

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

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For Consistent Observance of Leninist Principles of Socialist Construction

The Leninist principles of the building of Socialism, which have been put into practice in so masterly a fashion by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are a guide to action for all Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies. Any departure from the Leninist principles inevitably leads to the morass of opportunism and harms the cause of socialist construction, the interests of the working class and all working people.

V. I. Lenin and the faithful continuer of his cause, J. V. Stalin, taught us that heavy industry constitutes the unshakeable material base of Socialism, that socialist industrialisation is the principal means of building Socialism. They established the necessity for the priority development of heavy industry. This Leninist-Stalinist principle was brilliantly confirmed by the whole course of socialist construction in the USSR and is now being fully confirmed by the course of socialist construction in the People's Democracies also. The powerful advance of heavy industry, of the production of the means of production, is the decisive condition for the development of all branches of the economy—agriculture, the light and the food industries—the decisive condition for increasing the well-being of the masses and strengthening the might and defence capacity of the countries of the socialist camp.

By steadily following this line, the only correct one, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies have secured a powerful advance of their industries and the rapid development of their entire economies. Under people's rule industrial output in the European People's Democracies has risen 200-250%, new branches of industry have been established and the well-being of the masses considerably improved.

Building Socialism is not an easy matter. Naturally, the People's Democracies have found and find themselves faced with no few difficulties in the process. Fundamentally, these are difficulties of growth, difficulties arising from their tasks of ensuring rapid progress. To surmount these

that it is impossible to build Socialism in a country without reorganising agriculture on socialist lines. The voluntary association of the working peasants in large socialist co-operatives capable of rationally utilising the most up-to-date machinery, of introducing the achievements of science into agriculture, ensuring an upsurge in agricultural production and a prosperous life for their members—such is the historically tried and tested path of the socialist reorganisation of the countryside, a path which corresponds to the most vital interests of the working peasantry.

Yet some sorry theoreticians in Hungary, despite the Marxist theory of reproduction and despite reality, asserted that the main bulk of the poor and medium peasants could reach a high level of prosperity by individual farming and that under people's democracy extended reproduction was allegedly characteristic of scattered small individual farms. These "theoreticians" deceived the peasants and harmed the economy.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies have given unceasing support to the individual working peasants, showing concern for the fuller utilisation of all their economic potentialities for increasing production. At the same time they have shown them that the only possible way to a radical advance of agriculture and a high level of prosperity is by uniting in co-operatives. The Communist and Workers' Parties are combating those who put obstacles in the way of the growth of the co-operative movement, who do not popularise the advantages of producer co-operatives or display concern for organising new co-operatives and strengthening organisationally and economically those already functioning, and who thereby hold up socialist reorganisation of the countryside. They also battle against left-wing extremists who violate the fundamental principle of co-operation of the working peasants—the voluntary principle.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that in a socialist society the leading role belongs to

DESTROY ATOMIC WEAPONS AND HALT THEIR MANUFACTURE IS THE DEMAND OF ALL PEOPLES

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Signature Campaign Develops in China

109 million people sign the
Vienna Appeal

About 109 million Chinese people signed the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council between February 14 and March 5.

In the main, the collection of signatures has already been completed in the major cities. More than 16,900,000 people signed the Appeal in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Shenyang, Wuhan, Canton, Chungking and Sian.

The collection of signatures is now gaining momentum in provincial towns and villages throughout the country. Over 4,714,000 signatures have been collected in Shantung Province.

In Tibet, the signature campaign began in Lhasa and is now spreading to other towns. In Gyantse all government employees and representatives of religious groups have signed the Appeal.

In connection with the collection of signatures the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama both made statements. That of the Dalai Lama says: Any encroachment on world peace and the great family of peoples of China is also an encroachment on Tibetans. The Tibetan people cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the U.S. imperialists threaten to use atomic weapons for the mass annihilation of human beings. Lamas and the ordinary people of Tibet are actively joining the powerful world movement for the collection of signatures to the Appeal to the Peoples of the World.

"Atomic Energy Must Serve the Good of Mankind"

Over 100,000 Signatures Collected
in Korean People's Democratic Republic

The Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council has been enthusiastically supported by the working people in the Korean People's Democratic Republic where

Meeting of Soviet Peace Committee

A meeting of the Soviet Peace Committee held on March 8 was attended by representatives of the republican, territorial and regional peace committees, public organisations, and by Soviet and foreign journalists.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution to begin the collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal against atomic war preparations on April 1. It was also unanimously agreed to call the fifth All-Union Peace Conference on May 10 in Moscow.

Comrade N. S. Tikhonov, Chairman of the Committee, read the Appeal of the World Peace Council to the Peoples of the World and signed. The Appeal was also signed by N. V. Popova, Chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Women, writer I. G. Ehrenburg, S. A. Gerasimov, People's Artist of the USSR, Z. P. Tumanova, Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Young Communist League, Academician A. I. Oparin, poet A. A. Surkov, I. A. Kaifov, Minister of Education of the RSFSR and many others.

Voice of Polish Working People

Meetings and rallies attended by large numbers of Polish working people strongly condemn the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to unleash an atomic war.

A crowded meeting to support the Vienna Appeal was held in Nowa Huta. The workers and staff of the V. I. Lenin Metallurgical Combinat warmly approved the decisions of the Bureau of the World Peace Council and pledged to fulfil the plan of the last year of the Six-Year Plan ahead of time.

A meeting held by the working people of Lublin demanded that stockpiles of atomic

weapons in all countries be destroyed and their manufacture prohibited, and that atomic energy be used for peaceful purposes.

Mass rallies and meetings to support the Vienna Appeal were held at a number of enterprises in Lodz, Poznan, Bydgoszcz and other towns in the country.

The central and local press carries letters from numerous working people in which they support the peace policy of the countries of the camp of peace aimed at abolishing the threat of atomic war.

Rumanian People are Unanimous

Over 8 Million Signed The Appeal

The permanent Peace Committee of the Rumanian People's Republic has been daily receiving more and more lists with hundreds of thousands of signatures to the Vienna Appeal. 8,770,803 persons had signed the Appeal by March 9.

The signature campaign is accompanied by a number of measures. Numerous meetings and rallies, talks and reports

on international questions are being held everywhere.

Special teams of representatives of various sections of the population are formed to collect signatures. Over 4,900 teams have been formed in the Craiova Region alone. Great success has been achieved by Maria Sîpos, a member of such a team in the village of Secueni, who has already obtained more than 300 signatures.

French People's Battle Against London

Italy Tops one Million Signatures

Italy's peace supporters are continuing the campaign for signatures to the Vienna Appeal with ever-increasing vigour. By March 5, 1,029,710 people had signed, and this in only 20 of the country's 90 provinces. Signal success has been achieved in some districts, as for instance, in Alfonsine (Ravenna Province) where 10,851 persons, or over 90 per cent of the inhabitants, have signed.

In February, 247 demonstrations were held in the provinces, and more than 9,000 meetings and rallies in the districts, in factories and in individual populated centres in support of the Appeal. Forty-five new peace committees have been organised in the province of Bologna, where many Social Democrats and Democratic Christians who refused to have anything to do with the Stockholm Appeal have now signed the Vienna Appeal.

Italy's patriots are simultaneously continuing the battle against West German rearmament. Several brief meetings were held in the centre of Milan on March 4, at which speakers sharply condemned the Paris agreements. Participants in the meetings organised a demonstration. In Ferrara 4,000 workers took part in demonstrations against the "West European Union". At a number of factories strikes were called as a token of protest against the plans for reviving German militarism.

Delegations from all parts of the country continue to pour into Rome to make known to the senators the will of the Italian working people that the Paris agreements must be rejected. A delegation from Rovigo Province, made up of members of the families of men who were victims of Nazi terror, submitted to the Senate a petition signed by 35,955 residents of the province demanding that the plans for rearming Western Germany be dropped.

Success of Peace Supporters in Finland

The signature campaign to the Vienna Appeal is gaining momentum in Finland. Nearly 20,000 signatures have been collected in the Varsinais-Suomi Province. The peace

decisive condition for the development of the economy—agriculture, all branches of the food industries—the decisive light and the food industries—the decisive condition for increasing the well-being of the masses and strengthening the might and defence capacity of the countries of the socialist camp.

By steadily following this line, the only correct one, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies have secured a powerful advance of their industries and the rapid development of their economies. Under people's rule industrial output in the European People's Democracies has risen 200-250%, new branches of industry have been established and the well-being of the masses considerably improved.

Building Socialism is not an easy matter. Naturally, the People's Democracies have found and find themselves faced with no few difficulties in the process. Fundamentally, these are difficulties of growth, difficulties arising from their tasks of ensuring rapid progress. To surmount these difficulties in good time and ensure economic development along planned lines takes no little effort. In directing the work of building Socialism, the Communist and Workers' Parties lay bare the shortcomings that occur and deal an overwhelming rebuff to any who try to turn them from the right path.

At its recent meeting the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party discussed the political situation in the country and the Party's tasks. The resolution it adopted, which presents a profound analysis of the state of the economy, reveals grave errors in matters of socialist construction and defines the tasks of the Party, is of fundamental importance. The Central Committee meeting found that in recent time right-wing, anti-Marxist, anti-Party, opportunist views gained currency in the Party, state apparatus and press of Hungary. The advocates of those right-wing opportunist views sought to frustrate socialist industrialisation, opposed the development of heavy industry, underestimated the role and significance of the steady growth of labour productivity and reduction of production costs. That this right-wing deviation has done serious harm to Hungary's economy and her working people may be seen from the fact that in the past year and a half her industry marked time for the most part, that in most branches of industry labour productivity fell and production costs mounted.

The Hungarian Central Committee meeting stressed the fact that at the present stage the increased right-wing danger is the main obstacle to the successful realisation of the Party's correct policy. Victory for the policy of socialist industrialisation cannot be assured. Socialism cannot be built unless the harmful right-wing opportunist views are defeated on the ideological plane, unless they are completely isolated. The resolution of the Central Committee meeting shows with the utmost clarity that only by carrying out the policy of socialist industrialisation, only by ensuring the priority development of the production of the means of production, the steady growth of labour productivity and reduction of production costs can the material foundations of Socialism be strengthened and a solid base provided for steadily raising the living standards of the working people.

V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin taught us

DAY OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST PARIS AGREEMENTS

March 10 was a Day of International Action Against the Paris Agreements and Revival of German Militarism. In response to the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions, working people in the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, France, Italy, Western Germany, Britain and other coun-

tries of Europe demonstrated their firm determination to frustrate the plans for restoring the Wehrmacht, so hated by the people, and in this way to make a valuable contribution to the promotion of peace in Europe.

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Marxism-Leninism teaches that in a socialist state the leading role belongs to the working class, that the alliance of the working class and working peasantry guarantees the success of the construction of Socialism. The worker-peasant alliance constitutes the basis of the people's-democratic system. This class alliance consolidates the positions of the working class, secures for it the leading role; it is needed by the working peasantry also, because only with the help of the working class can it escape from exploitation and step forth on the highroad to a happy, socialist life.

V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin emphasised repeatedly that the main leading and guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the revolutionary party, the party of a new type. Without a party guided by Marxism-Leninism, strong in its solidarity and discipline, the working class cannot retain power and cannot build Socialism. To guarantee unconditionally the leading, guiding role of the revolutionary party—that is the main condition for the building of Socialism. To belittle the leading role of the Party, as the resolution of the meeting of the C.C. of the Hungarian Working People's Party rightly points out, would, in the long run, mean weakening and undermining the power of the working class, of the working people. The Communist and Workers' Parties consistently and determinedly thwart the undermining activity of the opportunist elements who try to shake the unity of the Party ranks and weaken their militancy.

In the struggle for the building of Socialism the Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies are strengthening their links with the masses in every way, improving ideological work and to an increasing extent developing criticism and self-criticism—the powerful weapon that gives assurance of exemplary work at all levels of the Party and state apparatus, helps to eliminate shortcomings and successfully advance the cause of socialist construction.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are the leading and guiding force of the people's-democratic countries. Their policy constitutes the vital basis of the people's-democratic system. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism they are successfully leading the working class, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia to the victory of Socialism.

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"Atomic Energy Must Serve the Good of Mankind"

Over 100,000 Signatures Collected in Korean People's Democratic Republic

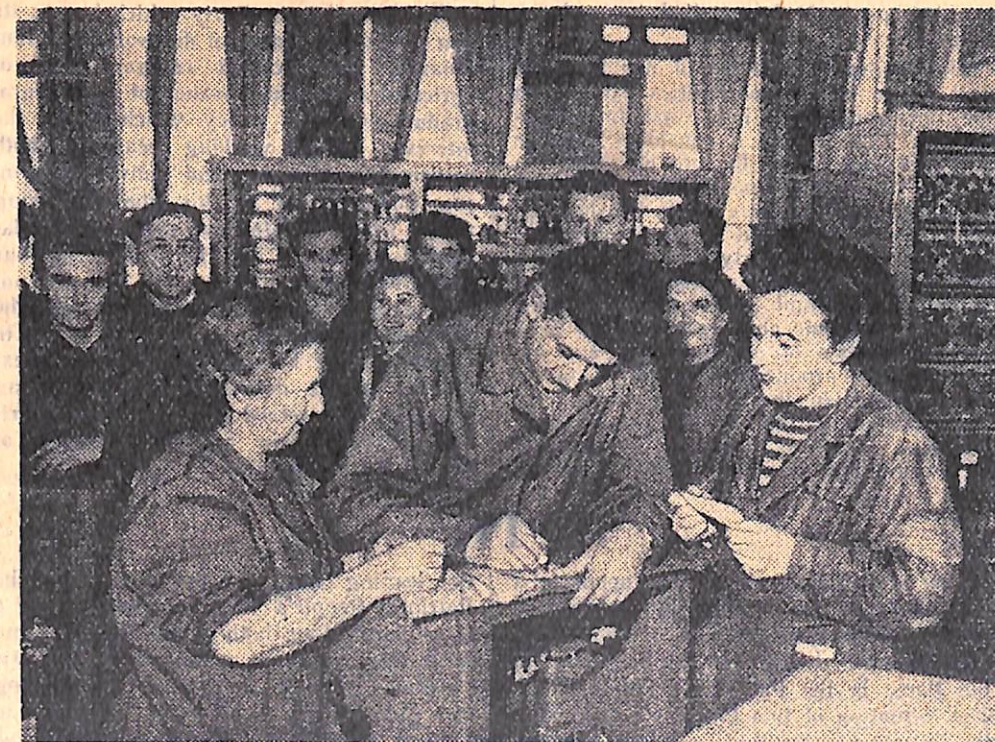
The Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council has been enthusiastically supported by the working people in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, where more than 100,000 signatures have been collected. The Central Committee of the All-Korean Trade Union Federation, the Academy of Sciences and other institutions and public organisations have issued statements supporting the Appeal. The statement of the Academy of Sciences reads: "We cannot allow atomic energy—one of the greatest discoveries of our century—to be used as a weapon for destruction and murder. It must serve only the good of mankind and the continued advance of the productive forces of society."

PEOPLE OF INDONESIA ENERGETICALLY JOIN THE CAMPAIGN

The collection of signatures to the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council is being enthusiastically carried out in Djakarta, Bandung, Madiun and other Indonesian towns. A large number of scientists and students of the Djakarta University, and public personalities have signed the Appeal.

Kartasasmita, Chairman of the All-Indonesian Co-ordination Committee of Political Parties in signing the Appeal said: "We must prove that we can frustrate the atomic war preparations."

The wife of Mayor Sudiro (Djakarta) said as she signed: "I hope many other people will follow our example."



The collection of signatures to the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council is assuming wider proportions. Photo (left to right): 1. Josef Vana, electrical engineer and model worker from a machine-building works (Modrany, Czechoslovakia), signing the Appeal. 2. Collection of signatures among medical workers at a maternity hospital in Honan Province (China).

combined warmly approved the decisions of the Bureau of the World Peace Council and pledged to fulfil the plan of the last year of the Six-Year Plan ahead of time.

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French People's Battle Against London and Paris Agreements Gaining Momentum

In response to direct pressure from Washington and London, March 22 has been set as the date when the Council of the Republic will debate ratification of the London and Paris agreements. As a result, the French people's protest movement has assumed broader proportions.

The Communist and Socialist workers of the Hispano-Brune factory in Paris, where more than 500 workers signed protests against the London and Paris agreements, sent Mme Gilberte Brossolette, Socialist Senator from the Seine Department, a letter saying: "We want a stable peace, not the rearmament of Germany..."

On the initiative of the Movement Against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace, 51 prominent men representing a wide variety of views published a message to the senators, demanding that they oppose German rearmament and so prevent a repetition of the crimes committed in Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Lidice and Oradour. The number of general and municipal councillors and mayors who are coming out against the Paris agreements is steadily growing. More than 3,000 mayors, 300 general councillors and 15,000 municipal councillors have declared their opposition to the rearmament of Western Germany.

