

fresh force the might of the socialist camp, its solidarity and monolithic unity, its ability to defend its peaceful labour and give a crushing rebuff to any aggressor. They offer one more proof of the tremendous advantages of the new relations that have arisen among the countries of the socialist camp, relations founded upon community of aims and interests, upon the principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs.

The noteworthy fact that these decisions have also met with the strong, decisive support of the great Chinese people gives them particular force and significance. The representative of the Chinese People's Republic, General Peng Teh-huai, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic and Minister of Defence, who took part in the Conference as an observer, declared: "If peace in Europe is violated, if the imperialist aggressors unleash a war against the peaceful European countries, then our Government and our heroic 600 million-strong people will fight against aggression jointly with the governments and peoples of our fraternal countries until final victory."

The Treaty of the eight states—a treaty of peace and friendship—is a worthy reply by the peace-loving countries to the schemes of the international forces of reaction. With the ratification of the Paris military agreements the ominous spectre of German militarism has reappeared in Europe. By becoming a member of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc and the West European Union, Western Germany with her revanchist Wehrmacht now being revived is coming to be the chief focal point of the war danger in Europe. In these circumstances the fact that the peace-loving states are taking the necessary measures to safeguard their security and maintain peace in Europe is of tremendous international significance.

There now stand revealed to the world, in the most graphic manner, two types of international agreements characterising two opposite lines of foreign policy. The line of the world reactionary forces has found expression in the North Atlantic bloc, which represents a closed, aggressive military alignment directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. In contrast, the Treaty of the eight states and the organisation being set up on its basis, which give embodiment to the genuinely peaceful line of foreign policy followed by the countries of the socialist camp, are open to accession by other countries, irrespective of their social and state system.

Unlike the alliances formed by the Western powers, which are of a distinctly aggressive character, the Treaty concluded in Warsaw is a genuinely defensive one. The countries of the socialist camp threaten no one and have no intention of attacking anyone. Their foreign policy is guided by the unshakable Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different political systems. The participants in the Warsaw Conference reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts to establish a general European system of collective security.

In remilitarising Western Germany and including her in their aggressive military alignments the Western powers wholly ignore both the security of the peoples of Europe and the national interests of the German people, their inalienable right to

the ardent approval of all peace-loving people the world over.

An important event in the history of international relations and in the history of the Austrian people was the signing on May 15 of a State Treaty on the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria. It would be hard to overestimate the historic significance of the fact that in accordance with this Treaty the Austrian Republic becomes a neutral country which will pursue an independent policy, will not join any blocs or allow military bases to be set up on its territory. The fact that henceforth there will be a neutral Austria alongside Switzerland in the centre of Europe opens up a new page in relations among European states.

The settlement of the Austrian question, reached on the initiative of the Soviet Union, is another notable success for its peace-loving policy.

These are irrefutable facts and the tangible results of the consistent policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. They are facts that cannot be denied for they are there for every one to see. What can the reactionary groups in the U.S.A. and the Western countries which follow in the wake of the U.S.A. show compared with this? Is it not they who are reviving German militarism with the result that, within ten years after the second world war, Western Germany is becoming a breeding ground of revanchism and a renewed danger of war? Is it not they who are expanding their network of war bases directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, continuing their provocations against the People's Republic of China, setting up more and more aggressive military alignments and aggravating tension in South-East Asia? All these are openly aggressive activities aimed at provoking military conflicts, increasing international tension and preparing another world war of extermination.

The successes registered by the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist camp in promoting peace and the security of the peoples, in the struggle to avert another war, represent a great gain for the peace-loving forces of the whole world. These successes are a source of rejoicing and encouragement to all peace supporters; they inspire them to redouble their efforts to achieve lasting peace.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive and peace-loving forces see it as their task to widely popularise the historic decisions of the Warsaw Conference and the firm and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union which has found vivid reflection in recent international developments. They are resolutely and mercilessly exposing the intrigues of the imperialist groups and their hypocritical, lying phrases about "peace" which are a camouflage for their preparations for another aggressive war.

The peace-loving people in all countries are multiplying their efforts and extending their struggle against the resurrection of German militarism, for the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, for peace and the security of the peoples.

Success of New Loan in the USSR

According to a Soviet radio report, the State Loan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR (1955 issue)

with a target of 32,000 million roubles had, by the night of May 18, reached a total of 34,276,973,000 roubles.

65th Birthday of Comrade Ho Chi Minh

May 19 was the 65th birthday of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, founder and leader of the Party of Labour of Viet Nam, and a staunch fighter for the liberation of the Vietnamese people, from the bondage of imperialism.

In honour of this occasion Comrade Ho Chi Minh received messages of greeting from Comrade K. E. Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies and capitalist countries.

Deputy Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic; **Hans Reichelt**, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry for the German Democratic Republic; Lieutenant-General **Heinz Hoffmann**, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the German Democratic Republic; **Stefan Heymann**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the German Democratic Republic to the People's Republic of Poland;

People's Republic of Poland—**Jozef Cyrankiewicz**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland and head of the delegation; Marshal of Poland **Konstanty Rokossowski**, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of National Defence for the People's Republic of Poland; **Stanislaw Skrzyszewski**, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the People's Republic of Poland; **Marian Naszkowski**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for the People's Republic of Poland;

Rumanian People's Republic—**Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic and head of the delegation; General **Emil Bodnăraş**, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Armed Forces of the Rumanian People's Republic; **Simion Bughici**, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Rumanian People's Republic; Lieutenant-General **Ion Tutoveanu**, Chief of the

its integration in the North Atlantic bloc, increases the danger of another war and creates a threat to the national security of peace-loving states.

