulation funds in the national income to 27.8 per cent.

V.

As a result of the growth of agricultural production and of the development of light industry and the food industries and of the growth of the proportion of the fund for consumption in the national income, possibilities will arise for further increasing the purchasing power of the working people. Of great importance are the successive price reductions for mass consumption goods and public utilities effected last year, as well as those planned for the future. At the same time some countries have been introducing tax reliefs, reducing loans and raising wages and bonuses for some categories of factory and office workers.

The growth of purchasing power of the working people and the increase of the amount of goods for sale to the public resolutely demand greater efficiency in the trade network. The turnover will increase considerably, thus demanding the extension of the trade network, demanding that it be better supplied with stores and transport and that the service to customers be improved.

A further expansion of the economy in countries of people's democracy will contribute to the extension of trade on the one hand among the countries of the camp of peace, and on the other between these countries and the capitalist countries. The countries of the camp of peace will, on a wider scale than hitherto, exchange surplus consumer goods. The further development of the national economy in these countries will contribute to the development and strengthening of peaceful business relations between the peoples regardless of their political and social system.

These remarkable programmes of accelerating the growth of wellbeing and raising the cultural level of the working people is another proof of the superiority of Socialism over capitalism. While in capitalist countries we observe growing unemployment, further impoverishment of the working people, soaring prices, falling of real wages, restriction of agricultural and industrial production, particularly production of consumer goods and reduction of appropriations for social and cultural needs, the countries of people's democracy set before themselves real tasks—to achieve, on the basis of allround development of the national economy, a considerably greater satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of broad masses of the working people.

There is no wonder that this programme meets with stubborn resistance from enemies of democracy and progress on the one hand, and on the other, evokes enthusiasm among the working people. It is a mighty stimulus for the intensification of their production activity, the further development of socialist emulation and the innovation movement.

The working people in countries of people's democracy have taken into their hands the cause of carrying through the programme elaborated by their Communist and Workers' Parties. And this is the best guarantee for the fulfilment of the great new tasks.

The Djilas "Case" and Yugoslav Reality

Recent happenings in Belgrade have been the subject of considerable talk and interpretation both in Yugoslavia and in many West European countries. The events are as follows. Milovan Djilas, Secretary of the Central Committee of the so-called "League of Communists of Yugoslavia", Chairman of the Skupstina and Vice-President of Yugoslavia, wrote a series of articles in the press under the deliberately vague headlines "The general and the particular", "Subjective forces", "New ideas", "League or Party", etc., etc.

In these articles Djilas, hitherto regarded as virtually the "main theoretician" of the Tito party, striving hard to avoid calling things by their real names and resorting to the typical Titoite demagoguery about "socialist democracy" in Yugoslavia, blurted out the real aims and designs of the Belgrade rulers.

Although Djilas does not say directly that the "new economic relations" in Yugoslavia are nothing but the restoration of capitalism, he admits nevertheless a "growth of free economy" (in the article "League or Party") and that "for the bourgeoisie equality has been established both formally and in substance" (in the article "For all").

The restoration of capitalism which the Yugoslav "theoreticians" describe as "the new economic system", has, according to Djilas, resulted in a situation in which "our entire inherited ideological and organisational system and apparatus are in question". In other words Djilas complains that the Yugoslav political system does not ensure full freedom for capitalist relations and even retards their development. The way out, according to Djilas, is to give still greater freedom to "the new economic relations" and to remove all the obstacles hindering them. With this aim in view he advocates as a first step the reorganising of the so-called "League of Communists".

Referring to the activity of the "League" he blurts out a great deal of truth hitherto closely concealed from the public by the Belgrade propagandists. "The former Communist Party of Yugoslavia in point of fact no longer exists", he admits, "the League of Communists is no longer the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia... It is not this party also from the standpoint of its membership which is considerably wider both in regard to social origin and inherited convictions. At present membership is not only not growing, it is actually declining". (Article "League or Party").

Even more striking are the statements made by Djilas about the process of profound political crisis and deterioration which set in long ago in the "League of Communists". "The organisations of the League have entered a blind alley", he writes. "They are harassed from the top with demands for activity but they themselves do not know what to do... Absence from meetings and wholesale complaints about frequent and dull meetings are the usual thing" ("Subjective forces"). "Committees complain that the branches are passive... The striking thing is that the crisis in the forms of political work is most pronounced in the bigger towns and in the best branches" (article "League or Party").