The demand to reject the revival of German militarism is accompanied by a demand for the complete abolition, in all countries, of weapons of mass destruction, and the

cessation of their manufacture. The municipal council of Perpignan (Pyrénées-Orientales) has already voiced this demand, and the municipality of Hagondange (Moselle) has organised a demonstration in support. At a recent meeting in Chambéry (Savoie), M. E. Naegelen, one of the 18 Socialist deputies who voted against German rearmament said: "I prefer to side with the German workers rather than with Adenauer." He urged all Frenchmen to unite in barring the way to war and securing the prohibition of atomic weapons.

A few weeks ago the CGT and Force Ouvrière delegates at the Haines-St-Pierre factory in Lesquin (Nord) suggested calling a European Workers' Conference in Defence of Economic Demands, against German rearmament and for collective security in Europe, to which all trade union organisations would be invited.

The idea is meeting with support. It has already been approved by branches of the CGT, Force Ouvrière and the General Confederation of Christian Working People, both at the Lorraine-Escaut plant in Maubeuge (Nord), and at the steel smelting mills in Blanc-Misseron (Nord); by CGT and General Confederation of Christian Working People delegates from the Jamailles de Wendel factory in Rosselange (Moselle); by CGT and Force Ouvrière delegates from the fourth section of the Paris Metro etc.



which speakers sharply condemned the Paris agreements. Participants in the meetings organised a demonstration. In Ferrara 4,000 workers took part in demonstrations against the "West European Union". At a number of factories strikes were called as a token of protest against the plans for reviving German militarism.

Delegations from all parts of the country continue to pour into Rome to make known to the senators the will of the Italian working people that the Paris agreements must be rejected. A delegation from Rovigo Province, made up of members of the families of men who were victims of Nazi terror, submitted to the Senate a petition signed by 35,955 residents of the province demanding that the plans for rearming Western Germany be dropped.

Success of Peace Supporters in Finland

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The Executive Committee of the Transport Workers' Union has called on all its membership to support the Appeal and take an active part in the campaign. In doing so, reads the call, we, together with hundreds of millions of other peace-loving people, can avert the use of atomic weapons and preserve peace in our country and throughout the world.

ALBANIAN WORKING PEOPLE ENTHUSIASTICALLY SIGN VIENNA APPEAL

The collection of signatures to the Appeal is proceeding on a wide scale in Albania. Over 820,000 men and women had signed the Appeal by March 5.

Expressing the will of the Albanian working people for peace, Zeri i Popullit writes that the Albanian people are fully determined to defend the cause of peace to the end. At the same time, the newspaper goes on to say, they are prepared to defend their freedom and independence from any encroachments by imperialist circles headed by the U.S.A.

ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party

I.

On the tenth anniversary of our country's liberation our working people can look back with worthy and just pride at the historical achievements of the past ten years. During this period the working class, under the leadership of our Party, won power and, in alliance with the working peasantry, hand in hand with an intelligentsia loyal to the people, has begun to lay the foundations of Socialism in our country. In the period of the Three-Year Plan, and especially in the period of the Five-Year Plan, our people have achieved great progress in socialist industrialisation, in the development of heavy industry and of its core—the machine-building industry. A section of the working peasantry has taken the road to large-scale socialist farming, which leads to progress. In the past ten years the material, cultural and social conditions of our working people have radically changed, as a result of the carrying out of our Party's correct policy and the devoted labour of the working people, and especially of the working class.

The successes achieved by our working people over the past ten years in socialist construction prove the soundness of the Party's policy. However, in the struggle for the building of Socialism our Party has also made mistakes. Beginning with 1951 it took the course of pressing for the development of socialist industry at a pace beyond our economic possibilities. In the development of producer co-operatives the voluntary principle was not sufficiently adhered to in certain instances, and insufficient attention was paid to mobilising the production reserves of the individual peasants. In June 1953 the Central Committee reviewed the situation in the country and with the help of fearless criticism and self-criticism laid bare the mistakes that had been made in socialist construction and worked out measures for eliminating them.

The June 1953 decisions of the Central Committee proved to be entirely correct. But along with the successful struggle to put these correct decisions into practice there were certain errors and miscalculations. Moreover, certain people distorted the decisions in an opportunist, anti-Marxist spirit, and this led to harmful right-wing errors, to a right-wing deviation. As a result some disturbing factors made themselves felt in the economic and political situation of our people's democracy.

Despite the success achieved in some individual branches, industrial production as a whole marked time in 1954 (the output of the enterprises under the industrial ministries rose last year by 0.3%, but heavy industry output fell by 3.1%). In most branches of industry labour productivity declined while production costs increased; and there was a slackening in labour discipline. As regards the output of marketable produce, the situation in agriculture was not altogether

satisfactory in 1954. Although considerable results were achieved in certain branches of crop farming and livestock raising, less food grain was harvested last year than in 1953. Nor did the head of cattle increase. The procurement plan for the principal agricultural products was not fulfilled despite the fact that the practical possibilities for it existed and still do. All this affected the national income, which dropped below the 1953 figure.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party states that in consequence of this situation in our economy, the higher living standards of our working people (in 1954 real wages per capita increased by 15% and real incomes of the peasantry by even more) do not rest on the solid foundation of steadily rising production, mounting labour productivity and diminishing production costs, but, in the main, on the expenditure of state reserves and reduction of capital investments. Inasmuch as our country's economic forces have not developed satisfactorily in the recent period the higher living standards of the working people do not rest on a firm, solid foundation.

The reasons for the serious difficulties arising in our economy are to be sought primarily in the fact that in the recent period, since June 1953, right-wing, anti-Marxist, anti-Party, opportunist views have spread in the Party, the state apparatus and other spheres, which has led to a check in our industrial development, a slowing down in socialist accumulation and a weakening of state and civic discipline.

The Central Committee states that the decisions it adopted in June 1953 were correct and remain valid today, and that together with the resolutions of the Third Party Congress they form the basis of our Party's policy. In line with these decisions our Party holds to its unalterable opinion that its main task is to bring about a consistent growth in the well-being of our working people, and to satisfy in ever-greater measure their social and cultural requirements, on the basis of extended socialist reproduction and an increase in labour productivity. This main aim of the Party can be achieved primarily on the basis of the development of heavy industry, of socialist industry as a whole and of agriculture.

Our Party will continue to follow the policy of socialist reorganisation of agriculture, the development of producer co-operatives on a voluntary basis. At the same time it will continue to give assistance to individual working peasants and to carry out the principle of material incentives, so as to ensure that they obtain higher yields and, above all, a higher output of marketable produce.

The decisions adopted with a view to effecting collective leadership, Communist criticism and self-criticism and observance of state laws, remain in force.

II.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party declares that at the present stage the heightened right-wing danger is the principal obstacle to the successful putting into effect of the Party's correct policy. It is therefore the main task of the Party to smash these harmful right-wing views on the ideological plane, and isolate them completely; only thus will it be possible to carry out to the full the

backward countries, because the decline in heavy industry would make the development of agriculture and light industry impossible; it would mean that we could provide our working people with only a diminishing instead of a growing stock of commodities; it would make production more expensive, which would inevitably lead to higher instead of lower prices. For agriculture to develop it needs machinery and more and

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party held on March 2-4 heard and discussed the report of the Political Bureau on the political situation and the tasks of the Party. The report was delivered by Comrade Matyas Rakosi, First Secretary of the Central Committee.

The meeting unanimously endorsed the report and adopted the following resolution:

Collected Works, Fourth Russian Edition, Vol. 29, p. 394).

Losing sight of this highly important teaching of Lenin, Comrade Imre Nagy often committed the mistake of forgetting about this most important matter, which is basic to the victory of Socialism—the need for a systematic increase in labour productivity, without which the country cannot strengthen and advance its economy, without which all promises to raise the standard of living of the working people are baseless and empty, and lead to deception of the working people. The proponents of the right-wing views are talking about the necessity of steadily raising living standards to the maximum, but they themselves do nothing to increase labour productivity and cut production costs. On the contrary, they secretly oppose it. If the policy of socialist industrialisation is not carried out, if heavy industry does not advance and the priority development of the production of means of production is not assured, if labour productivity does not rise from year to year and production costs do not

Particularly great harm was caused by the right-wing views, alien to Marxism-Leninism, which found expression in relation to the main questions of our Party's policy concerning the peasantry.

Certain people in our Party are wrong in their handling of the question of the worker-peasant alliance; they forget that this is a class alliance, whose aim is the building of socialist society and the complete abolition of exploitation. It is an alliance which is led by the working class.

In their work in the countryside some people do not put their reliance on the poor peasantry, do not fight against the kulaks, and forget about the leading role of the working class and the aims of the worker-peasant alliance—the building of Socialism and the struggle against exploitation. Such an interpretation of the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry would divest it of its essential character as a weapon of class struggle and, in practice, would help the kulaks.

The Central Committee of our Party declares that it regards the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry as one of its fundamental tasks. However, this task, and likewise the winning over of the middle peasantry, can be carried out only under the leadership of the working class, relying on the poor peasantry and fighting against the kulaks. Even the slightest departure from these principles would weaken the base of our people's democracy—the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry.

Some petty-bourgeois theories, which Marxism shattered long ago, are again being revived and have even been published in some of our theoretical journals. According to them, in conditions of people's democracy extended reproduction is characteristic of peasant farms engaged in simple commodity production. Proceeding from this false position and other analogous ones,

fall, there can be no question of a steady and lasting rise in living standards.

To speak of raising the standard of living and at the same time to make no effort to provide the economic conditions necessary for it is to indulge in cheap demagoguery, to mislead the people!

Growing prosperity stems from extended reproduction and, through that, from socialist accumulation. For the latter to be possible, labour productivity must be raised and production costs reduced. The correct policy of the Party guarantees the economic strengthening of our country and the steadily improving well-being of our people, whereas a right-wing policy which deviates from the Party line would on the contrary undermine the effort to strengthen our country, and, as a final consequence, would reduce our people to an ever-lower standard of living.

For these reasons the Central Committee most emphatically condemns and rejects this right-wing, anti-Marxist distortion of our Party's policy in the sphere of socialist industrialisation.

III.

to simply marking time in the producer co-operative movement, that the peasants begin to join co-operatives and that new co-operatives are set up side by side with the old ones.

Incorrect views concerning extended reproduction on the small peasant farms are capable not only of retarding the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, but also of having an adverse effect on the friendship between co-operative members and individual peasants. We must see to it that individual working peasants recognise co-operative members as the pioneers of a better and more prosperous life for the peasantry. Producer co-operative members and individual peasants should unite, also, because they have a common enemy in the kulaks and other exploiters in the countryside. It is true that the economic and political influence of these elements is now much less than it was before the liberation; but on the other hand their opportunities for speculation have increased and they have shown more boldness of late. This was also facilitated by the fact that those who lauded individual farming to the skies forgot about the kulak; they overlooked the fact that kulaks and other exploiters in the countryside have again begun to get rich at the expense of the poor and middle peasants. The Leninist teaching that small-scale farming daily begets capitalism, i.e. creates an opportunity for kulaks and other rural speculators to exploit the working peasants and even makes it possible for new capitalists to spring up alongside the old exploiters, holds good for us too.

In contradiction to this Leninist teaching, a new impetus has been given to the long disproved assertion that not only co-operatives but individual farms, too, develop towards Socialism, and that the latter "in their own way" also build Socialism.

role than that of the local councils—which, as is known, are the most all-embracing mass organisations and the local organs of state power constituted by the working people themselves during elections. These right-wing views sought, in effect, to revise the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The most important thing in the people's-democratic system is the absolute guarantee of the leading and guiding role of the revolutionary Party of the working class. Without this guarantee there can be no people's democracy! The revolutionary Party of the working class must be the leading, guiding and inspiring force of the whole of society. Only thus can it guarantee the leading role of the working class in the building of Socialism; only if the leading role of the Party is fully realised can the people's-democratic state fulfil all its functions in the interests of the working class and the working people. The Party is the highest form of organisation of the working class; therefore the Party is called upon to direct and supervise the activities of all mass organisations. The most important thing in the work of all mass organisations is to guarantee the leading and guiding role of the Party, because only this can ensure that the various mass organisations serve the cause of building Socialism. The right-wing deviation revises these basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee most resolutely rejects these right-wing deviations which are aimed at diminishing the leading role of the Party, because this would ultimately mean a weakening and undermining of the power of the working class and the working people.

The right-wing views, which had gained a measure of strength, were directed against the fundamental principles of inner-Party life, against the Party's entire militant activity, against the basic principle of ensuring a united, firm Party leadership, and against the principle of democratic centralism. Some people wanted to create a situation in the Party in which the decisions of the leadership would not be binding on all Party organisations, but in which each Party organisation would have the right to pass judgement on the correctness of the decisions taken by higher Party bodies. This is a right-wing revisionist point of view; and if the Party had not taken action against it, this point of view would eventually have deprived our Party, the revolutionary Party of the working class, of its character as the advanced and organised detachment. The unity of will of the Party would have been destroyed, opening wide the doors to the formation of various groupings within the Party. The destruction or weakening of democratic centralism would have seriously endangered the ideological and organisational unity of the Party and gravely

A great many of the incorrect, erroneous views current in reference to ideological and economic questions are a reflection of the influence of the class enemy within the Party and in other spheres of people's democracy.

Right-wing views in our Party and our state have grown so dangerous because Comrade Imre Nagy in his statements and articles supported these anti-Marxist positions, being moreover their principal proponent.

One of the basic features of Comrade Imre Nagy's right-wing line was to be underestimated the splendid victories of the Party and the working class.

shaken Party discipline. In practice this would have robbed our Party, the leading and guiding force of our people's-democratic system, of its militancy.

The right-wing danger found expression in the distortion, in a petty-bourgeois, anarchist direction, of Communist criticism and self-criticism.

The Central Committee considers it incorrect and thoroughly harmful that in recent times, under the pretext of criticism, right-wing elements have slanderously attacked the historic successes achieved in Hungary by the working class and the entire working people under the leadership of the Party.

The Central Committee draws the attention of the entire Party and of every one of its members to the need, while most emphatically condemning slander which undermines the prestige of the Party, unreservedly to put into practice Communist criticism and self-criticism in all Party activity, in all fields of state and other work. We must see to it that the defects which crop up in Party and state work are seriously and constantly combated, with a view to their elimination. We must boldly develop constructive Communist criticism, without which it is impossible to guarantee good work on the part of our Party and the advance of our society in its building of Socialism.

A most important condition for improving our Party work, from the Party branches to the Central Committee, is fearless, principled Party criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below of shortcomings in our work. Without such criticism progress is impossible; indeed, without it there is always the danger of self-satisfaction, complacency, stagnation. Under no circumstances ought we to fear principled criticism in a Party spirit. Such criticism only enhances the prestige of the Party and its leading bodies, only strengthens still further the unity of the Party.

One of the most dangerous manifestations of the right-wing deviation is nationalism and chauvinism.

The Central Committee considers it absolutely indispensable to wage a relentless ideological struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The Central Committee considers it essential to expose and repulse any hostile attacks or undermining activity.

We must deepen among our people the feeling of patriotism, and therewith, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, devoting particular attention in this respect to the youth. The development of a feeling of deep gratitude and love for the peoples of the socialist Soviet Union, our great liberator, plays a decisive part in the education of our people. We must heighten our people's sense of the great significance of the fact that we belong to the mighty, 900 million-strong camp of peace.

working class within this alliance. The right-wing elements outside and within the Party took this article as a signal and launched a destructive attack upon the Party's correct policy. This was to be observed in the editorial offices of many newspapers, Szabad Nep included, and in literature.

Comrade Nagy, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and certain of our economic, Party and trade union organisations made no effort to mobilise the working class to fulfil and overfulfil production plans, better the

ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party

(Continued from page 2)

achieve a considerable increase in the production of consumer goods.

We must raise labour productivity in industry by 3.9% above the 1954 level, reduce overall production costs by 3%; and effect an average saving in materials of 2.3%.

This year some 9,000 million forints must be spent on capital investments and 4,800 million forints on renovation of fixed capital. The national income must be raised 8.4% above the 1954 level.

The most important task of the coming months is constantly, week in, week out, month in, month out, to fulfil all the assignments of the plan. The Party, state and economic bodies must mobilise all their forces for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the 1955 national economic plan. To achieve this aim we must mobilise the vast masses in the trade unions, numbering nearly 2 million, the enthusiastic members of the Union of Working Youth, the growing forces of the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Union of Democratic Women and all mass organisations. It is the primary duty of Party members everywhere to set the example in fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan, in cutting production costs and raising labour productivity. The Central Committee declares that the decisive task for the fulfilment of the national economic plans is both the fulfilment of the quantitative targets and definitely guaranteeing the raising of labour productivity and the lowering of production costs.

4. The Central Committee instructs the Political Bureau to prepare, in the spirit of the decisions of the Third Party Congress, detailed directives for the second Five-Year Plan. Consideration should here be given to the primary importance of heavy industry, and, within it, to producing the means of production, further developing and modernising agriculture, laying the foundations of Socialism in agriculture, and further expanding the production of mass consumer goods. The second Five-Year Plan must be a plan for the continued strengthening of our homeland, improvement in the well-being of our people, the development of our defence capacity and the victory of Socialism.

5. We must with all our strength guarantee in fullest measure the unshakable ideological, political and organisational unity of the Party. This solid unity must emanate from the top downward, from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, with such force as to ensure united

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The Central Committee is firmly convinced that every organisation and member of the battle-tempered Hungarian Working People's Party, the glorious Hungarian working class and the millions of our

Central Committee, Hungarian Working People's Party

activity by all leading Party organs and members in the spirit of the correct policy of the Party.

This unshakable ideological, political and organisational unity must guarantee unity of will and action and iron discipline in the Party. Only if this basic task is carried out successfully can the prestige of the Party and its leadership continue to grow, only then will our working class, working peasantry and intelligentsia follow the Party and support its policy with ever-greater enthusiasm and unanimity. Let the whole working people rally around our Party and, in a united enthusiastic effort, bring victory to our cause.

6. We must wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against every deviation from the policy of the Party and, in the present case, above all against the right-wing deviation. We must everywhere lay bare the roots of the right-wing danger. It is absolutely necessary to isolate the right-wing views and eliminate them completely. We must see to it that the struggle against the right-wing views does not assume abstract forms but is linked with the successful fulfilment of the Party's everyday tasks. While vigorously fighting the right-wing danger, our Party continues at the same time the tireless struggle against leftist extremists and against those who violate state law.

It is necessary to guarantee the leading and guiding role of the Party in all spheres of social and state activity, in state bodies, mass organisations and movements, in the press, radio, literature etc.

We must see to it that the central organ of our Party, Szabad Nep, and our theoretical magazine, Tarsadalmi Szemle, rid themselves of all extremist tendencies, fight for the carrying out of the correct policy of the Party, and educate our Party and its cadres in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party. We must also make sure that other newspapers and magazines are edited in line with Party policy, with due regard for their character and role.

The Central Committee obligates the Party organisations to make every effort to broaden and strengthen the Party's ties with the broad masses of the workers, working peasantry and intelligentsia and to strengthen the inviolable worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

Let every Communist perform his work in an exemplary manner and with vigilance, wherever he may be assigned by the Party, the working class, the working people and our people's-democratic state.

working people will by their enthusiastic, persistent and selfless work fulfil the great national tasks set by this decision for the sake of the advancement of our country and the happiness of our people.

The Longing of the German People for Peace and Unity Must Be Fulfilled!*

On February 27 the Bonn Bundestag ratified the Paris agreements. Flouting the clearly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the German people, 324 Bundestag deputies ratified military treaties which, once put into effect, will have far more dangerous repercussions for the German people than anything that ever before threatened the whole basis of existence of the German nation. To this act of national betrayal the German people cannot, and never will, resign themselves.

During the debates Adenauer fenced himself off by closely packed police cordons, armed troops and fire hoses. He did everything he could to make sure that the voice of the people, which rang out at many demonstrations, in many protests and resolutions, should not be heard in the Bundestag. Why did Adenauer hermetically seal off Parliament from the people at the very moment when it was debating questions of life and death significance for millions of Germans? Because the German people are against the Paris agreements, because they are opposed to the resurgence of German militarism. They have no stomach for another war; they want agreement, peaceful reunification of the country and a just peace treaty. To the "yes" of the 324 Bonn deputies stands counterposed the millionfold "no" of the German people.

Forceful reunification, war and fratricidal slaughter—this is what follows from the Bundestag debates, which in the most shameless way reveal the real intentions of the West German militarists. What will be the situation after ratification? Western Germany will have the right to form a new Wehrmacht armed with heavy, nay, the super-heavy armament and atomic weapons. Command of this army is being given to former Hitler generals. As a member of the so-called "European Union", Western Germany is to be integrated in NATO, in the infamous American system of military pacts which is in the service of the U.S. drive for world mastery. Thus Western Germany is being tied to a unilateral military bloc directed against the peace-loving peoples. The whole world knows of the aggressive aims of this bloc from the unambiguous utterances of its political and military leaders, from its policy and deeds. But all this is incompatible with the peaceful aspirations of the German people. That is why we again declare outright: after ratification negotiations will have meaning only if the Paris agreements are annulled. Unification of a peace-loving German Democratic Republic with a militarised and war-like Western Germany is inconceivable. We want peace and security for the whole of Germany, for the whole of Europe; we want no partition of Germany and thereby of Europe. The peace and security of Germany and of Europe are indivisible.

The Paris agreements are the main obstacle to the solution of the German problem, for they make the reunification of Germany by peaceful means impossible for a long time to come.

Against the will of the people, the Bundestag, by its disgraceful vote on the Paris agreements, has placed the issue of the reunification of Germany, this most urgent concern of the German people, in the hands

a total of some 3,500,000 soldiers.

Under the Paris agreements Western Germany will be admitted to the North Atlantic bloc and in this way the American

supreme commander of this aggressive organisation will have the power of life and death over millions of Germans.

The Paris agreements not only signify unrestricted and uncontrolled armament for the western part of our homeland, but close links with the system of U.S. military pacts, and occupation by foreign interventionist troops right up to 1998. If that happens then Western Germany can no longer be regarded as a peaceful state and the division of Germany will be complete.

Thus the Paris agreements lead to a hardening of the division of Europe, to the creation of hostile blocs and to war. This is brought out particularly clearly by the Saar agreement concluded by Adenauer in Paris. This agreement does not promote understanding between the French and German peoples, on the contrary, it undermines such understanding. It was concluded as the price of the French imperialists' agreement to the rearming of Western Germany.

Discussion of the Saar agreement in the Bonn Bundestag irrefutably and clearly brought out the existence of a deep-going split within the Bonn coalition. It showed us a degree of moral degradation which, except perhaps for Hitler, has never been displayed by a German Chancellor from the rostrum of the German Parliament. His coalition colleagues accused Adenauer of deception and of concealing important facts relating to the conclusion in Paris of the Saar agreement. He offered no reply other than that "the appropriate authority" in Paris had assured him that everything was in order. We are in complete solidarity with the statement made in the Saar debates by Deputy Mommer of the Social Democratic Party: "It has always been clear to us that the Saar agreement, not only legally but politically too, countenances the complete separation of the Saar from Germany and that it is the price that has been paid for French agreement to rearming the Federal Republic."

That is our view also. The Saar agreement is in opposition to the principal aspiration of the French and German peoples to ensure peace and the security of their countries, which is only possible through agreement between France and Germany. The Saar belongs to Germany, but France is economically interested in this region. A unified, democratic, peace-loving and sovereign Germany on the one hand, and France on the other, could readily come in a peaceful way to a firm agreement on the matter by recognising the Saar as an inseparable part of Germany and at the same time making allowance for France's security needs and economic interests. The agreement concluded by the Adenauer Government on the Saar cannot be lasting. Inherent

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Otto Grotewohl
Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic

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heavy industry? What sort of elections are they, in which the whole of Adenauer's police force is mobilised against the progressive forces, and the voters are intimidated and terrorised? What sort of elections are they, in which the true opinion of the people is falsified by a fraudulent electoral law?

Who does not know that on the basis of the so-called 5% clause and other manipulations, 3,453,853 votes cast for the Communist Party of Germany, the All-German People's Party and other democratic forces were simply disregarded in the distribution of Bundestag seats? By forming electoral blocs and coalitions the bourgeois parties got certain of their candidates into Parliament even though those parties received only a small minority of the votes in the constituencies concerned.

At best, the results of the elections of September 6, 1953, can only be called the results of arithmetical vote shuffling.

Since then the people of Western Germany have demonstrated their growing disgust with Adenauer's course in five Landtag elections. In those elections Adenauer's party lost about 2,250,000 votes. Two of the coalition parties—the Free Democratic Party and the All-German Bloc—gained votes, but they owe their gains to the fact that in the election campaign they opposed the course of the Christian Democratic Union. The latest discussions on the status of the Saar and the demands voiced within these bourgeois parties for Four-Power negotiations likewise mirror the dissatisfaction their members and electoral supporters feel for Adenauer's reactionary policy.

Suppose for a moment that after September 1953, elections had been held in the other four West German areas as well. Suppose, as we have every right to, that their percentage results were to be similar to those in Bavaria, Hesse etc. in 1954. We would then be faced with the simple and conclusive fact that the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union had lost approximately 30% of their votes. These two parties would then have been obliged to give up 87 of their 245 seats in the Bundestag. As for the whole government coalition, it would in that case have the support of no more than 44% of all the eligible electors. That means that today there are already about 100 Bundestag deputies, representing the coalition parties and supporting Adenauer's policy, who no longer possess valid mandates. The composition of the Bonn Bundestag has long since ceased to reflect the will of the people and the electors in Western Germany. The Social Democratic Party and its leaders know this very well. And they also know the danger that implementation of the Paris agreements brings with it.

They are well informed about the sentiments and hopes of the population. They know that the overwhelming majority of

workers in Bremerhaven, and trade union organisations in Würzburg. The Ruhr miners have organised a protest march to Bonn. Mass meetings are taking place daily in hundreds of cities, villages and communities, with scores of thousands of men and women taking part. Wherever voting against the Paris agreements has taken place, up to 95% of the citizens entitled to vote have registered their opposition to these military agreements. In Dortmund alone, 150,000 citizens with the right to vote signed the German Manifesto within a few days.

In countless statements, at numerous demonstrations and thronged meetings, by their strike decisions and other actions, the population of Western Germany has unequivocally declared: "Not one step further!"

That is why the vote in Bonn is not a final decision; it is merely an anti-popular parliamentary manoeuvre. The Government of the German Democratic Republic declares that it will never recognise the Paris agreements. The Bonn Bundestag ratified them against the will of the German people, hence they are invalid and cannot have the force of law. The present situation in Western Germany clearly shows that the struggle against the Paris agreements is far from over; it has not ended in Parliament and, even less, among the masses of the people in Germany and other European countries. The struggle for peace and security continues.

He who favours the peaceful reunion of Germany must seek ways and means and take measures to secure that reunion. And the first prerequisite is to defeat the Paris agreements in order to open the way for the German people to further develop their policy.

The second prerequisite is to achieve mutual understanding—among Germans and among the four big powers.

This path was shown us by the proposals of the Soviet Union, which has repeatedly stated that it favours negotiation among powers on the unification of Germany; and which, unlike the Western powers with their policy of threats and blackmail, is following a policy of peace and constructive proposals.

We are in agreement with the German Manifesto adopted in St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt on January 29, 1955. That Manifesto demands that achieving Four-Power agreement on unification be given preference over the organisation of military blocs and the rearming of Western Germany. The Manifesto calls on the German people to make the greatest efforts to ensure that the four occupying powers heed our people's will for unity. It notes that ratification of the Paris agreements heightens tension between East and West, and blocks the way to negotiations among the Four Powers on restoring German unity in conditions of freedom. This German Manifesto, launched from St. Paul's Church, has the backing of the trade unions, broad bourgeois and church circles, Social Democrats and non-party workers, and of diverse public organisations in West-

strengthening of our homeland, improvement in the well-being of our people, the development of our defence capacity and the victory of Socialism.

5. We must with all our strength guarantee in fullest measure the unshakable ideological, political and organisational unity of the Party. This solid unity must emanate from the top downward, from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, with such force as to ensure united

Party organisations to make every effort to broaden and strengthen the Party's ties with the broad masses of the workers, working peasantry and intelligentsia and to strengthen the inviolable worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

Let every Communist perform his work in an exemplary manner and with vigilance, wherever he may be assigned by the Party, the working class, the working people and our people's-democratic state.

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Political Study by State Cadres in China

In the Chinese People's Republic political study by cadres in top-level state bodies is organised in study circles of three grades, primary, middle and higher. By the end of April the higher and middle grades will have completed the Short Course of the History of the CPSU, while those at primary level will have finished studying the textbook on the principles of economic construction. From July the students will have new syllabuses: the most advanced will study political economy in seminars

working people, will by their enthusiastic, persistent and selfless work fulfil the great national tasks set by this decision for the sake of the advancement of our country and the happiness of our people.

and study circles, while the remainder will be given lectures on the first eight chapters of the Short Course of the History of the CPSU.

Tutors and leaders are being trained for seminars and study circles in political economy. Lectures on political economy were heard by 329 workers of the state apparatus in the Marx-Lenin Institute. In addition, short-term seminars on the study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism have been organised for leaders of study circles.

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF VIET NAM

The people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have celebrated the fourth anniversary of the Party of Working People. Speaking at a meeting in Hanoi, in honour of the occasion, Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet, member of the Central Committee, declared:

On March 3, 1951, the day of the official formation of the Party of Working People, President Ho Chi Minh explained the character, aims and tasks of the Party. "The Party of Working People of Viet Nam", said Ho Chi Minh, "is the Party of the working class and working people, consisting of the most steadfast, active and honest workers, peasants and intellectuals, who give all their strength to the cause of serving the homeland and the people.

"The aim of the Party is to achieve the unity, independence, democracy and prosperity of Viet Nam. The Party faces the task of leading the people to victory in the patriotic war and national construction."

Hoang Quoc Viet emphasised that the Party had achieved its remarkable success due to the fact that it studied deeply the invaluable experiences of the working class of all countries, and equipped itself with Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party had applied the Marxist-Leninist theory to the concrete conditions in Viet Nam, and had worked out the correct line, after which the Viet Nam revolution had taken the path of struggle against imperialism and the feudal system, and for the victory of the people's-democratic revolution and the transition to Socialism.

The Party and the Vietnamese people had maintained links of close fraternal contact with the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the working people of the Soviet Union, China, the People's Democracies and the capitalist and colonial countries. In conclusion Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet dwelt on the tasks which now faced the Party and the people.

Party Press Campaign in Algeria

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria has recently adopted a resolution on a three-month campaign for sales of the Party's newspapers *Liberte* and *Algerie Nouvelle* during March, April and May. The resolution states that this campaign is aimed at enabling the Party to popularise Communist ideas in a broad way and increase the influence of the Party press before, during and after the April election campaign.

The Central Committee urges the entire Party membership to find the best means to successfully carry out these directives at the place of work, in residential blocks and localities.

In his article which appeared in *Liberte* Comrade Larbi Bouhali, Secretary of the Party, mentioned that in only two months the newspaper was confiscated 5 times, and pointed out that the "defence of the freedom of the press must become the personal concern of all the people".

He stressed that the organisation of a united struggle of the masses to end repression and for a general amnesty is the urgent immediate task for Communists and other patriots and democrats. They must likewise step up the struggle to frustrate the London and Paris agreements, to satisfy the demands of the masses of the people, and obtain effective implementation of their democratic rights, for these are the chief prerequisites in solving the problem of Algeria.

Noting that the implementation of these tasks cannot be divorced from the struggle to strengthen the Communist Party, increase its ideological influence and ever more widen the circulation of the Party press, Comrade Bouhali wrote: In line with the directives of the C.C. resolution, our activists and organisations at all levels must immediately consider the question of effective participation in the press campaign. This is an honourable task and, however modest our participation, all of us will take part in carrying it through.

leaders, from its policy and deeds. But all this is incompatible with the peaceful aspirations of the German people. That is why we again declare outright: after ratification negotiations will have meaning only if the Paris agreements are annulled. Unification of a peace-loving German Democratic Republic with a militarised and war-like Western Germany is inconceivable. We want peace and security for the whole of Germany, for the whole of Europe; we want no partition of Germany and thereby of Europe. The peace and security of Germany and of Europe are indivisible.

The Paris agreements are the main obstacle to the solution of the German problem, for they make the reunification of Germany by peaceful means impossible for a long time to come.

Against the will of the people, the Bundestag, by its disgraceful vote on the Paris agreements, has placed the issue of the reunification of Germany, this most urgent concern of the German people, in the hands of alien interventionists, of the Anglo-American imperialists. In Bonn they have gambled away the cherished right of the German people to self-determination. What remains to the people in Western Germany is bondage, deprivation of rights and a life of slavery.

From January to October 1954, in Western Germany, 735 million marks were spent on construction work for the occupation authorities. With this sum, 36,750 flats could have been built for the people. Over the same period the occupation authorities were supplied with 1.9 million tons of coal. This is more than the quantity consumed in 1953 (1.7 million tons) by the West German machine-building industry, and by the transport construction, electro-technical and precision instruments and optical industries all taken together.

According to data of official Bonn and American agencies, a minimum of 125,400 million marks will be spent on remilitarisation in a period of three years, an amount which is far greater than that spent by Hitler on armaments (he himself named a figure of 90,000 million). This huge sum however, does not give the full picture, when one considers that the Adenauer Government also means to go in for producing atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons, which will cost many millions. The Bonn militarists want to prepare the people for war; they want to make people believe in the truth of their "liberation" theory, their propaganda about "a people without lebensraum", about the necessity for expansion, for recovery of "lost territories", about the necessity for rearming Western Germany. But the lesson of history is that the rearming of German militarism, in the last resort, means war. Adenauer and the Bonn militarists claim that they want to raise a 500,000-strong army, whereas in actual fact they are planning to form an army of many millions. Just as after 1919 German militarism did not stop at an army of 100,000, so now, too, it will not confine itself to one of 500,000.