The following admission by Djilas, which explains to a degree the nature and the reasons for the "passivity" of the rank and file of the "League", is worthy of attention. In the article "League or Party" he points out that "part of the membership and not a small part" has not supported the anti-Soviet policy of the leaders, and in "the matter of getting arms from the West it (the membership), by its Cominformist and ideological conservatism, delayed a decision being taken in this matter which is of such vital importance for the country".

It follows from these admissions that resistance to the home and foreign policy of the top ruling circles is growing among the rank and file of the "League of Communists" and that, despite repeated expulsions

ideas that will "replace the old ideas" left "in the minds of the people", that is, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The essence of these "new ideas" is that "at present not a single party, group or even a class can claim precedence in expressing the objective requirements of society as a whole", that "the weakening of the monopoly of the political movements over the life of society is a demand of the times" and that the question of the "disintegration of the League of Communists" and "the fight for democracy" is placed on the order of the day.

Translating Djilas' "theoretical" somersaults into ordinary language the essence of his "new ideas" can be summed up thus: It is high time openly to draw conclusions from the facts of the restoration of the capitalist order in Yugoslavia, from the decentralisation of industry, the dissolution of the peasant co-operatives, the return of the land to the kulaks and landlords, from the facts of the growing influence exerted by foreign capital in the country; it is high time to introduce the multi-party system on the pattern of the West European countries and openly to legalise Yugoslavia's transition to the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Such is the essence of the Djilas articles.

The appearance in print of these articles caused consternation in top circles in Yugoslavia. But not because Djilas had expressed anything that contradicted the real views of those circles whose policy has led to the liquidation of the democratic gains of the peoples and the loss of national independence, but because he made public that which had been kept secret by the Yugoslav leaders and about which they spoke freely only among themselves.

The whole point is that the Djilas articles, published in "Borba" and in "Nova misao" beginning with October, evoked considerable anxiety in the ranks of the Titoite party and among the working people of the country who until now took for the real thing the demagoguery of the Belgrade rulers about "socialist construction" and "a special socialist policy". As subsequently admitted by the leaders of the "League", "large numbers of working people were seriously alarmed" by these articles. Letters expressing indignation and protest streamed into the editorial office of "Borba". Workers charged Djilas with being "influenced by Bevan" and "that he was splitting the League of Communists", etc.

Taking advantage of the fact that the real source of Djilas' "new ideas" remains unknown and trying hard to maintain their "socialist" camouflage, the rulers of Yugoslavia hastened to "renounce" Djilas and to take action against him. For this purpose an extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee of the "League of Communists" was held on January 16.

The Yugoslav leaders admitted in their speeches at the meeting that Djilas had written about the thing that they themselves had discussed more than once in their narrow circles. "Actually there is no essential difference between the views of Tito, Kardelj and Djilas", said Dedijer. "The only difference is that Djilas tried to systematise Yugoslav theoretical thought". Tito admitted that Djilas had consulted with him about his articles and that "his articles contained things which we and many others had already discussed or about which we had written". This point was also confirmed by Djilas who stated at the meeting that the "ideas" propounded in his article belong 90 per cent to Tito, Kardelj and Pjadic. But in an endeavour to prevent their designs from being fully exposed the Yugoslav leaders decided to "sacrifice" Djilas. The meeting expelled Djilas from the Central Committee and stripped him of all functions in the "League of Communists".

What conclusions can be drawn from these events?

The Djilas "case" testifies above all that the ruling clique in Yugoslavia is experiencing a grave internal crisis. This crisis is

The immeasurably inflated war expenditure has resulted in stagnation in production for civilian needs and in agriculture. For a number of years Yugoslavia's agriculture has been in the grip of a severe crisis. Output of consumer goods is dwindling all the time. In 1952, for example, production capacity of the textile industry was used only 69 per cent, 60 per cent in the footwear industry and 44 per cent in the woodworking industry. This trend continued throughout 1953, with output of the footwear industry showing a decline of 16 per cent, a 26 per cent decline in textiles and 27 per cent in the woodworking industry.