Adenauer's plan envisages the call-up of old and trained groups of men born between 1911 and 1927 and 1928-35 drafts for several months' military training. Add to these the 500,000-strong army envisaged for incorporation into NATO forces, 60,000 trained border guards and the 150,000-strong police detachments, all of whom have also undergone military training, and we get

* From Government statement made by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, at a sitting of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on March 2, 1955.

complete separation of the Saar from Germany and that it is the price that has been paid for French agreement to rearming the Federal Republic."

That is our view also. The Saar agreement is in opposition to the principal aspiration of the French and German peoples to ensure peace and the security of their countries, which is only possible through agreement between France and Germany. The Saar belongs to Germany, but France is economically interested in this region. A unified, democratic, peace-loving and sovereign Germany on the one hand, and France on the other, could readily come in a peaceful way to a firm agreement on the matter by recognising the Saar as an inseparable part of Germany and at the same time making allowance for France's security needs and economic interests. The agreement concluded by the Adenauer Government on the Saar cannot be lasting. Inherent in it are the seeds of another attack upon France by a militaristic Western Germany.

We are convinced that the French people likewise will never recognise the Paris agreements and will continue to oppose their ratification by the French Parliament. The imperialist politicians need not cherish the illusion that now everything will go well, that the peoples will reconcile themselves to the restoration of a Wehrmacht in Western Germany as a fait accompli.

At the Moscow Conference in December 1954 the peaceable countries plainly stated that ratification of the Paris agreements would give rise to a totally new situation in Europe, for it would greatly increase the danger of another war. In that situation, the agreement concluded by the peaceable countries at the Moscow Conference would be put into force. In particular, all measures necessary to strengthen and ensure peace and European security would be taken. And first and foremost among those measures, in our opinion, is the preparation and conclusion of a treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance among the eight countries that participated in the Moscow Conference and the establishment of a joint military command over their armed forces.

All this is well known to the Social Democratic deputies in the Bonn Bundestag too. They have themselves discussed the matter on numerous occasions.

They have adduced clear arguments to show the danger of the Paris agreements. Before each reading of the agreements they moved the removal of their debates from the order paper.

I would remind the Social Democratic deputies of the words of Carlo Schmid. "We are determined", he said, "to bar the way at every stage to a policy which we fear may lead the German people not towards reunification but in the opposite direction."

Herr Wehner also found strong and lucid words in which to describe the anti-national and anti-popular character of the Paris agreements. He reproved the coalition deputies for defying the will of the people and warned the Bundestag that it could not ignore the signatures on petitions sent to it, that it could not disregard the strikes, protests and demonstrations of the workers, the sentiments and desires of the population.

Rearming Western Germany is of serious consequence to every single German. In the first place, the question cannot be decided solely by 500 deputies. In the second place, as the elections of September 6, 1953, showed, the Federal Government and the Bundestag can no longer lay claim to any legal right to decide the matter. Even those election results gave a distorted picture of the true will of the West German people.

to those in Bavaria, Hesse etc. in 1954. We would then be faced with the simple and conclusive fact that the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union had lost approximately 30% of their votes. These two parties would then have been obliged to give up 87 of their 245 seats in the Bundestag. As for the whole government coalition, it would in that case have the support of no more than 44% of all the eligible electors. That means that today there are already about 100 Bundestag deputies, representing the coalition parties and supporting Adenauer's policy, who no longer possess valid mandates. The composition of the Bonn Bundestag has long since ceased to reflect the will of the people and the electors in Western Germany. The Social Democratic Party and its leaders know this very well. And they also know the danger that implementation of the Paris agreements brings with it.

They are well informed about the sentiments and hopes of the population. They know that the overwhelming majority of the people reject the Paris agreements. They said so repeatedly during the Bundestag debates. And so we ask the Social Democrat deputies if they think that speeches alone will suffice to do away with German militarism. Let them recall the history and traditions of the German working class, and let them at last summon the people, whose will is outraged by the Bonn Bundestag, to energetic struggle against the Paris agreements.

In an address to the people of the German Democratic Republic, Herr Ollenhauer said that the road to peaceful unification could be followed only "with the assistance and agreement of the German people". The only conclusion Herr Ollenhauer himself can rightly draw from this is that it is high time to call the people to political action. It is time for Germans to come to an understanding as to the road they are to follow, to sit down round one table, discuss and reach agreement.

The Social Democratic deputies know that it is the duty of the German working class to battle for the peaceful solution of problems of vital importance to Germany, and that it is strong enough and has a keen enough sense of responsibility to achieve victory. If, together with all other sections of the progressive and working population, the working class of Western Germany and of the German Democratic Republic show vigorous resistance, if they take action and fight, both the Paris agreements and the Adenauer Government will collapse.

We are of the opinion that the time has now come to thrust aside all that divides us and to centre our attention upon everything that unites us—so that the deep longing of the entire German people for peace and unity may be fulfilled and Germany transformed at last into a united, peaceable, independent and democratic state.

The people do not want remilitarisation; they do not want war. A storm of protest against the Paris agreements is sweeping all Germany. The grave danger of West German remilitarisation, which seriously jeopardises the life of each and every German, and the interests of the German nation, have stirred up powerful forces among the people. Workers and peasants, technicians and engineers, scientists and artists, men, women and youth in both the GDR and Western Germany say "no" to the Paris agreements. The working people of the Saar called a general strike. Young workers at the Bavaria shipyards in Obernburg are urging a strike. Strike decisions have been made by trade union organisations in Nuremberg and Krefeld, by shipyard

which, unlike the Western powers with their policy of threats and blackmail, is following a policy of peace and constructive proposals.

We are in agreement with the German Manifesto adopted in St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt on January 29, 1955. That Manifesto demands that achieving Four-Power agreement on unification be given preference over the organisation of military blocs and the rearming of Western Germany. The Manifesto calls on the German people to make the greatest efforts to ensure that the four occupying powers heed our people's will for unity. It notes that ratification of the Paris agreements heightens tension between East and West, and blocks the way to negotiations among the Four Powers on restoring German unity in conditions of freedom. This German Manifesto, launched from St. Paul's Church, has the backing of the trade unions, broad bourgeois and church circles, Social Democrats and non-party workers, and of diverse public organisations in Western Germany. In many localities and numerous factories, the German Manifesto has been supported by all citizens without exception. The first results of the collection of signatures to it already show that ratification of the Paris agreements by the Bundestag runs counter to the will of the West German people.

This signature campaign in Western Germany has already taken on the character of a popular referendum on the Paris agreements. We nevertheless urge all men and women who adopted the Manifesto in St. Paul's Church not to get bogged down, as happened in 1848, but to show their determination for political action. There is a conflict between the people and Parliament in Western Germany that can only be eliminated by the people. No longer is the Bonn Parliament competent to make decisions on behalf of the German people on the vital question: war or peace.

To ascertain the clearly defined will of the German people on this question which is of such vital importance to all of them, we suggest the holding of a referendum in both the Federal and the German Democratic Republics on the basis of the German Manifesto adopted in St. Paul's Church. Let us ask the German people:

"Are you in favour of the peaceful reunification of Germany through free all-German elections in 1955, and of the 'German Manifesto', or do you support the Paris military agreements?"

We consider that a referendum of this kind would be a practical means of objectively ascertaining the will of the people in both parts of Germany and clearly demonstrating to the world public the German people's desire for peaceful and democratic unification of their country. It would also be of great value to all democratic parties and organisations in both parts of Germany as preparation for free all-German elections in 1955.

The demand of the day—that the Paris military agreements be discarded in order to facilitate Four-Power agreement on the German question, and to open the way to a peaceful and democratic future for a united German people by means of agreement among the Germans themselves—would thereby be met.

The peaceful solution of the German problem is only possible in an atmosphere of relaxation of tension. Only within the framework of a system of collective security in Europe can the security of Germany be assured too. That is why we must put all our efforts into getting the Paris agreements annulled, whatever the circumstances. That is why all peace-loving Germans must now reach agreement and unite to put an end to these fatal agreements. This is the task of the hour!

Against Police Terror, in Defence of U.S. Communist Leaders

Five Communist Party leaders convicted on trumped-up charges in 1949 were released on March 1 from Federal penitentiaries; they are Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, John Gates, Editor of the *Daily Worker*, and members of the National Committee John Williamson, Jacob Stachel and Carl Winter. A sixth Communist Party leader, Benjamin Davis, also completed his term but must serve an additional sixty days on an absurd charge of "contempt of court". National Committee member Irving Potash who was also imprisoned under the fascist Smith Act, was freed earlier. Two other leaders Gus Hall and Robert Thompson remain in jail having been given additional terms for failing to present themselves for sentencing.

The whole world followed with keen attention and admiration the heroic struggle of these best sons of the American people, their courageous behaviour in court and in prison. The warm sympathy of millions of Communists and progressives all over the world encouraged and inspired the U.S. Communist leaders, who relentlessly exposed the intrigues of reaction and once more convincingly showed that the great ideas for which the American Communists are fighting cannot be chained with police handcuffs or thrown into jail. The progressive people of the world warmly and cordially greet the militant, tested leaders of the American Communists, ardent fighters against war and reaction, for democratic rights and liberties.

At the same time every progressive-minded person cannot but be alarmed and indignant at the intrigues of the American gaolers who intend to embark anew on legal persecution of the American Communist leaders.

Long before the release of the Communist leaders the press wrote that at the prison gates the police would be waiting for them... with writs for their arrest. Only a broad campaign of protest prevented the police from sending Irving Potash back to jail. However, he was handed a deportation order and had to leave for the Polish People's Republic. Irving Potash declared to press representatives that the order violated elementary civil rights—the Bill of Rights which he had helped to defend for all Americans by his trade union activities. Fundamental liberties, he said, are now being brutally and systematically destroyed.

It is clear from press reports that the Communist Party leaders face fresh persecution by the U.S. Government—this time on the charge of membership of the Communist Party. Under this indictment they can be imprisoned for 10 years. The newspapers report that within a few days Eugene Dennis and John Gates will be summoned to appear before the New York court. The same danger hangs over John Williamson, Jacob Stachel and Carl Winter. On top of this, Williamson and Stachel face deportation proceedings.

Blinded with hatred of everything that is progressive and advanced, the American reactionaries stop at nothing. They are ready to cast behind prison walls and the barbed wire of concentration camps all those who bar the way to an atomic war and world domination. Now all the world knows that American justice frames up its "cases" against Communists and other progressive people with the help of the vilest falsehoods, using as "witnesses" police spies, paid liars and professional informers. The recent admissions of Matusow have convincingly revealed what foul methods—comparable only with those of the Hitlerite gestapo—the American organs of justice resort to in their efforts to inflict punishment on the best sons and daughters of the American people. Trampling on all elementary ideas of law and justice, the American courts now intend to jail under the membership clause people who have already been convicted and served their sentence as leaders of the U.S. Communist Party. What an example this is of the cynicism and hypocrisy of American reactionaries who talk so much about "freedom of the individual" and "justice" in the United States.

World public opinion is profoundly indignant at this orgy of American reaction, at this new threat facing the American Communist leaders. Progressive people in all countries share Irving Potash's confidence that the militant traditions of the American working class will again be revived and will put an end to war hysteria, fear, deportations, jailing and persecution of men and women for their convictions. All progressive people in the U.S.A. will raise their voices in protest against the arbitrary measures of reaction. Energetic protests from the public in all countries can and must compel the reactionaries to stop the persecution of the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party.

Concerning the Threat of Atomic War

A letter from Maurice Thorez to Editor of *Nouvelles de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest*

Dear Comrade,

I have read with great pleasure the special issue of your paper devoted to the struggle against the London and Paris agreements and the threat of atomic war. I congratulate the staff of the paper—Editorial Board and administration—on their praiseworthy effort.

I can only wish for the widest possible circulation of this special issue, which will help to advance the mass struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany and against war. Besides the widespread circulation...

The atomic danger is a serious, real and very present menace, which amply justifies the protests and the struggle of the peoples against such a frightful eventuality. But exaggerations can only bring grist to the mill of the U.S. imperialists, who would like to be able to prepare atomic war with impunity, while spreading among the masses false ideas such as: "You can't do a thing! What's the good of fighting it? It is the end of the world!" Or this one: "The atomic peril is such that they won't dare drop their..."

For the Continued Advance of Agriculture in the Rumanian People's Republic

In building Socialism in our country the Rumanian Workers' Party gives priority to heavy industry. Under people's rule all existing industries have been powerfully developed and new ones created, in the first place the machine-building industry, which is a splendid achievement that the Rumanian people can be proud of. The fact that the rate of development of heavy industry was somewhat slowed down in 1954 is unquestionably a temporary thing which arose from the necessity of enabling the lagging branches of national economy to catch up with the rest. The very foundation of the national economy, the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, the source of the prosperity of the working people, has been and still is heavy industry with machine-building as its core, as our Party decisions have always indicated. The Party and the Government will continue to pursue this firm policy, unwaveringly guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles of building a socialist economy and steadily developing heavy industry. It is only on the basis of a powerful heavy industry that all branches of the national economy can be equipped with modern machinery and the continued advance of light and food industries and agriculture assured.

On the eve of the spring and summer field work the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic called a conference of leading workers in agriculture.

The purpose of the conference was to enable a number of practical measures to be worked out collectively, on the basis of the positive experience gained in organising and carrying through agricultural work in 1953 and 1954, for ensuring the success of work in agriculture this year, higher yields and a considerable increase in gross output of agricultural produce and grain for the market.

The basis for harvesting bumper yields of all crops this year was to a large degree laid last autumn when over 6 million hectares of land were ploughed; 3.4 million hectares were sown to winter crops, including 3.2 million hectares to wheat and rye—the biggest area that has ever been sown in our country to these valuable crops. In 1954 the area under winter crops was approximately 300,000 hectares greater than the previous year. The winter sowing was completed in about four weeks and better agrotechnical methods were used. Winter crops sown over an area of 3,400,000 hectares have come up well.

Last autumn more than 2.5 million hectares of land were ploughed for spring crops. This provided favourable conditions for carrying out spring field work in a shorter period and for obtaining heavy yields this year.

With a view to fulfilling the decision of the enlarged Central Committee meeting held in August 1953, the Party and the Government took a number of economic, technical and organisational measures for increasing agricultural production and further improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population and raw materials to the light and food industries.

In the autumn of 1953 capital investments in agriculture were increased and in 1954 the volume of such investments exceeded 1,800 million lei. In 1953 and 1954...

Our country has been growing maize from the beginning of the XVIIIth century. This crop has spread rapidly: 978,800 hectares were under maize in the period 1862-1866; 1,990,600 hectares in 1896-1900; 2,101,200 hectares in 1901-1915; 2,526,000 in 1920; 3,430,800 in 1930 and 3,875,500 in 1940.

The acreage under maize constituted about 40% of the whole arable land. In the production of maize Rumania occupied the first place in Europe and the third place in the world.

This is not accidental. Climate and soil in our country are favourable for maize growing.

In the course of more than two centuries maize has been the basic crop and our peasants have tremendous experience of maize growing, experience which is passed on from father to son.

Unfortunately, scientific workers and agronomists have not made an adequate study of this rich experience accumulated by our peasantry in the course of many years and have not begun to generalise it and elaborate new agrotechnical methods and rules which could be applied to the concrete conditions of different regions of the country.

Despite the immense significance of maize in our national economy, the Ministry of Agriculture and planning bodies, influenced by a whole number of erroneous theories of certain specialists, which are detrimental to the national economy and the interests of working peasants, began to cut down the area sown to maize.

As a result the acreage under maize grew less each year; in 1953 it was nearly 800,000 hectares less than in 1948.

Taking a cumulative total, nearly 3,500,000 hectares less were sown to maize over the period 1948 to 1953.

If this area had been sown to maize and only 1,000 kgs. harvested per hectare, 7,000,000 pigs could have been raised and over 700,000 tons of meat and fats produced. But if the average yields had totalled 2,000 kgs. per hectare—the figure reached by many collective farms and tens of thousands of working peasants—the yields would have been sufficient for 14,000,000 pigs, which means about 1,500,000 tons of meat and fats.

It is true this area was sown to industrial crops, vegetables and so on; but the economic result would have been much better if most of this area had been sown to maize.

The reduction of the acreage under maize also harmed animal husbandry; as a result, the population received not only less grain but less meat, milk, cheese, eggs, poultry and other animal husbandry products as well during these years.

If we extend the area sown to maize and do all we can to raise yields, our gross output of maize and marketable produce can be sufficient to cover home requirements, including those of animal husbandry, and export...

★
Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej
Chairman of Council of Ministers
of Rumanian People's Republic,
Member, Political Bureau,
Central Committee,
Rumanian Workers' Party

★ ★

In spring it was harrowed and then worked over with a cultivator shortly before sowing.

The square-cluster method was applied over an area of 264 hectares of land sown to maize, while 162

hectares were sown by seeders in the routine way. It should be added that the 264 hectares were also manured in the autumn.

Of the 264 hectares on which the square-cluster method was used, 7 hectares were sown with first year hybrid seeds.

Directly the maize shoots came up, the crusted-over soil was harrowed, and when two or three leaves appeared on the plant the first earthing-up and thinning-out took place. During the thinning-out operations on land sown to maize by the square-cluster method, one shoot per cluster was left over an area of 227 hectares and two shoots over an area of 30 hectares.

It is very important to note that where the square-cluster methods had been used, earthing-up was an easy matter; one of the earthing-up operations was done by hand and three were carried out by horse-drawn cultivators, lengthwise and crosswise. Where the maize had been sown in even rows it was only with difficulty that one earthing-up operation was done by hand and two by cultivators.

What results did the application of various agrotechnical methods give?

An area sown in straight rows by machines, by the usual method, gave an average grain yield of 2,000 kgs. per hectare; the average yield from an area sown by the square-cluster method and on which one shoot per cluster had been left was 3,375 kgs. per hectare; where there were two shoots to the cluster some 460 kgs. more per hectare were gathered, in all an average of 3,835 kgs. of grain per hectare. The section sown to hybrid seeds by the square-cluster method gave a per hectare grain yield of 5,400 kgs.

The example of this collective farm graphically demonstrates the advantages of large-scale, socialist farming, where the work is done by machinery and all the possibilities obtain for applying the best agrotechnical methods. This example shows how great are the possibilities in our country for increasing maize yields.

Throughout the countryside the working peasants who have kept to agrotechnical rules have obtained high yields of maize and other crops.

This spring, by skilfully applying agrotechnical methods and those used by experts in raising bumper harvests, workers in agriculture with the backing of the people's democratic state, will sow 3,300,000 hectares to maize.

This task is fully in line with the personal interests of every working peasant, the interests of developing the national economy and steadily improving the living conditions of the working people in town and country.

In the struggle to develop agriculture...

Great attention should also be given to restoring and developing wine-growing and horticulture.

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To get ten million tons of wheat and maize, to obtain an average yield of not less than 2,000 kgs. of maize grain per hectare, depends, mainly, upon the ability of Party and state organs to direct the work concretely, with a feeling of responsibility and a knowledge of local conditions. To obtain this harvest depends primarily on how ably Party and state bodies develop large-scale day-by-day political and organisational activity among workers on the land, and on the extent to which they are able to rally all forces in agriculture for the successful fulfilment of all farming work on time.

It must be mentioned that the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has not yet rid itself of bureaucratic methods of working. Last year, when work on the land was in full swing, this Ministry required the regional agricultural boards to supply it with certain data. Thousands of kilograms of paper were used up and for over three weeks all the agronomists were involved in compiling reports. It must be understood once and for all, and in the first place by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, that agronomists are not statisticians, they have to direct and organise agricultural production and it is their job to give advice and instructions to the working peasants and help them to apply advanced agrotechnical methods in order to obtain high yields.

Proper utilisation of cadres must begin with their rational allocation: as few specialists as possible in the Ministry and regional agricultural boards and as many as possible on the spot where they can give the working peasants concrete advice on the application of agrotechnical methods, essential for the continued development of agricultural production.

It is the task of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and of the agricultural bodies to see to it that the experiences and advanced methods of front-rank workers become known and are used by every collective farm, every agricultural association, agricultural producer co-operative and by all the individual working farmers.

It is essential that all the good results of laboratory research and experimental fields should be widely introduced and disseminated throughout the whole of agriculture. Machine and tractor stations play a big part in raising the technical level of farming and in the socialist transformation of agriculture. Workers in the sphere of technical aid from them this year in the fight for bumper yields.

The positive results obtained in agriculture since the August 1953 meeting of the C.C. of the Rumanian Workers' Party, in particular, during the autumn agricultural campaign last year, are explained by Party organisations and organisational activity of inspiring workers which succeeded in them in the struggle for translating Party policy into reality in order to develop the national economy and improve the living and cultural level of the working people.

This confirms the fact that the working people...

Concerning the Threat of Atomic War

A letter from Maurice Thorez to Editor of *Nouvelles de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest*

Dear Comrade,

I have read with great pleasure the special issue of your paper devoted to the struggle against the London and Paris agreements and the threat of atomic war. I congratulate the staff of the paper—Editorial Board and administration—on their praiseworthy effort.

I can only wish for the widest possible circulation of this special issue, which will help to advance the mass struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany and against war. Besides, its widespread circulation will be of benefit to the paper financially.

But I would like to make one remark. Generally speaking, all the questions dealt with are handled correctly, including the necessary connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for economic demands of the working people, as well as the question of approaches to Socialist workers with a view to organising the united front. On one point, however, I am unable to agree: namely, as regards the threat of atomic war, where exaggerations are indulged in. (The paper has no monopoly on this, and even less does it bear the initial responsibility for it).

On page 2 there appears a statement by an American scientist under the heading: "This could blow up our old continent". On page 4 the possibility is discussed of "annihilating in a few hours all living beings, even in the most remote corners of France". But this apocalyptic picture is attenuated somewhat in the next sentence, which speaks only of "an immense territory burnt out for many years".

British People Oppose H-Bomb Manufacture and German Rearmament

Churchill's war-like speech on H-bomb strategy has aroused indignation among wide sections of the people in Britain.

At a conference in London organised jointly by the Education Committee of the London Co-operative Society and the Association of Scientific Workers over 1,000 delegates from many parts of Britain, representing Co-operative Societies, local Labour Parties, trades councils and trade union branches, heard Professor C. F. Powell of Bristol University speak on "The H-Bomb and You". He urged the delegates to do everything within their power to build a public opinion which would "firmly and untiringly insist that international agreement can be brought about... that it must be achieved in a form which respects the freedom and independence of all peoples".

At a 2,500-strong meeting against German rearmament Aneurin Bevan, Labour M. P., said it was "criminal folly" to rearm

the revival and will put an end to war hysteria, fear, deportations, jailing and persecution of men and women for their convictions. All progressive people in the U.S.A. will raise their voices in protest against the arbitrary measures of reaction. Energetic protests from the public in all countries can and must compel the reactionaries to stop the persecution of the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party.

The atomic danger is a serious, real and very present menace, which amply justifies the protests and the struggle of the peoples against such a frightful eventuality. But exaggerations can only bring grist to the mill of the U.S. imperialists, who would like to be able to prepare atomic war with impunity, while spreading among the masses false ideas such as: "You can't do a thing! What's the good of fighting it? It is the end of the world!" Or this one: "The atomic peril is such that they won't dare drop their bombs: they won't want to commit suicide."

The fact that these arguments contradict each other matters little to the warmongers. For them, the main thing is to discourage, disarm and demobilise the masses of the people, to divert them from taking the necessary action to preserve peace.

To those who talk about "the wiping out of civilisation" Comrade Molotov replied in his latest speech (which is recommended reading for our Party activists): "It is not 'world civilisation' that will perish, no matter how much it suffers from fresh aggression; what will perish is the decayed social system with its blood-soaked imperialist foundation, a system whose day is passing, a system which is condemned for its aggressiveness and rejected because of its exploitation of the working masses and oppressed peoples."

Fully confident that the comrades on *Nouvelles* will agree with these remarks, I ask you, dear Bordage, to assure them of my most fraternal good wishes.

With cordial greetings,

Maurice THOREZ
(*L'Humanité*, March 3, 1955)

the very people Britain had been fighting. He declared that neither the Conservative nor the Labour Party represented more than a small fraction of Britain's population in their support for rearming Germany.

On March 5 and 6 in all major towns and cities, hundreds of poster parades protesting against German rearmament and demanding a ban on the H-bomb took place on the call of the British Peace Committee.

As a prelude to these National Poster Day parades thousands in the West End of London saw a parade carrying posters saying: "Arming Germany means H-bombs on Britain", "The West German Labour Party and trade unionists appeal to us—Don't arm the Nazis!"

Telegrams signed by many working people in factories have been sent to both Churchill and Attlee, calling for a ban on all nuclear weapons, for peaceful coexistence and Four-Power talks.

ing 3.2 million hectares to wheat and rye—the biggest area that has ever been sown in our country to these valuable crops. In 1954 the area under winter crops was approximately 300,000 hectares greater than the previous year. The winter sowing was completed in about four weeks and better agrotechnical methods were used. Winter crops sown over an area of 3,400,000 hectares have come up well.

Last autumn more than 2.5 million hectares of land were ploughed for spring crops. This provided favourable conditions for carrying out spring field work in a shorter period and for obtaining heavy yields this year.

With a view to fulfilling the decision of the enlarged Central Committee meeting held in August 1953, the Party and the Government took a number of economic, technical and organisational measures for increasing agricultural production and further improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population and raw materials to the light and food industries.

In the autumn of 1953 capital investments in agriculture were increased and in 1954 the volume of such investments exceeded 1,800 million lei. In 1953 and 1954 agriculture was supplied with 5,820 tractors, 1,750 grain threshers, 615 self-propelled combines, 2,777 reaper-binders and other machines and implements.

This year agriculture will receive 2,540 tractors, 4,370 tractor-drawn ploughs, 1,585 grain seeders, 1,600 reaper-binders, 1,200 threshers and other machines and implements.

A great deal of attention is being given to the production of machines and implements needed by the working peasants. This year it is planned to turn out 41,000 animal-drawn ploughs, 24,400 cultivators, 30,000 peg-tooth harrows and 5,700 seeders.

The people's-democratic state grants credits to working peasants on advantageous terms. During the current year, the amount granted in credits to working peasants will be four times as much as last year. An agricultural bank has been established to make it easier for collective farms, agricultural associations and individual working peasants to obtain credits.

The increase of capital investments in agriculture, the provision of greater numbers of tractors, machines and implements and the help given to working peasants enabled us to make progress in agriculture last year and obtain 9 million tons of grain. The equipment of our agriculture with modern tractors and machinery has been possible because of the fact that the people's-democratic power devoted great attention to heavy industry, to the agricultural machinery industry.

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To increase grain production is a most important task in the development of agriculture. The solution of the grain problem is the main condition for the advance of all other branches of agriculture and the further improvement of food supplies to the population. More wheat and maize mean more foodstuffs for people; more maize, barley and oats mean more cattle fodder, greater opportunities for raising pigs and poultry, more meat, milk, fats, eggs, leather, wool and so on.

Maize occupies a prominent place in our agriculture. There are few crops which give the producer so great a return for his labour as maize. It can be used as food for the population, as fodder for rearing and fattening livestock and as an important raw material in the production of starch, glucose, alcohol and so on.

If this area had been sown to maize and only 1,000 kgs. harvested per hectare, 7,000,000 pigs could have been raised and over 700,000 tons of meat and fats produced. But if the average yields had totalled 2,000 kgs. per hectare—the figure reached by many collective farms and tens of thousands of working peasants—the yields would have been sufficient for 14,000,000 pigs, which means about 1,500,000 tons of meat and fats.

It is true this area was sown to industrial crops, vegetables and so on; but the economic result would have been much better if most of this area had been sown to maize.

The reduction of the acreage under maize also harmed animal husbandry; as a result, the population received not only less grain but less meat, milk, cheese, eggs, poultry and other animal husbandry products as well during these years.

If we extend the area sown to maize and do all we can to raise yields, our gross output of maize and marketable produce can be sufficient to cover home requirements, including those of animal husbandry, and export needs.

Last spring the Party and the Government adopted measures for increasing the area under maize. Last year 500,000 more hectares were sown to maize than in 1953.

As a result of the efforts of workers in agriculture, who were able to make use of the favourable natural conditions, and of the material and technical aid given by the state, last year's gross output of maize exceeded 6,000,000 tons, which means that the average maize yield per hectare was 2 tons. In many regions and districts average yields per hectare were considerably better. For example, in the Bucharest Region the average yield was 2.9 tons per hectare, in the Cluj Region 2.8 tons and in the Oradea Region 2.85 tons.

As a result of expanding agricultural production, above all maize, the incomes of working peasants were higher than in the past.

This year workers in agriculture are faced with the exceptionally important task of harvesting heavy yields of all crops and, in particular, of obtaining 10 million tons of wheat and maize by producing an average of not less than 2 tons of maize per hectare.

Can we obtain such yields this year? We can surely answer that such yields are quite possible under normal weather conditions.

This is obvious from the remarkable results achieved in 1953 and particularly in 1954 by many thousands of experts in raising bumper yields—members of collective farms, and agricultural associations, individual working peasants, workers of a number of state farms—and also by scientific workers in the experimental fields of scientific research stations.

In the agricultural association of Ulești village (Urziceni District) 6.3 tons of maize per hectare were harvested over an area of 18 hectares.

The example of the Victoria collective farm, Lenauheim village, Sinnicolaul Mare District, is instructive in this respect. Last year this collective farm sowed an area of 426 hectares to maize but not all this area was sown and cultivated in the same way; different methods were used in various fields, agrotechnical rules were carried out in different ways and different fields gave varying results.

Last autumn deep-ploughing was carried out over the whole area of 426 hectares.

5,400 kgs.

The example of this collective farm graphically demonstrates the advantages of large-scale, socialist farming, where the work is done by machinery and all the possibilities obtain for applying the best agrotechnical methods. This example shows how great are the possibilities in our country for increasing maize yields.

Throughout the countryside the working peasants who have kept to agrotechnical rules have obtained high yields of maize and other crops.

This spring, by skilfully applying agrotechnical methods and those used by experts in raising bumper harvests, workers in agriculture with the backing of the people's-democratic state, will sow 3,300,000 hectares to maize.

This task is fully in line with the personal interests of every working peasant, the interests of developing the national economy and steadily improving the living conditions of the working people in town and country.

In the struggle to develop agriculture and solve the grain problem, exceptional importance is attached to increasing the production of wheat—that most valuable of crops.

In spite of the fact that the soil and climate in our country are quite favourable for growing winter wheat, the average yield per hectare, nevertheless, continues to remain at a low level, year in and year out, a level quite out of keeping with our possibilities.

The results obtained by many of the collective farms and agricultural associations, by many of the individual working peasants prove that the differential application of agrotechnical methods produces high wheat yields.

The collective farm in Urișor village, for instance, last year gathered in a big harvest averaging 1,920 kgs. per hectare over an area of 32 hectares sown to winter wheat. On 17 hectares machine-sown by the usual row-method there was a yield of 1,740 kgs. per hectare, while that obtained from 15 hectares sown by the criss-cross method was 2,100 kgs. per hectare.

Thanks to the fact that the autumn sowing was done in a shorter time and that the soil had adequate reserves of moisture, when winter came the shoots were sturdy and coming up nicely. We have every reason to believe that we shall reap a fine wheat harvest this year and that all the conditions have been created for obtaining an average of more than 1,400 kgs. of wheat per hectare.

The harvest must be given a great deal of attention. We all know how much wheat is lost every year while harvesting, simply because the wheat is not gathered in at the proper time.

In order to improve food supplies to people in town and countryside and provide light and food industries with the raw material they need, we must, side by side with the efforts for bumper grain yields, particularly of wheat and maize, pay special attention to increasing the output of potatoes, sugar-beet and sunflower seeds.

More attention, too, must be paid to raising other agricultural crops as, for instance, winter barley, oats, rice, cotton, flax and hemp. Due care must be given to growing vegetables. Big supply bases to provide the population with vegetables must be set up around every town and every workers' settlement.

tion, agricultural... by all the individual working farmers. It is essential that all the good results of laboratory research and experimental fields should be widely introduced and disseminated throughout the whole of agriculture. Machine and tractor stations play a big part in raising the technical level of farming and in the socialist transformation of the countryside. Workers in the sphere of agriculture expect great organisational and technical aid from them this year in the fight for bumper yields.

The positive results obtained in agriculture since the August 1953 meeting of the C.C. of the Rumanian Workers' Party, in particular, during the autumn agricultural campaign last year, are explained by the political and organisational activity of Party organisations which succeeded in inspiring workers on the land, mobilising them in the struggle for translating Party policy into reality in order to develop the national economy and improve the material and cultural level of the working people.

This confirms the fact that Party branches have improved their political work among the masses, and have begun to tackle more thoroughly questions of agricultural production; this is the guarantee that the assignments for substantially increasing agricultural output this year will be fulfilled.

Particular attention must be given to the organisation and development of wide-scale socialist emulation on state farms, MTS, collective farms and agricultural associations as well as patriotic emulation between villages and working individual peasants for good work, done at the proper time, and an increase in crop yields per hectare.

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The Rumanian Workers' Party has always considered that only a socialist reorganisation of agriculture can lead to a radical solution of the problem of advancing agricultural production and providing an abundance of farm produce. For this reason the Party has always given the greatest attention to the question of strengthening the existing collective farms organisationally and economically, and to the further development of the co-operative movement in the countryside on the basis of strict observance of the Leninist voluntary principle.

At the same time the Party and the Government are helping the individual working peasants to expand output of agricultural production.

All this serves to consolidate the alliance of the working class and working peasantry—the basis of the people's-democratic system.

The enthusiasm with which the working class, the working peasants and the intellectuals responded to the programme of measures for further developing agriculture and substantially increasing agricultural production is a fresh proof that the policy of the Party and Government meets with the wholehearted support of the people.

The people have complete confidence in their beloved Workers' Party, the inspirer, leading and guiding force of socialist construction in our country.

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic are fully convinced that the working people of our country will rally still more closely around the Party and the Government, and will exert every effort for the continued development of the national economy, the strengthening of our people's-democratic state and for the prosperity of their homeland.