The cost of the dollar "aid" is borne not by the rulers of Yugoslavia but by its working people for whom life is becoming unbearable. Prices for food and manufactured goods are soaring, taxes are rising and there has been a series of increases for rent, medical and communal services and in fares. The Belgrade newspaper "NIN" recently admitted that the vast majority of workers need another 8-10 thousand dinars a month in order to buy the prime necessities.

The economic enslavement of the Yugoslav working people is accompanied by increasing whittling away of political rights. Lawlessness is rife, a fact which Djilas was forced to admit in his articles. Yugoslav patriots are persecuted and subjected to brutal repressions. The concentration camps in Goli Otok, Sveti Grgur and in Stara Gradiska have become places for the physical extermination of the best sons and daughters of Yugoslavia. According to the figures at the session of the Skupstina last September the number of citizens arrested on political grounds since 1948, that is, after publication of the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties "on the situation in the CPY" exceeded 111,000.

The events connected with the Djilas "case" show that the internal and foreign policy of the Belgrade government, its orientation on the capitalist West and its attempts to find a way out of the economic catastrophe by means of enslaving loans and investment are in a blind alley.

Nor could it be otherwise.

The latest events in Belgrade have raised the curtain on the things taking place in the so-called "League of Communists" and among the ruling clique. The situation can be characterised as one of growing disintegration. The point is that in recent years the doors of this League have been thrown open to non-working class elements—to kulaks, urban bourgeoisie, and to the ustashi and chetniks who fought against the people during the German occupation. This category in the "League" has grown 2½ times in a brief period.

Many rank and file members of "LCY" who, in the words of Djilas, remain true to the "old ideas", openly voice discontent with the situation in the "League". Having started discussion of the Djilas "case" in the branches the leaders of the "League" are trying to divert this discontent into other channels and to regain trust for themselves.

A purge of the "League of Communists" was carried out on the eve of the Skupstina elections held in November, 1953. During the purge those expelled from the "League" were, as a rule, workers. 5,128 members, 80 per cent of them workers, were expelled from the League in the Zenica, Foca and Tuzla counties and in Zagreb. 40 per cent of the workers in the Bukina pits were expelled.

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New Building in People's China

Civilian construction work is in full swing in the People's Republic of China. New factory buildings, houses, Palaces of Culture, hospitals and educational establishments, etc., are being erected.

Ancient Peking, capital of China, is becoming more and more beautiful. An immense cultural centre is under construction in the northwestern part of the city. Magnificent buildings of the conservatoire, of the mining, metallurgical, aviation and other institutes have sprung up in places which were as recently as last June just ordinary fields covered with green grass. Some of the institutes are already functioning. In the near future 30 higher educational establishments and scientific research institutes will be erected in the neighbourhood. In the centre of this immense area, covering almost 40 square kilometres, will be the 30-storied building of the Academy of Sciences of China. The winter season does not slow down the rate of construction work.

In connection with the nation-wide construction work great attention is given to the training of additional cadres of building workers. The number of building workers is growing year by year; in 1951 there were nearly 600 thousand in the Republic and by the end of the last year their number had increased to 1,600,000. With a view to improving their qualifications various courses, schools and technical colleges have been opened throughout the country.

Improving Wellbeing of Working People in Korean People's Democratic Republic

The Cabinet of Ministers of the Korean People's Democratic Republic has decided on measures for improving supplies of goods and foodstuffs to the population. The decision stipulates an increase in the output of mass consumption goods for retail sale in 1954. Particular attention is given to increasing the production of textiles, footwear, ready-made clothing and foodstuffs.

This year an additional 400 state shops, 150 co-operative shops and 1,200 state stalls and booths will be opened. At least two public canteens will be opened in every county town. The decision also envisages measures for improving the standard of living of the trading personnel and their qualifications.

The press has also published a statement by the Cabinet of Ministers on financial aid to the peasants. The statement, which was adopted by the Cabinet on the proposition of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Korea, is concerned with improving the standard of living and helping the peasantry to carry out field work. According to the statement, loans amounting to 1,900 million vons will be granted this year by the Korean Peasant Bank. This figure is made up of 1,400 million vons for the construction of houses and the purchase of draught animals and agricultural implements and 500 million vons for foodstuffs for needy peasants.