Czechoslovak People on Guard for Peace

The working people of Czechoslovakia warmly approved the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council to the Peoples of the World. They are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility for the common cause of preserving peace. An enlarged meeting of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee was held on February 10, at which a call was made for the collection of signatures to the Appeal. It rallies the Czechoslovak people in struggle against the atomic warmongers, for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and emphasises the indissoluble link between the struggle for the peaceful solution of the German question and that against the atomic war danger. It expresses the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people engaged in peaceful constructive labour.

Jan Mukarovsky

Prorector of Prague University,
Member of Bureau, World Peace Council

The call was supported by the Central Committee of the National Front and the Central Trade Union Council. Following organisational and preparatory work, the signature campaign was launched on February 28 and in one week 2,194,464 signatures were collected.

The overwhelming majority of the population of Czechoslovakia signed the Stockholm Appeal and, subsequently, the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact. We can safely assume that, far from being inferior to the two previous campaigns, the present signature campaign will surpass them as regards the number of signatures collected.

This campaign, however, is far from being confined to the number of signatures collected. It is important that each person should gain a complete and all-round understanding of its significance, realise the full importance of the struggle against preparations for an atomic war and understand his duties in the fight to preserve world peace. That is why, as distinct from the previous two campaigns, signatures are not now collected on common sheets but on individual bulletins bearing the full text of the Appeal. They also carry the following words: "I fully support the Appeal of the World Peace Council against preparations for atomic war. In token of my agreement and great love for my homeland and of my readiness to do everything I can for her further prosperity and for a life of peace and security, I subscribe my signature."

Approaching each person individually, the peace supporters explain that only the really conscious and active participation in the

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campaign of all honest people throughout the world can prevent preparations for an atomic war, that only in this way can we succeed in getting all types of weapons of mass annihilation destroyed.

The signature campaign was preceded by district peace conferences, hundreds of talks in factories and numerous meetings of working people organised by National Front and national committees. Scientific knowledge on nuclear energy and its use for peaceful purposes was popularised at the same time. This work was carried out by the Czechoslovak Society for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge; and many radio and TV broadcasts were also devoted to the question. All this activity met with great success. Some two thousand people, for instance, were present at a lecture given in Hradec Králové on the use of atomic power for peaceful purposes.

Signatures are being collected in factories and offices, in producer co-operatives, laboratories and educational institutions, where the working people can better appreciate the interdependence between their constructive labour and the fight for peace and the banning of weapons of mass annihilation. Young people over 14 years of age are signing the bulletins; in doing so they realise already that they are fighting for their future. National Front agitators, usually in pairs, call at every flat so that not a single person should be deprived of the opportunity to take part in the struggle against atomic weapons.

It is proposed to complete the signature campaign by March 27. The campaign for the further development of the struggle for peace will not end then, however, because the people of Czechoslovakia are convinced from their own historical experiences that the fight against such enemies as atom warmongers must not be relaxed for a moment. The campaign against preparations for an atomic war will continue, particularly in conjunction with the Third Congress of the Czechoslovak Peace Supporters which is due to take place in Prague on April 17.

The working people in Czechoslovakia are more and more conscious that they can and must influence the course of international events by their own contribution, assisting the struggle against the danger of atomic war.

The Czechoslovak people are firmly determined to fulfil to the end their duty in the struggle against the enemies of peace and mankind.

Political and Organisational Problems of the Campaign Against Atomic War Preparations

Of outstanding significance is the Appeal to the Peoples of the World, adopted at the enlarged meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in Vienna, calling for the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons in all countries and immediate cessation of their manufacture. The Bureau meeting correctly emphasised the necessity of starting a campaign and mass actions in support of the Appeal in all countries, on a scale never before seen, for only thus can the peoples remove the danger hanging over them.

On February 3, in Rome, an enlarged meeting of the National Peace Committee was held, attended by the most prominent representatives of the various parties, mass organisations and public and cultural trends affiliated to the peace movement. It discussed and approved the Vienna Appeal and called upon all the peace forces in Italy to join in this broad national and world-wide campaign.

What, in a country like Italy where nearly 17 million signatures each were collected for the Stockholm Appeal and the World Peace Council's Appeal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace, does the conducting of an even broader campaign mean? What political and organisational conditions are required to ensure its success? What can and must our Party organisations and all Communists do to contribute to its success?

Valuable pointers have been given us at the enlarged meeting of the National Peace Committee and in its Orientation and Exchange of Experience Bulletin, which in its first issue outlines the political, propaganda and organisational methods to be followed in the campaign. These documents are studied with care and utilised by every activist so as to ensure the success of the signature campaign. We should refer to them whenever there is a need to define the direction of our activities, the course of the campaign and measures to be taken independently by individual organisations; and whenever we have the need to define the connection between this campaign and our struggle against the monopolies, for freedom, national independence and the regeneration of the country.

Less than ever under present conditions should our campaign be restricted to the mechanical collection of signatures, as would be the case were it not accompanied by real mass political discussions, by numerous measures uniting all the peace forces in our country and mobilising them to carry on truly effective mass activity. However, in carrying on such activity, it should not be forgotten that collecting signatures is more than a practical measure; it is also a basic method, the efficacy of which we have already tested in our country. Let us dwell in more detail upon the political and organisational prerequisites for a successful signature campaign as they are presented in the National Peace Committee Bulletin.

In view of past experience, it was entirely correct for the National Peace Committee to give precise instructions on applying the territorial principle in signature collection. This means that the territory of each city, each urban district and each village must be divided into sections, with the collection of signatures in each of them

for quick results to begin with, but later, when the more public-spirited section of the population had already signed, the fact that we had omitted to assign groups of canvassers to definite localities would make it impossible for us to determine in what direction we should work in order to cover all those who had not yet signed. And meanwhile other canvassers would be approaching people who had already signed, with rather unhappy consequences both from the organisational and the political point of view.

In view of all this, the territorial principle of canvassing is on the whole an absolute necessity, the basic condition for a successful campaign, inasmuch as on this depends just how many citizens the peace supporters will be able to draw into the campaign. Nor is that all. From the point of view of organising the canvassing, the obligation undertaken by the peace supporters, to give unparalleled scope to this campaign entails other, no less important, tasks. For the results of the previous signature campaigns to be bettered to a considerable extent those sections of the population which either were not reached in those campaigns or when reached refused to sign at that time, have now to be covered. That means that in this campaign the active peace fighters must organise their work in such a way as to embrace the politically more passive sections of the population that were not reached previously. It also means that now, even more so than before, the collection of signatures, especially among people who refused to sign either the Stockholm Appeal or the Appeal for a Pact of Peace, must not be carried out mechanically. The canvassers must spend more time talking with and persuading those who refuse to sign the Vienna Appeal.

The greater depth of awareness of the danger of atomic war among all sections of the population creates and will undoubtedly create during the campaign favourable conditions politically necessary for conducting explanatory work. But it is equally certain that if we are to get results from our work and achieve the goal we have set ourselves, we must base ourselves in this broad campaign on the efforts of an unprecedented number of canvassers—both men and women—of the most varied views. Indeed, it is not solely a matter of covering the politically less active sections of the population, and thus collecting a somewhat larger number of signatures. Nor is it a matter of discussing things more. It is necessary to convert the signature campaign into a means of conducting mass political discussions of questions relating to peace. Obviously, the ease and effectiveness with which signatures to the Vienna Appeal will be collected among those sections of the population which for political reasons refused to have anything to do with the previous campaigns, will be in direct proportion to the extent to which the peace movement succeeds in showing them its open and very broad political character; and to the extent to which canvassers are able to approach them, not as members of

Emilio Sereni

Member of Leadership,
Italian Communist Party

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means that he must be able to do more than muster the maximum number of Communists in the local or provincial peace committee as canvassers; above all, it means that he has to draw into this work the greatest possible number of Socialist comrades, of non-party people and members of other parties, whether or not they belong to any of the various mass organisations.

It is only in this way that the peace movement can impress all citizens as a movement of the broadest political scope and achieve the unprecedented success in the signature campaign which the urgency of the Vienna Appeal calls for. Nor should we forget that the more numerous and more politically representative are the canvassers mobilised by the local peace committees, and the more we have a situation where each house, each group of houses or each village is canvassed by peace supporters living in that house or group of houses etc., the easier will it be to prevent attempts at provocation and unlawful repression. Every effort must therefore be made to enlist more canvassers in general, and more of every political hue and shade in particular.

That is why, if this campaign is to succeed as never before, one of the decisive political and organisational conditions for it is the mobilising of an unprecedented number of men and women canvassers of the most diverse political opinions. But who is to ensure this very broad mobilisation of the peace forces, in which the Communists will contribute all their ability and energy?

From the purely organisational and technical point of view, it is already obvious that if canvassers are to be mobilised and the collection of signatures organised on the territorial principle, there must be special bodies operating on a provincial, communal or local scale, at places of work or study, and also on a national scale, to co-ordinate the collection of signatures, allocate the canvassing areas among groups of canvassers, organise and co-ordinate the political and propaganda activities necessary for the success of the campaign. Whether on a national scale or on a provincial, communal or local basis, or at each place of work or study, the only organisations that can serve this purpose are the peace committees, which from the outset have ensured the participation of prominent representatives of all parties, mass organisations and public and cultural trends in the nation-wide campaign.

Each Communist section and branch could take the initiative in helping to organise a peace committee where none exists as yet, in getting one organised wherever there happen to be representatives of women's, youth, trade union, cultural, veterans' or other organisations which on a national or local scale are already affiliated to the peace movement. In each commune one Socialist, one Communist and one member of a women's democratic organisation, for instance, might meet together and form the nucleus of a local peace committee. When they establish

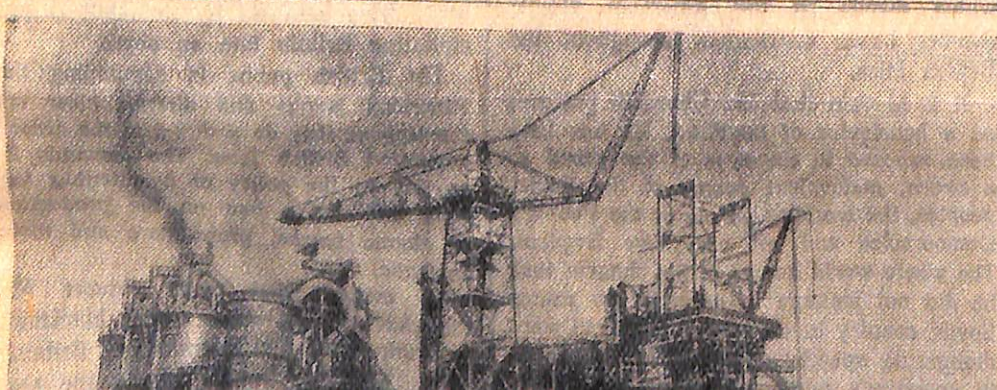
him to sign the Vienna Appeal but also of drawing him into the work of collecting signatures. The same holds for, say, the local pharmacist or doctor. Probably they will not always agree right away to join the local peace committee, but in helping with the canvassing they will come to feel the need of co-ordinating their activity with that of other canvassers; and they will be able to see for themselves that the peace committee is not at the service of any one party, or any one political trend, but serves only the interest of peace.

We know from the experience of previous campaigns that under these conditions mistrust and sectarian prejudices, whether on the one side or the other, disappear in the course of joint work; and that the political and social broadening of the peace committee becomes a practical possibility—one that in this campaign can and must be of outstanding importance.

To mobilise an unprecedented number of men and women of the most diverse political views as canvassers it is today more than ever necessary to set up or re-establish a peace committee in each town, each urban district, each village and place of work or study to co-ordinate the collection of signatures and other measures necessary to ensure the success of this campaign and to give it the very broad character which is the essence of the peace movement.

This does not mean that one must wait for some independent public figure to agree to join before setting up a peace committee. Representatives of parties and organisations which are already affiliated to the peace movement on a national scale, unquestionably, themselves constitute a nucleus and they should set to work. In the course of the work, as I have said, they will create the necessary conditions for giving it a broader character, socially and politically. This means, of course, that the activity of our Party organisations, our Communists, must by no means take the place of that of the peace committees; but their duty is to support those committees in every possible way so that they may acquire the broadest political character necessary for the success of the campaign.

On the other hand, our Party organisations will participate in the campaign, taking measures of their own to emphasise the specific reasons why the Communists take part in this broad activity to preserve peace. But in these activities and in their work in the peace committee it would be a grave mistake for the Communists to forget that the peace movement does not serve the interests of any one party, that it is not its function to fight or expose any particular party; that its only task is to unite men and women of all social classes and all political and religious beliefs, who for one reason or another recognise the necessity of fighting against war. And no man or woman who wants to speak or write on behalf of this movement has the right to say or write anything that might divide the forces of peace. But this in turn does not mean that the peace movement is not supposed to have a necessary sharp edge. That sharp edge, however, should be turned solely against the warmongers, not against

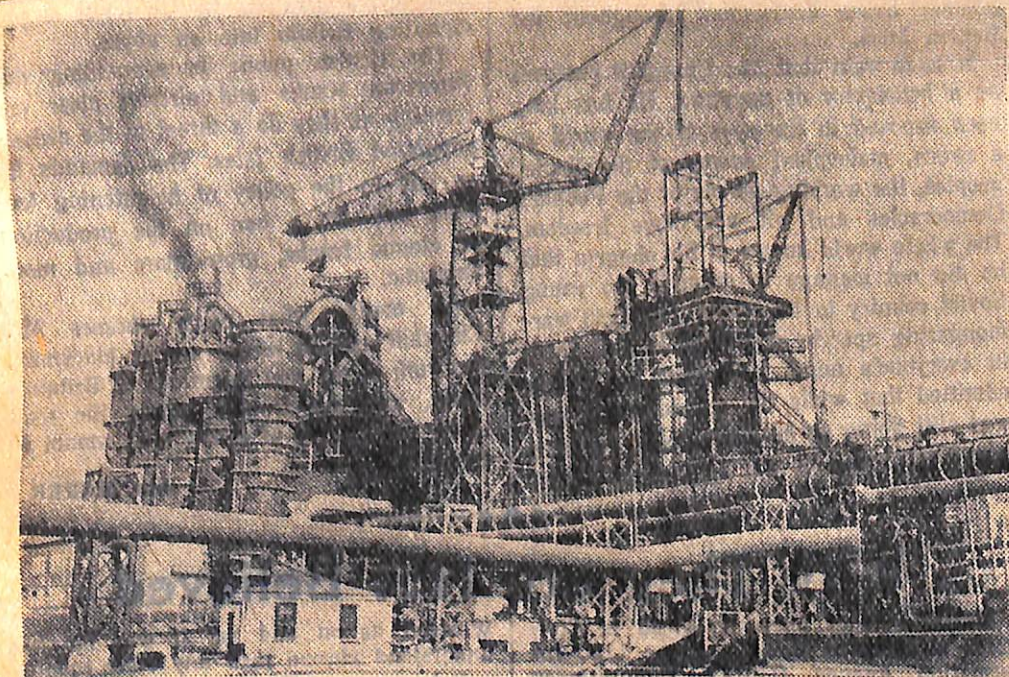


my agreement and great love for my homeland and of my readiness to do everything I can for her further prosperity and for a life of peace and security, I subscribe my signature."

Approaching each person individually, the peace supporters explain that only the really conscious and active participation in the

can and must influence the course of international events by their own contribution, assisting the struggle against the danger of atomic war.

The Czechoslovak people are firmly determined to fulfil to the end their duty in the struggle against the enemies of peace and mankind.



Giant of Polish industry—V. I. Lenin Metallurgical Combinat in Nowa Huta.

by real mass political discussions, by numerous measures uniting all the peace forces in our country and mobilising them to carry on truly effective mass activity. However, in carrying on such activity, it should not be forgotten that collecting signatures is more than a practical measure; it is also a basic method, the efficacy of which we have already tested in our country. Let us dwell in more detail upon the political and organisational prerequisites for a successful signature campaign as they are presented in the National Peace Committee Bulletin.

In view of past experience, it was entirely correct for the National Peace Committee to give precise instructions on applying the territorial principle in signature collection. This means that the territory of each city, each urban district and each village must be divided into sections, with the collection of signatures in each of them being entrusted to a definite group of canvassers. That, of course, does not mean that in certain cases, for example factories, schools or organisations, where it is of political importance to demonstrate unanimous support for the Appeal, special methods cannot be employed. In general, however, experience has shown that only the territorial principle of canvassing can ensure coverage of the entire population. Very likely, letting the canvassing drift along spontaneously and at random, might make

base ourselves in this broad campaign on the efforts of an unprecedented number of canvassers—both men and women—of the most varied views. Indeed, it is not solely a matter of covering the politically less active sections of the population, and thus collecting a somewhat larger number of signatures. Nor is it a matter of discussing things more. It is necessary to convert the signature campaign into a means of conducting mass political discussions of questions relating to peace. Obviously, the ease and effectiveness with which signatures to the Vienna Appeal will be collected among those sections of the population which for political reasons refused to have anything to do with the previous campaigns, will be in direct proportion to the extent to which the peace movement succeeds in showing them its open and very broad political character; and to the extent to which canvassers are able to come to them, not as members of a single political trend, but as men and women of differing and even opposite political convictions, who, however, are all in agreement upon the necessity of opposing preparations for atomic war.

Assuredly in this campaign, more than ever before, the Communists will do their utmost to be in the front ranks of the fighters for peace, in order to work successfully and ensure unparalleled success for the campaign. But for a Communist leader to do successful work in this campaign

on a national scale or on a provincial, communal or local basis, or at each place of work or study, the only organisations that can serve this purpose are the peace committees, which from the outset have ensured the participation of prominent representatives of all parties, mass organisations and public and cultural trends in the nation-wide campaign.

Each Communist section and branch could take the initiative in helping to organise a peace committee where none exists as yet, in getting one organised wherever there happen to be representatives of women's, youth, trade union, cultural, veterans' or other organisations which on a national or local scale are already affiliated to the peace movement. In each commune one Socialist, one Communist and one member of a women's democratic organisation, for instance, might meet together and form the nucleus of a local peace committee. When they establish contact with the provincial peace committee, they will receive advice on the correct political and organisational conduct of the campaign, distribute the work among the members of this basic organisation and begin canvassing in their locality.

Then, in the course of canvassing for signatures, they must find ways of making contact with one or another local leader of the Catholic trade unions, the veterans' organisation, or the Social Democratic Party—not merely with the idea of asking

tions will participate in the campaign, taking measures of their own to emphasise the specific reasons why the Communists take part in this broad activity to preserve peace. But in these activities and in their work in the peace committee it would be a grave mistake for the Communists to forget that the peace movement does not serve the interests of any one party, that it is not its function to fight or expose any particular party; that its only task is to unite men and women of all social classes and all political and religious beliefs, who for one reason or another recognise the necessity of fighting against war. And no man or woman who wants to speak or write on behalf of this movement has the right to say or write anything that might divide the forces of peace. But this in turn does not mean that the peace movement is not supposed to have a necessary sharp edge. That sharp edge, however, should be turned solely against the warmongers, not against the adherents of one or another social or political doctrine.

On the basis of the very broad political platform of struggle for peace that the Vienna Appeal represents, the Italian Communists by their activity and their work in the peace committees, which aims to broaden them and develop their political initiative, will make a decisive contribution to this unparalleled campaign, to which the Italian people will make a contribution of outstanding value.

Decline of Agriculture and Impoverishment of Countryside in Portugal

Although Portugal possesses all the natural conditions favourable to farming, her agriculture falls short of satisfying the country's needs in farm produce; and the export of such valuable items as wine, fruit and cork does not cover the cost of imports of grain, meat, sugar etc. The land is filled by the most backward methods in Europe. Although Portugal has some two million hectares of uncultivated fallow land, agricultural workers are chronically unemployed and live in appalling poverty.

What is the explanation of this? One reason is that a few big landowners dominate Portugal's agriculture and, with the backing and patronage of their fascist Government, impede its development. The second reason is domination of the country's economy by American and British imperialists and their European hangers-on, who make use of the Salazar fascist Government to pursue a policy that serves the interests of capitalist monopolies.

If Portugal's agriculture is to be developed and her requirements met from domestic farm produce, and if the position of the working people in the countryside is to be radically improved, then, and this is essential, the country's agriculture must be wrested from the domination of the big landowners and the whole economy from that of the foreign imperialists and their Salazar agents.

I.

How is the imperialist domination of Portugal's agriculture effected? Firstly, by U.S. monopolies actually interfering in the

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Gil de Almeida
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direction given to agricultural development. Under the pretext of economic and technical "aid", American officials are directing the Salazar agricultural policy onto a course that would make our agriculture an appendage of the U.S. economy, not producing those items which American exporters themselves are interested in selling.

American exporters want other countries to produce only small amounts of wheat, so as to retain them as a market in which to sell American wheat. That is why the U.S. monopolists and their Salazar agents assert that conditions in Portugal are unsuitable for raising wheat in sufficient quantity.

Secondly, imperialist domination in agriculture is brought about through so-called "international specialisation" which reserves for the U.S.A. the role of an industrially developed country and supplier of manufactured goods, while Portugal, as a backward country, together with other dependent countries, is allotted the role of supplier of raw materials. This is just what is happening now, for example, in the production of cork. Portugal, the first cork-producing country in the world, has now been turned into a supplier of raw material for the cork industry of other countries, and of the U.S.A. in particular.

Thirdly, imperialist domination in agriculture is effected by bringing foreign farm produce into the country, thereby squeezing Portuguese farmers out of their own national market.

Fourthly, imperialist domination is effected by Portugal's dependence on foreign monopolies for her supplies of agricultural machinery, farm implements and fertilisers.

The fifth way in which it is effected is through control by foreign capitalists of those branches of industry on which the development of agriculture depends.

This direct and indirect domination of the agriculture of Portugal by the imperialists is one of the fundamental reasons for its backwardness. For there to be progress in her agriculture, Portugal must be freed from the yoke of imperialism; to this end, the country must get rid of the Salazar Government of national betrayal, oppression and terror.

II.

One of the fundamental reasons for the backwardness of agriculture and the hard life of agricultural workers and small farmers is the above-mentioned domination of a handful of big landowners.

There are estates in Portugal with more land than whole municipal districts encompassing tens of thousands of peasant farmsteads. The great estate known as Herdade da Comporta, for instance, occupies some 15,000 hectares; the Companhia

Agricola de Portugal 15,000 hectares; the Companhia das Lezírias 16,000; the Rio Frio estate 17,000 and the Palma estate 17,000 hectares. There are 80 municipal districts in Portugal each occupying an area less than any of these estates but where tens of thousands of small peasants live by farming. Thus, for instance, the municipal districts of Santa Comba Dao, Oliveira de Frades, Lamego, Valença do Minho and many others each occupy an area of less than 15,000 hectares, although in each there are more than 50,000 plots.

This concentration of land among a handful of big landowners is such a scandalous affair that the Salazar Government keeps secret the data relating to land distribution. It is only in special publications that particulars of one district or another have appeared, revealing that the greater part of Portuguese land belongs to a few hundred great landowners.

While more than half a million rural toilers do not own even a patch of land, and hundreds of thousands of small-farmer families live by cultivating plots ranging in size from less than half a hectare to two hectares, the big landowners have so much land that they neglect a substantial part of it for years on end, caring nothing about its cultivation and still less about its improvement.

To develop agriculture and radically improve conditions for those who labour in the countryside, the land must be wrested from the grip of this handful of big landowners; and for this to happen, Portugal must be freed from the fascist Government which protects their interests.

III.

It is the Salazar fascist Government, the tool of the imperialists, big bankers, industrialists and landowners, that is responsible for the backwardness and decline

of Portugal's agriculture and the impoverishment of its rural population.

In no other country in Europe is agriculture more backward than in Portugal. Only in Spain and Greece, which are likewise victims of fascist rule, does the state of agriculture approximate to that of Portugal, but even in those countries it is not in so calamitous a state.

Fascist policy, besides ruining many small farmers, has led to steadily diminishing yields. With the exception of rice (in respect of which the Government has set up an extremely expensive irrigation system, but only in the interests of such great landowners as Nuncios, Linceas, Amaraís and such-like) yields of the main crops have dropped to the lowest level in 50 years. Suffice it to say that the average wheat yield is 600 kgs. per hectare, for rye 500 kgs. and millet 900 kgs.

A similar picture is to be seen in livestock raising, the grave state of which is nothing less than a national calamity. Even before the war no country in Europe had so few cattle as Portugal. After the war the position deteriorated so much that, in order to conceal from the people the disastrous consequences of its policy, the fascist Government has refused to carry out a census of cattle.

All this explains why, despite the huge and ruinous imports allowed by the Salazar fascist Government so as to please its imperialist masters, the consumption of agricultural products in the country is declining steadily. The average annual consumption of wheat per person fell from 77 kgs. in 1926-35 to 70 kgs. in 1945-49; that of millet from 152 to 132 kgs.; rice from 12 to 9 kgs.; vegetable oil from 9 to 8 litres, and beef from 4 to 3 kgs.

The Government makes a great to do about its measures to "develop" the country's economy. But what does this "activity" amount to, actually? "Plans for agricultural hydro-

technical works", for instance, envisaged the irrigation of 100,000 hectares of land; some 600,000 contos were spent on them. In theory, the installations erected make possible the irrigation of about 13,000 hectares, but in practice only half this area is irrigated. A mere half-dozen big landowners use these installations, which cost the Government hundreds of thousands of contos.

In 1952 the fascist National Assembly discussed the "Great Development Plan". What sort of a plan is this? What are its aims? Its sole object is to get the government's budgetary expenditure paid for out of sources not provided for in the budget; to make it still easier for foreign capitalists to dominate the economy of Portugal and her colonies; and to organise a scandalous pillaging of funds belonging to the national trade unions and social insurance organisations; and, thereby, to render assistance to the big capitalists.

Portugal's harvests are not diminishing everywhere, however. Big capitalist farms are steadily improving their agrotechnical methods, getting ever-greater yields and netting larger incomes. For this reason, and also because the Government uses the state machinery in the interests of big landowners, the latter naturally win out in competition with the small producers. The process of large producers ousting smaller ones, and of small farmers being ruined and proletarianised, is a feature in the life of the country. Capitalism, in industry as in agriculture, brings about the virtual expropriation of the small producers, and creates large enterprises. When a state is turned into the instrument of the terrorist rule of the big bourgeoisie and great landowners—that is, when a fascist regime is established—the ruin and proletarianisation of the small farmers proceeds

(Continued on page 6)

From Experience of Work With Party Activists in Prague Regional Organisation of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has repeatedly stressed that Party organisations cannot carry out their complex tasks unless they rely in their work on a broad body of activists. Following this instruction, the Prague Regional Committee has done and is now doing a great deal to strengthen its links with activists and to draw them into all-round work.

Actively working to put the directives of the Tenth Party Congress into effect, the regional and city committees and all district committees organised groups of Communist activists who, under the leadership of the district committees and the regional committee, worked out concrete measures for carrying out the Congress decisions in every district Party organisation.

It was only because we drew many activists into our everyday work that we successfully carried through such important political measures as the campaigns in connection with the elections to the National Committees and the National Assembly in May and November last year, developed a really mass movement of protest against rearming the West German revenge-seekers and achieved positive results in solving a number of problems relating to economic and cultural development.

The Prague Regional Committee makes great efforts to ensure that the work of all its district committees with Party activists improves from day to day, becomes more efficient and concrete, that the leading workers make a thorough study of things on the spot and give the Party organisations effective help in deciding all questions of Party, economic and cultural construction and in improving methods and style of Party work. The regional committee helps district committees, in a practical way, to eliminate shortcomings on this vital sector of Party work.

For example, the standard of work of the Melnik District Committee was not up to the increased demands. To find out the reasons for this and to help eradicate the weaknesses we sent a group of workers there from the regional committee. The investigation showed that the secretaries of this district committee, although understanding the important role of activists, had given them poor leadership, failed to use them sufficiently and drawn too few Party members into solving important questions. As a result, the district committee did not know the needs and requirements of Party branches and did not study the cadres.

The shortcomings of the Melnik District Committee were discussed at a meeting of the regional committee, attended by the first secretaries of six other district committees. The decision taken pointed out that if things were to be improved there must be skilful guidance of the work of all part-time instructors, branch secretaries, tutors, workers in mass organisations, economic workers and so on; the activists must be drawn into the settlement of all questions and use made of their experience and knowledge.

This decision was considered by all Party organisations in the region. It must be pointed out that many leading functionaries drew the correct conclusions and considerably reorganised their work with Party activists. For example, the Nove Straseci District Committee is now working in a way that provides favourable conditions for exchanging experiences and developing criticism and self-criticism.

This is how they now prepare and carry through their activist meetings. First of all the secretary, the bureau members, district committee members and responsible workers on particular economic sectors draw up the report jointly. They make themselves thoroughly conversant with the tasks facing them, and discuss ways of carrying them out. This makes possible

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B. Kozelka
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in preparing the report. In most cases all Party members present take part.

After preliminary group discussions, the activists hold a general meeting to go into the most important of the problems debated in the groups, together with those questions that need further study. On the basis of remarks made by the leaders of the various groups or in the course of the general discussion the first secretary sums up.

All this makes it possible to have a thorough discussion on any particular question, to work out concrete measures for carrying out the decisions taken and to draw the activists speedily into practical work.

Members of the bureau of the regional committee played a direct part in correcting work with activists in the Mlada Boleslav District. They familiarised themselves with the situation and advised the district committee to take concrete measures which would raise the level of work of all the district activists.

In this district the Party work with Communist teachers, in particular, was badly organised. On the advice of the regional committee representatives a number of steps were taken to improve things. As a result, with the help of Communist teachers, the schools and teachers were well prepared for the new study year. Serious shortcomings were discovered in the work of the youth organisations and pioneer groups. The bureau of the district committee held a conference of activist teachers and special seminars, at which the teachers and activists of the Youth Union discussed the tasks that lay ahead and shared experiences.

The district committee now systematically supervises the activities of the Party organisations in the schools and gives them practical help, sending them experienced comrades who have an understanding of the special questions involved in school work and can deal with the problems that arise. The problem of improving the leadership given to Communist teachers in those schools where there are no Party organisations remains unsolved.

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In the Prague Region, Party work at the big industrial enterprises is of great significance. Many of the factory organisations have now acquired considerable experience in work with Party activists. At the Georgi Dimitrov Works in Cakovice, for instance, the body of activists includes chairmen of shop Party organisations, instructors, lecturers, tutors, agitators, Party members working in trade unions and in the Czechoslovak Youth Union, engineers, technicians, leading workers, innovators in industry—in all 286 persons. With the help of Communist activists the Party committee sees to it that Party decisions and the production plan are fulfilled; it rallies the workers to the struggle for exercising economy and turning out high-quality goods.

One of the main departments of the Works and the machine shop failed to fulfil their production plan. This began to worry all the workers and the Party organisation sounded the alarm. It commissioned the chief engineer and several of the technicians to discover the reasons for the unsatisfactory work in some of the shops, to draw up a plan to eliminate the bottlenecks, to familiarise the advanced Party industrial workers with the plan and then to report on the whole matter to a meeting of Party

detailed discussion of the question a decision was carried which indicated concretely what should be done and by whom, to ensure the co-ordinated rhythmic work of individual shops and the whole enterprise.

It has now become the usual thing at this factory to discuss production problems at meetings of Party activists. The factory has already twice won the challenge red banner of the Ministry of Machine-Building.

The experience of the Party organisation at the Georgi Dimitrov Works has once again convinced the Praga-Sever District Party Committee that it is impossible to raise the level of Party work without relying on the support of the activists. It is, therefore, on an increasing scale, drawing the broad masses of the membership into the solution of the complex tasks of Party, economic and cultural construction, and is consulting the activists more and more often. In the period when the 1955 technical, production and financial plans were drawn up the district Party committee held a special meeting of Party activists from industrial enterprises on this question.

About a week later the committee functionaries held three meetings of leading economic workers and leading Party functionaries. These meetings, under the guidance of bureau members, revealed serious shortcomings in the planning of production and outlined ways and means to overcome these defects in the work. At the same time they discussed how the district committee could render more effective practical help to the Party organisations.

The more steady and consistent ideological preparation of the Party activists, the better their fighting efficiency. That is why the Party committee at the Georgi Dimitrov Works shows special concern about their political development. With this object in view it has organised special seminars at which the activists of the shop Party organisations raise their ideological and political level. About 60 per cent of the Party activists are studying in evening Party schools or on an individual basis. Special lectures and reports on economic and political themes are being arranged for engineers, technicians and foremen.

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It should be noted, however, that far from all Party organisations have improved their work with Party activists. Not infrequently there are cases where district committee functionaries and the secretaries of the Party branches are inclined to work as individuals and deal with important matters in Party life without the activists, where they hold activists' meetings in a formal way or not at all. For example, although meetings of Party activists at the Jan Sverma factory in Slany are held occasionally, they are formal in character and lack proper preparation. The factory once faced the possibility of failing to carry out the production plan. To get a clear idea of the reasons for bad work in the factory as a whole and in individual workshops and to outline concrete measures for eliminating the shortcomings, the Party committee summoned the engineers, technicians, foremen and heads of the workshops. Because the meeting was not thoroughly prepared, it was unable to disclose all the setbacks and errors which were the cause of the inadequate work of the factory.

It is also a serious weakness in the work of the Party committee that it does not do enough to draw the activists into the work of checking on Party decisions. The Party committee gives Communists individual assignments but is not interested in how they are carried out. This weakens the feeling of responsibility among the Communists and dampens their enthusiasm. The ideological training of Party members and probationers is also badly organised at the factory.

The strength of Party activists lies

Achievements in China's Industrialisation

During 1954 the Chinese people carried out the plan for the socialist industrialisation of their country with great success.

The metallurgical industry is developing at a rapid rate. Compared with 1953 the output of pig iron increased last year by 37.3% and that of steel by 22%. In the course of the year Chinese metallurgists commenced production of over 100 new types of articles.