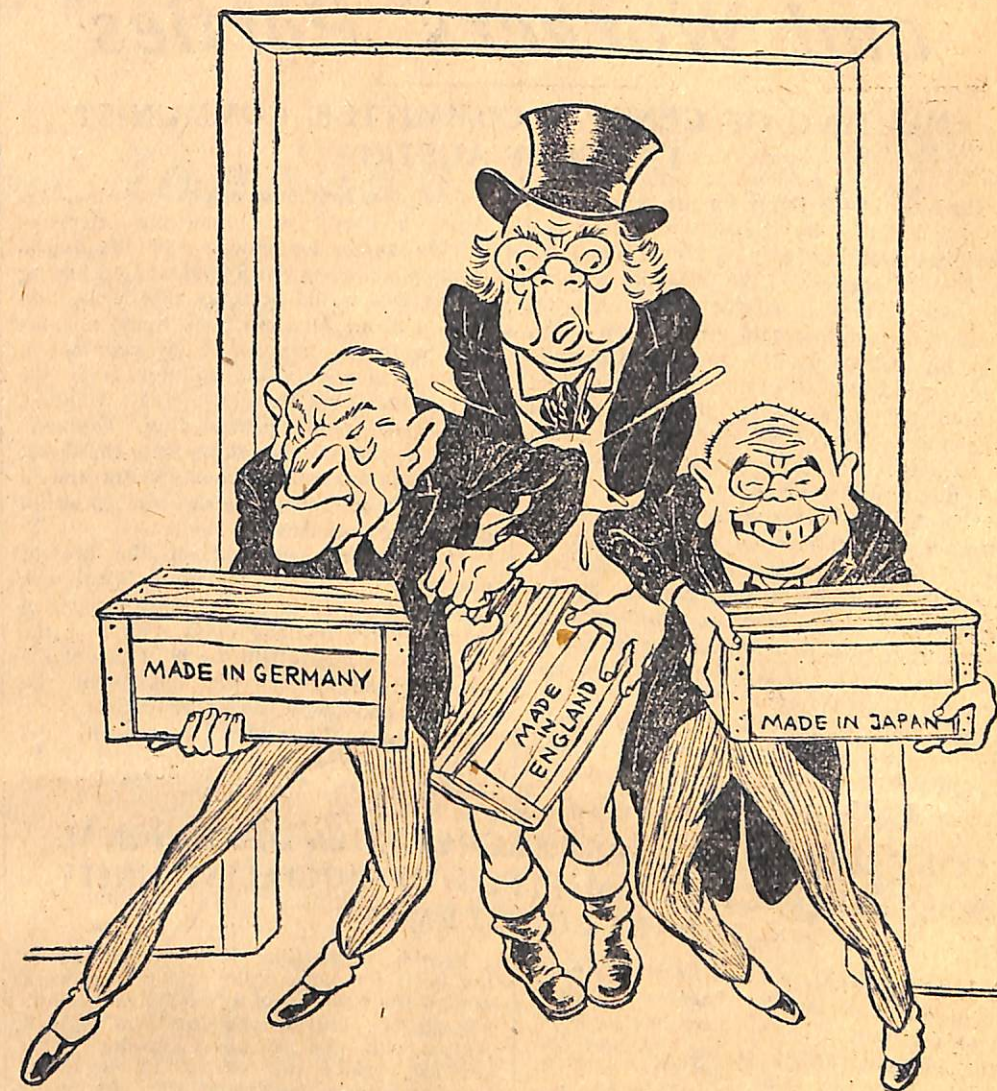
The Ministry of Finance is granting credit to the extent of 1,300 million vons to the Korean Peasant Bank to enable it to make loans to the peasants. A simple and convenient system of granting loans to peasants will soon be worked out.

IN COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

Against Colonial Yoke in Tunisia

The people of Tunisia are waging a resolute

Lately the British press has been complaining more and more often that the West German and Japanese monopolies are persistently ousting British goods from the "traditional" markets of Great Britain.



HELP! THEY'RE SQUEEZING US OUT...

Drawing by J. NOVAK

POLITICAL NOTES

SHORT-SIGHTED GUARDIANS OF HITLER "ACES"

In their plans to revive the Hitler Wehrmacht the "Atlantic" politicians are pinning particular hopes on an early appearance of a new "Luftwaffe".