This rapid increase in production has been achieved by utilising new capacities, and by mass labour emulation, innovation and the creative initiative of workers. Even according to incomplete data the metallurgical workers made 30,000 rationalising proposals in the first 10 months of 1954. The implementing of these proposals saved 88,700 million yuan.

More than 100 metallurgical projects were under construction in China last year and 40 of these are now in operation.

The power industry made great strides in 1954, 17 new power stations being started up, thus increasing the total capacity of power stations in the country by over 16%.

In 1954 high-voltage lines were put into operation in North-East and North China between Tientsin and Peking. In all, the electric power stations of the Republic produced 54% more power in 1954 than was envisaged by the state plan.

NEW WORKERS' SETTLEMENTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN POLAND

Construction of workers' settlements and towns is under way on a big scale in Stalinogrod Region, one of Poland's largest industrial centres.

Building has recently commenced in Nowa Dabrowa, a settlement that will ultimately develop into a town with a population of some 40,000 miners, metal and other industrial workers. Three, four and five-storied houses with central heating will be built.

Construction of a new workers' settlement is also under way in Stolarzowice and in the near future it will have some 18,000 inhabitants. A large settlement being built in Leszczyn near Knurów will grow into a town with a population of 40,000.

In the Rokossowski settlement, under construction near the Bytom mine, some 2,640 rooms have already been passed over to the miners for occupation. Creches, schools, a clinic, shops and community service centres have been opened.

New settlements are going up also in Pyskowice, and near the Mszana surface working mine.

IMPROVED MEDICAL CARE IN MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Before the revolution not a single doctor could be found in Mongolia. Medical treatment was in the hands of quacks and lamas. Epidemics and social diseases were rife, and the population declined catastrophically from year to year.

During the years of people's power things have radically changed. Mongolia has been

POLITICAL NOTES

Atomic Blackmail and Phoney Peace Speeches

Following the appearance of the White Paper proclaiming to the world that Britain was going to produce hydrogen weapons, Prime Minister Churchill hastened to come up with a bellicose speech in Parliament attempting to justify his Government's criminal programme of an unbridled arms race. At the precise moment of the United Nations Disarmament Commission's subcommittee meeting in London, Britain's Prime Minister found nothing better to do than use all his eloquence to justify the use of A and H-bombs against a non-existent "Soviet menace".

Holding forth on a "balanced... system" of "bona fide disarmament all-round" dreamed up by himself, Churchill at the same time tried to resurrect the long exploded myth that the United States "had... an overwhelming mastery in nuclear weapons". In a veritable atomic frenzy Churchill echoed the delirious talk of the Americans about the necessity of "restraining" the Soviet Union. With the brazen cynicism of a rabid warmonger, he spoke of the large administrative, industrial and military Soviet targets which, in his opinion, should be the first objects of atomic attack. The Prime Minister implied that in his opinion the disarmament talks now in progress in London were a pointless and useless enterprise.

Naturally enough, the British reactionary press hastened to give Churchill full credit for such "constructive views" on the use of hydrogen weapons. Furthermore, studied attempts were made to represent his warmongering speech as a "sincere call for peace", a philosophic appreciation of the significance of atomic bombs in the history of mankind. And eulogies were showered upon Britain's Prime Minister from across the Atlantic. Of course it is a well-known fact that the more praise Washington lavishes on foreign statesmen, the more the latter betray the interests of their country.

Churchill's desperate calls for a new atomic arms race are intended to terrify the British people with an imaginary "Soviet menace". Britain's aggressive elements have to build this facade so as to conceal the real danger to Britain, which dwells in the American atomic bomber bases distributed throughout the British Isles.

It is in vain that Mr. Churchill postures as a benefactor of mankind. He has long been exposed in the eyes of the world as a sworn, malevolent enemy of the Soviet peoples, the working people of the People's Democracies and all who love freedom. The whole world knows of his chagrin that he did not manage to strangle the young Soviet country in its cradle. His 1946 warmongering speech at Fulton is still fresh in everyone's mind. Last year he frankly admitted that while the second world war was still going on he was nursing plans to arm Nazi troops for

Union. The latest speech is one more link in the chain of his provocations against peace and progress, against peace-loving peoples.

It must be said straight out, that Mr. Churchill's "new look" ignores the stubborn facts of reality and wholly leaves out of account the recent changes that have taken place in favour of the camp of peace and democracy. Such miscalculations have to be paid for.

Calling for peace through strength, Churchill tries to shift the blame on to others, claiming that it is the Soviet Union that opposes international control

over the prohibition of A and H-weapons.

It is common knowledge, however, that it is precisely the Soviet Union, that, having achieved great results in the production of thermo-nuclear weapons, is persistently calling for the prevention of atomic war. The Soviet Union has proposed complete destruction of all stocks of A and H-bombs, the use of atomic materials exclusively for peaceful purposes, and also institution of effective international control to secure the realisation of these measures.

Britain's rulers are trying their best to distort the meaning of these extremely lucid Soviet proposals.

Churchill's atomic blackmail is also calculated to exert pressure on those intractable partners of the West European bloc who have not yet ratified the Paris agreements.

The British public has judged on its merits the danger arising from Churchill's warmongering speech. The voice of protest against the atom policy of those who rule Britain rings out ever louder. The will of the British people to uphold peace is expressed at meetings and rallies and in great numbers of resolutions addressed to Parliament. Some of the papers refer to Churchill's ripe old age and hint broadly that it is "time for him to retire". Even *The Economist*, a reactionary weekly, is bound to admit that it is receiving many letters from mass organisations, prominent public figures, the clergy and politicians who protest strongly against the policy of national suicide. There's no denying the truth. The atomic arms drive heralded by Churchill is precipitating Britain into an abyss.

The British public is demanding that American bombs and aircraft clear out, creating as they do a threat to the densely populated British Isles. The demands for an end to the policy of heightening tension, and for a ban on the production of atomic bombs, grow more and more emphatic.

No matter what catch phrases Mr. Churchill uses to screen atomic blackmail, rulers, who are frankly taking to the preparation



committees did not know the needs and requirements of Party branches and did not study the cadres.

The shortcomings of the Melnik District Committee were discussed at a meeting of the regional committee, attended by the first secretaries of six other district committees. The decision taken pointed out that if things were to be improved there must be skilful guidance of the work of all part-time instructors, branch secretaries, tutors, workers in mass organisations, economic workers and so on; the activists must be drawn into the settlement of all questions and use made of their experience and knowledge.

This decision was considered by all Party organisations in the region. It must be pointed out that many leading functionaries drew the correct conclusions and considerably reorganised their work with Party activists. For example, the Nove Straseci District Committee is now working in a way that provides favourable conditions for exchanging experiences and developing criticism and self-criticism.

This is how they now prepare and carry through their activist meetings. First of all the secretary, the bureau members, district committee members and responsible workers on particular economic sectors draw up the report jointly. They make themselves thoroughly conversant with the tasks facing them, and discuss ways of carrying them out. This makes possible very well thought-out decisions.

After the report the Party members divided into groups of between 15 and 25 for a detailed discussion on organisational measures to ensure that the tasks are carried out and checked on and experiences exchanged. They take decisions on concrete problems and find reasons for shortcomings. In every group the discussion is led by one of the comrades who had a hand

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A great deal was derived from a well-prepared meeting of activists. The Communists had the opportunity of thoroughly analysing both the objective and subjective reasons for the bad work of a number of shops. In their contributions they pointed out the shortcomings in the organisation of labour and socialist emulation, in the provision of materials, in the utilisation of equipment and so on. As a result of a

secretaries of the Party branches are inclined to work as individuals and deal with important matters in Party life without the activists, where they hold activists' meetings in a formal way or not at all. For example, although meetings of Party activists at the Jan Sverma factory in Slany are held occasionally, they are formal in character and lack proper preparation. The factory once faced the possibility of failing to carry out the production plan. To get a clear idea of the reasons for bad work in the factory as a whole and in individual workshops and to outline concrete measures for eliminating the shortcomings, the Party committee summoned the engineers, technicians, foremen and heads of the workshops. Because the meeting was not thoroughly prepared, it was unable to disclose all the setbacks and errors which were the cause of the inadequate work of the factory.

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The strength of Party activists lies in the fact that they have tremendous experience in all fields of political, economic and cultural work. This experience must be used in such a way that it makes for efficient and able Party leadership in all spheres of political, economic and cultural activity. This is why our regional organisation is concentrating on raising work with activists to a higher plane and making Party leadership a genuinely collective leadership.

Construction of a new workers' settlement is also under way in Stolarzowice and in the near future it will have some 18,000 inhabitants. A large settlement being built in Leszczyn near Knurow will grow into a town with a population of 40,000.

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IMPROVED MEDICAL CARE IN MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Before the revolution not a single doctor could be found in Mongolia. Medical treatment was in the hands of quacks and lamas. Epidemics and social diseases were rife, and the population declined catastrophically from year to year.

During the years of people's power things have radically changed. Mongolia has been covered with a vast network of medical institutions. Now there is one medical worker with a higher or secondary medical education for every 200 people. Epidemics have been completely eliminated and cases of social diseases have been reduced to a minimum, with the result that the population is rapidly growing, at the rate of 20 per thousand each year.

Churchill's ripe old age and the fact that the more prominent statesmen, the more the latter betray the interests of their country.

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No matter what catch phrases Mr. Churchill uses to screen atomic blackmail, the truth of the real intentions of Britain's rulers, who are frankly taking the road to the preparation of a new war, cannot be concealed.

Jan MAREK

Why They are Not Believed

Heated debates have developed in Congress around the Budget of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Congressmen called down thunder and lightning on the heads of the agency managers and told them that all their recent activities were worthless.

Maybe the American legislators deplored the fact that USIA was doing too much lying in its attempts to whitewash U.S. aggressive policy at any cost and to discredit and throw mud at all that is bright, progressive and advanced in this world? By no means; such considerations did not worry the congressmen. As James Reston writes in the *New York Times*, Congress minds were disturbed by the fact that the U.S.A. was spending far more funds and energy on information and propaganda than any other

Western nation and yet it was far less understood abroad than any other country.

It has apparently never occurred to congressmen that the dollar is not powerful enough to change falsehood into truth. The peoples reject the aggressive policy pursued by U.S. reactionary elements—the enemies of peace and progress. This is why the U.S. Information Agency suffers failure upon failure.

It can be said in advance that no matter how many dollars Congress allocates to USIA this time, nothing awaits it but fresh setbacks since the ordinary people in all countries are becoming better and better at distinguishing truth from falsehood.

A. I.

Facts Expose...

Bonn The firm of Pörringer & Schindler of "Spiritual Director" Zweibrücken, Western Germany, has sent its customers 1955 tear-off calendars bearing cookery hints and what its compilers consider to be a suitable saying for each day. On tearing off the leaf for February 20 the reader is astonished to find on the back an "exhortation" dug out from the misanthropic Nazi pronouncements of Adolf Hitler.

Obviously the Bonn regime is making no bones about coming out with Hitler slogans and, with the blessing of the Western occupation authorities, is endeavouring to foist the "führer" once more on the people of Western Germany as their "spiritual director".

A Worthy Rebuff The interference of U.S. diplomatic representatives in the domestic affairs of the Latin American countries has gone so far that more and more frequently protests are to be heard in these countries. The newspaper *El Siglo* reports that the United Plasterers' Trade Union of Chile has sent a letter to the U.S. Ambassador in Chile which states in part: "Our trade union has decided not to maintain any contact either with your Government or your

Embassy, and to repudiate your malicious propaganda. We therefore request you to stop sending us your pamphlets, booklets etc."

This is a further proof that the U.S. diplomats in these countries are engaged in matters far removed from diplomatic work.

How a Netherlands Minister was Caught in a Lie While defending a bill on the establishment of U.S. military bases in Holland,

Defence Minister Staf assured the Netherlands Parliament that the matter concerned only fighter planes for air defence, which "because of their short radius of operation can in no way be employed for aggression". That statement was made last October. Its true worth was recently shown up—by whom would you suppose?—by the *U.S. News and World Report*. A passage from this magazine cited in *De Waarheid* reveals that American atomic bombers are already stationed at Holland's Susterberg airfield.

What price the assurances of certain West European ministers!

EDITORIAL BOARD

Decline of Agriculture and Impoverishment of Countryside in Portugal

(Continued from page 5)

even more rapidly, and their expropriation is effected by even more violent means. It is just this process that is now going on in Portugal under the fascist Government of Salazar.

What, for instance, is the position regarding taxes? Small farmers pay a tax on each hectare 10 to 20 times higher than big landowners! As for various "guilds", juntas, federations and other fascist corporative organisations, they are in the hands of the big landowners who use them to fix prices that are advantageous to themselves, for buying up the produce of the small farmers and then selling it at profiteering prices both on the home and foreign markets.

As long as the fascist Government remains in power it will do all it can to promote the ruin of the small farmers, to create big capitalist agricultural enterprises, and thereby to accelerate capitalist concentration in the countryside. From 1937 to the present, the number of farms has been decreasing steadily. What does this mean? It means that many thousands of small farmers have been compelled to sell all or part of their land, or else to part with it on account of debt. It means that the concentration of landed property in the hands of big landowners has thereby been intensified, and thousands upon thousands of small farmers have become rural proletarians or semi-proletarians.

As a result of the domination of capitalism in the countryside and of the Salazar policy, the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians live in poverty, under conditions that are appalling. Their dwellings are dark, dirty, with no conveniences

whatsoever (often just wretched huts); they are short of clothes, furniture, household utensils, and there is hunger, real hunger, in the homes of the very people who produce all the fruits of the soil.

Since the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie was established on May 28, 1926, the earnings of agricultural workers have been steadily falling in relation to the rising cost of living. In 1952 the cost of living trebled, whereas the average earnings of day-labourers in that year were barely twice the 1926 level. Nor is any account taken of unemployment which continues every year for months on end. At the same time, money collected from the working people for the unemployment fund is spent on churches, prisons, armaments and propaganda, or else is handed over to big companies under the guise of "developing" the national economy. Yet Salazar has the nerve to say that there is "full employment" in Portugal. However, the matter does not end with low wages and unemployment of rural proletarians for a good part of the year. Even when they do have a job, the working day is extremely long, with insufficient rest periods. The wives of day-labourers work at home, look after the children and, in addition, often work as servants. Their lives are extremely arduous, they age early and die at an early age. There is a high infant mortality rate. Of the 200,000 children born annually, some 30,000 to 40,000 die before reaching the age of five. Up to 90% of the rural population—and even more—are illiterate. The foregoing gives a general idea of the utter want and poverty, and the unspeakable suffering of the rural proletarians in our country.

If sometimes the rural workers do manage to win a wage increase, or to obtain the

observance of a fixed working day, or secure the expansion of construction so as to provide some work for the unemployed—in short if they do succeed in getting a slight improvement in working and living conditions—this is solely because they have organised and fought for it.

In many heroic actions those toiling in the countryside have, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Portugal, put up resistance to the Salazar Government's policy of plunder. In Alemtejo and Ribatejo, particularly, the rural workers, led by the Communist Party, organised unity committees; they fought heroically and tirelessly to improve living conditions, they made demands on the employers, the fascist trade unions and the authorities; conducted rallies, demonstrations and even strikes. Thanks to this struggle they were in many cases successful in winning improved conditions. Such actions organise and prepare the masses of working people in the countryside for a more decisive battle; for a radical improvement in their conditions can only be obtained through the overthrow of Salazar fascism and the establishment of a really democratic government.

IV.

The chief and immediate aim of the struggle of the Portuguese democratic forces is the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of a democratic government which would secure peace and independence for Portugal, and enable the Portuguese people freely to elect their government and choose the form of government they desire. The Communist Party spares no effort to strengthen the national democratic movement, in alliance with all sincere democrats, patriots and peace supporters, and to win victory over fascism. But the Communist Party, as an independent political force, the Party of the proletariat, has to show the people what great national problems

the new democratic system will have to solve, and how they will have to be solved. Regarding the situation in the countryside, the Communist Party long ago pointed out that agrarian reform is essential if agriculture is to be developed and living conditions improved. But a genuine reform in agriculture can take place only if the working people take part in governing the nation.

In the economic reconstruction of the new Portugal, agrarian reform will be one of the fundamental transformations. Without a far-reaching agrarian reform no genuinely democratic system is possible.

After fascism has been overthrown, life in the Portuguese countryside must pass through several stages, including the radical improvement of the living conditions of the rural workers and progress in developing agriculture. The first stage to be undertaken by the democratic government will be the transfer of the big estates and the untitled lands to the rural proletarians and poor peasants. The Communist Party believes that the big estates, which cover at least 3 million hectares, should be taken from their 5,000 to 6,000 large landowners and given to the hundreds of thousands of rural proletarians and poor peasants.

Only the big landowners fear this measure. The middle peasant has nothing to fear, this measure being the only way to really emancipate the working peasants from the disastrous domination of big landowners, who, under the screen of corporative organisations, and with the help of the fascist state apparatus, now exploit the whole rural population.

Following with keen interest the achievements and life of the Soviet peoples and the People's Democracies, the working people of Portugal are fighting courageously for their future—against the rule of the imperialists, the big landowners and their Salazar agents, for progress in agriculture, for prosperity in the countryside.