It is common knowledge that for some considerable time the US military command has shown warm concern for the former Hitler aces, who are now being trained quite openly to handle aircraft assigned for "special purposes". Work is in full swing in the designing offices supervised by Hitler's darlings—Messerschmidt, Ernst Heinkel, Heinrich Fokke and Kurt Tank in Western Germany. Companies turning out military aircraft have started work. The notorious "Messerschmidt" concern, in association with other big companies has set up a gigantic aircraft manufacturing company "Lufturion". West German monopolists have landed orders for the construction of US air bases in Franco Spain.

Pseudo-civilian organisations such as "air-rescue schools", A.R.P., the institute of applied aeronautical sciences and gliding, the institute of aviation medicine, the institute of high-altitude tests and others are making their appearance under various guises to camouflage their real purpose... It is no accident that nazi Field Marshal Kesselring who directed the "Luftwaffe" armadas that attacked Poland and the Netherlands, France and the Soviet Union, who directed the blitz against Britain in 1940 and whom a British tribunal sentenced to death for war crimes when the war was over is now shouting from the house-tops about "the military virtues of the German aces".

The Western politicians wink at the fact that the destroyers of Coventry, Rotterdam and Warsaw are again getting ready to seat themselves at the controls of the war planes. The fact that the nazi aircraft designers, including Heinkel, visited Britain on the invitation of the British Government to negotiate for the restoration of the West German aircraft industry and to familiarise themselves with modern British aircraft designs speaks for itself. Further evidence is provided by the fact that personnel for the West German air force are undergoing intensified training in Britain.

As far back as 1952 the British Air Ministry worked out an extensive plan for training and retraining West German pilots in Britain. Since then West German flyers, including a fair number of former Hitler aces who had dropped bombs on British towns and cities in their time, have systematically visited Britain to attend refresher courses. Thus, for example, a fresh group of the Bonn pilots, including some who had served in the Hitler air force in World War II, has arrived at Hamble, near Southampton, from Western Germany. They will attend the school set up by the "Hawker-Siddeley Group", one of the largest aircraft companies. According to the curriculum the trainees will learn to handle up-to-date types of British aircraft, including jet planes. It is well known by all that "Blank's

more striking are the statements made by Djilas about the process of profound political crisis and deterioration which set in long ago in the "League of Communists". "The organisations of the League have entered a blind alley", he writes. "They are harassed from the top with demands for activity but they themselves do not know what to do... Absence from meetings and wholesale complaints about frequent and dull meetings are the usual thing" ("Subjective forces"). "Committees complain that the branches are passive... The striking thing is that the crisis in the forms of political work is most pronounced in the bigger towns and in the best branches" (article "League or Party").

The following admission by Djilas, which explains to a degree the nature and the reasons for the "passivity" of the rank and file of the "League", is worthy of attention. In the article "League or Party" he points out that "part of the membership and not a small part" has not supported the anti-Soviet policy of the leaders, and in "the matter of getting arms from the West it (the membership), by its Cominformist and ideological conservatism, delayed a decision being taken in this matter which is of such vital importance for the country".

It follows from these admissions that resistance to the home and foreign policy of the top ruling circles is growing among the rank and file of the "League of Communists" and that, despite repeated expulsions from the "League" of advanced workers, this resistance is manifested with particular force in the big working-class centres. This explains why the Titoites are thinking of effecting yet another "reorganisation".

Djilas suggests that the camouflage be abandoned and that the "League of Communists" be turned openly into an ordinary bourgeois party whose members would meet only for the purpose of "electing the leadership and delegates". The same thing, in his view, should be done with the youth organisations and the trade unions. "The days of the big theoretical programme have already passed", he writes, (in the article "The general and the particular") that "certain subjective forces should be replaced by others and must not have a monopoly of public life", and that "it is now possible to further develop socialist consciousness first and foremost in concrete struggle against bureaucratism" (article "Subjective forces").

The word "bureaucratism" appears in all the Djilas articles. Operating with it and twisting it in every way Djilas, unwittingly, discloses the real nature of "Yugoslav socialism".

He is forced to admit that the typical features of present-day life in Yugoslavia are: bureaucratism of the Party and state apparatus from top to bottom, lawlessness, compulsory attendance at official meetings, moral degeneration and intrigue among the ruling circles, etc. After all, who knows this better than Djilas!

What, then, does Djilas propose? He calls for "freedom of the ideological struggle", for opening the way to "the new

unknown and trying to maintain men "socialist" camouflage the rulers of Yugoslavia hastened to "renounce" Djilas and to take action against him. For this purpose an extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee of the "League of Communists" was held on January 16.

The Yugoslav leaders admitted in their speeches at the meeting that Djilas had written about the thing that they themselves had discussed more than once in their narrow circles. "Actually there is no essential difference between the views of Tito, Kardelj and Djilas", said Dedjic. "The only difference is that Djilas tried to systematise Yugoslav theoretical thought". Tito admitted that Djilas had consulted with him about his articles and that "his articles contained things which we and many others had already discussed or about which we had written". This point was also confirmed by Djilas who stated at the meeting that the "ideas" propounded in his article belong 90 per cent to Tito, Kardelj and Pjadic. But in an endeavour to prevent their designs from being fully exposed the Yugoslav leaders decided to "sacrifice" Djilas. The meeting expelled Djilas from the Central Committee and stripped him of all functions in the "League of Communists".

What conclusions can be drawn from these events?

The Djilas "case" testifies above all that the ruling clique in Yugoslavia is experiencing a grave internal crisis. This crisis is connected with the process of disintegration of the so-called "League of Communists". And the whole business is the direct result of the growing discontent among the broad masses with the anti-national, anti-people's policy of the Belgrade rulers who have brought the country to the brink of national catastrophe.

The government circles of Yugoslavia, having broken with the camp of democracy and Socialism and having fettered the country by means of an enslaving agreement to the US, British and West German industrial-financial monopolies, gave the latter the opportunity to do as they pleased with the key branches of the economy and to extract huge profits from the country. According to the American press every dollar invested in the Yugoslav economy brings two dollars in profit. Nor is this denied by the Yugoslav press. According to the TANJUG Agency Yugoslavia will have to pay a total of 20 billion dinars to the foreign countries in return for the loans received from them.

The domination of the imperialist monopolies in Yugoslavia is inseparably linked with the militarisation of its economy. Already in 1952 the "Borba" reported that since 1948 the aggregate volume of war production had increased eightfold.

The appropriations for war preparations are growing all the time. While in 1950 they amounted to 51.7 per cent of the state budget, in 1953 they climbed up to 78 per cent. In the past five years Yugoslavia has spent more than 3 billion dollars on rearmament, that is, six times the total of dollar handouts received by it.

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What, then, is the way out for the peoples of Yugoslavia? The choice is: either Yugoslavia remains as before in the grip of the foreign monopolies which means loss of national independence, still greater suffering for the working masses and a further decline in economic and cultural life, or it will find another way—a way which corresponds to the national interests and to the aspirations of all the peoples.

The second way is the sole correct way for ensuring the national sovereignty and independence of Yugoslavia, a way which is incompatible with subordination to the diktat of the Western imperialists, with the policy of aggression in relation to neighbouring countries, the way of ending its present military commitments and returning to the policy of peace and co-operation on the principle of equality with all democratic countries. This way is the way of restoring the ancient bonds with the fraternal peoples of the countries of people's democracy, with the great Russian people who helped the Balkan peoples to free themselves from five centuries of Turkish yoke, who helped the Southern Slavs to win national independence. The peoples of Yugoslavia do not and will never forget the historic fact that the Soviet people, the Soviet Army helped them to get rid of the German-fascist slavery.

By restoring the fraternal bonds with the peoples of the camp of peace and democracy Yugoslavia will be able to step out along the highroad of national regeneration, economic progress and blossoming of its culture.

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The strike movement is gaining momentum. On January 12 the railwaymen declared a 24 hour preventive strike which spread throughout the country. Recently 88 professors and teachers in Tunis made a statement urging the release of all political prisoners, liquidation of the concentration camps, an end to all kinds of repression and the observance of trade-union rights and civil liberties in the country.

In response to the call of the Communist Party, the day of struggle against the colonisers' repressions and for the satisfaction of the national demands of the people was held on January 18—the second anniversary of the colonial coup in Tunisia and of the arrests of the leaders of the national parties.

A monster meeting addressed by the representatives of different democratic organisations was held in the Trade Union House in Tunis on January 18. The meeting adopted a unanimous resolution demanding the release of political prisoners, the liquidation of concentration camps, the abolition of capital punishment, an end to the persecution of patriots, the lifting of martial law, reinstatement of all who were sacked for participating in the strike movement, and the restoration of all civil rights.

IN COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

Against Colonial Yoke in Tunisia

The people of Tunisia are waging a resolute struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation and for their national independence. They demand the lifting of martial law, imposed as far back as 1938, a radical improvement in living conditions, the abolition of poverty and unemployment, freedom for all patriots languishing in exile and an amnesty for all political prisoners.

Mohamed Djerad, Secretary of the Communist Party of Tunisia, and 70 other patriots who had for a long time languished in prison have been recently released under pressure from the people. The working people demand the release of Maurice Nisard, Secretary of the Communist Party, who is in jail in the south part of the country, the withdrawal of the warrant for the detention in the concentration camp of Mohamed Ennaafa, Secretary of the Party and the release of exiled Habib Bourguiba, Chairman of the "Neo Destour" Party.

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He believes that the fascist bombing of Coventry could serve as a model for the Atlantic bloc, since it produced "exceptionally good results". This diehard murderer suggests that "the weakness" of the nazi air operations, i.e. "the excessive softheartedness", should be remedied in future. He assures his Western allies that he is "always ready" to impart to them the benefit of the "rich experience" of the fascist air pirates.

One would have thought that the gruesome confessions of the erstwhile "Luftwaffe" Chief of Staff and other generals of the Hitler Wehrmacht would have dispelled all the fond illusions cherished by the politicians of the West as regards the revenge-seeking intentions of the Adenauer clique. Nevertheless, however strange it may seem certain circles in London are trying might and main to prove that the air force now being revived in Western Germany has no connection with the Hitler "Luftwaffe" and maintain that it is possible to come to an agreement with the Bonn clique of revenge-seekers.

Culture and Business

There is an old house on New York's Fifth Avenue... A famous American author who wrote "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" well-known to all school children lived and worked in it from 1904 to 1908.

However, it is no use looking for a notice saying: "Mark Twain's Museum" on the walls of this building. The name of the author is not respected in the country of the dollar. According to McCarthy, he is a "subversive element". The enemies of peace cannot forget how the satirist strongly denounced the traders in human flesh. The preachers of the "American way of life" cannot forgive Mark Twain his shrewd scoffing at the falsity of transatlantic pseudo-democracy.

The reactionaries would like to strike even the name of Mark Twain from the annals of American literature. The McCarthies are removing his books from the libraries. The house on the Fifth Avenue has long been in a state of neglect. Scraps of faded wallpaper hang

from the walls of the rooms. More than that a memorial plaque which was on the wall of the building was recently wrenched down by a hooligan.

But the New York authorities do not appear to be satisfied with what has been done so far. The press has reported a decision to demolish the building which incidentally is also a masterpiece of architecture in the city. The remnants will be carted off to the rubbish dump and a new house with many apartments will be put up on the site to make large profits for its owners.

Businessmen do not care for literature! They make money. It is no wonder that they seek to destroy as soon as possible this item of evidence against them, the house in which Mark Twain in his day wrote with contempt of the people who prayed in a loud voice to the dollar and its owners.

But whatever intrigues the European friends of the Bonn revenge-seekers resort to they cannot ignore the growing resistance of the people to the schemes to re-form the German Wehrmacht under cover of the "European Army".

Jan MAREK

Protests Against Turning Italian Ports Into Atomic Bases

A report in the Italian bourgeois paper "Stampa" to the effect that the American aircraft carriers anchored off Naples are carrying atom bombs caused a wave of indignation throughout Italy. The protest movement embraced big sections of the population. The Naples provincial peace committee convened a big protest meeting which was addressed by Emilio Sereni,

Member of the World Peace Council. Vigorous protests were expressed by numerous democratic organisations.

Workers in a number of factories in Naples passed a resolution which said that Naples, which had had 120 air raids during the second world war, must not be turned into a base for aggression and wholesale destruction. The Chamber of Labour in

Naples urged the City's Deputies, irrespective of party affiliation, to protest against the creation of atomic bases on Italian territory. Protests were also published by prominent citizens of Naples. Arturo Labriola, former Senator, pointed out that the "establishing of an A-bomb dump in Naples is a naked criminal act against the city".