The countries participating in the Conference have decided to take the necessary measures for the safeguarding of their security and in the interests of preserving peace in Europe.

With this end in view the states participating in the Warsaw Conference have signed a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Conference has adopted a decision on setting up a Unified Command of the Armed Forces of the states which are signatories to the Treaty.

The Conference was carried through with complete unanimity, expressive of the cordial friendship and co-operation existing between the fraternal peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance

The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic was signed in the building of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic at 10 a. m. on May 14, 1955.

The Treaty was signed by:

M. Shehu, on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania;

V. Tchervenkov, on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

A. Hegedüs, on behalf of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic;

O. Grotewohl, on behalf of the President of the German Democratic Republic;

J. Cyrankiewicz, on behalf of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic;

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, on behalf of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic;

N. Bulganin, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

V. Siroky, on behalf of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

During the ceremony **O. Grotewohl**, head of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, made the following declaration on behalf of the Government of the German Democratic Republic:

"Taking into account the purpose of the Treaty—to ensure peace and security in Europe—the Government of the German Democratic Republic sees in it a great encouragement for the German people in their striving for a peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany. The German Democratic Republic still regards Germany's unification along peaceful and democratic lines as its main task and as the task of the whole of the German people, and will do its utmost to promote an early unification of Germany. In signing this Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance the Government of the German Democratic Republic proceeds from the premise that a unified Germany would be free of the obligations assumed by one or the other part of Germany under the military-political treaties and agreements concluded before its unification."

The Conference received with full understanding and took note of the aforesaid declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

Peng Teh-huai, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Defence for the People's Republic of China, made the following statement on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China:

T R E A T Y OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic

The Contracting Parties, reaffirming their desire to establish a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European states, irrespective of their social and state systems, which would make it possible to pool their efforts for ensuring peace in Europe,

taking into account at the same time the situation that has arisen in Europe as a result of the ratification of the Paris agreements which envisage the formation of a new military alignment in the form of the "West European Union" with the participation of Western Germany, now being remilitarised, and its integration in the North Atlantic bloc, which increases the danger of another war and creates a threat to the national security of the peace-loving states,

convinced that in these conditions the peace-loving states of Europe must take the necessary measures to safeguard their security and maintain peace in Europe,

guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, in the interests of the further consolidation and promotion of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance in conformity with the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of states and non-interference in their domestic affairs,

have decided to conclude the present Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance and have appointed their plenipotentiaries:

the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania—**Mehmet Shehu**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania,

"Dear comrades,

After 3 days of strenuous work the Warsaw Conference of European States on Safeguarding Peace and Security in Europe has reached successes of historic significance. Together with all the peace-loving peoples of the world the people of China warmly congratulate the Conference on its outstanding successes.

The results of the Warsaw Conference have once again demonstrated the firm resolution of its participants to uphold peace and security in Europe; they have also demonstrated the unity and the strength of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union. This resolution and this strength are such that they cannot be ignored.

The right way to protect peace and security indicated by the Conference is fully in keeping with the interests and aspirations of all the peoples of the world.

The Government of the People's Republic of China considers that the decisions taken at the Warsaw Conference are a big contribution to the cause of peace for they not only represent an exceedingly important measure toward safeguarding peace and security in Europe but will also have a great bearing on peace and security in Asia.

I declare on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China that the Government and the 600 million people of China are in full solidarity with and support the newly signed Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic. We are convinced that the successes of the present Conference will promote the further unity of the peace-loving countries and peoples and will make a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and security both in Europe and throughout the world."

The Conference received with satisfaction the statement made by the representative of the People's Republic of China.

In conclusion, **Jozef Cyrankiewicz**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, made a statement on behalf of the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The signing of the Treaty was attended by all the members of the delegations of the countries participating in the Conference and the representative of the People's Republic of China.

Also present were **Boleslaw Bierut**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, **Aleksander Zawadski**, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and members of the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The text of the Treaty and the statement on the setting up of a Unified Command of the Armed Forces of the countries signatory to the Treaty are set out below.

the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—**Vylko Tchervenkov**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic—**Andras Hegedüs**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic,

the President of the German Democratic Republic—**Otto Grotewohl**, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic,

the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic—**Jozef Cyrankiewicz**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic,

the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic—**Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic,

the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—**Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

the President of the Czechoslovak Republic—**Vilem Siroky**, Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic,

who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

(Continued on page 2)

T R E A T Y

OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic

(Continued from page 1)

Article 1

The Contracting Parties undertake, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force and to resolve their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner as not to endanger international peace and security.

Article 2

The Contracting Parties declare their readiness to participate in a spirit of sincere co-operation in all international actions which have as their aim the safeguarding of international peace and security, and shall wholly dedicate their efforts to the attainment of these aims.

The Contracting Parties shall strive for the adoption, through agreement with other states that may desire to co-operate in this matter, of effective measures for a general reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

Article 3

The Contracting Parties shall consult together on all important international questions affecting their common interests, being guided by the interests of strengthening international peace and security.

Whenever, in the opinion of any one of them, there arises a threat of armed attack upon one or several of the states signatory to the Treaty, they shall consult one another, without delay, in the interests of ensuring joint defence and maintaining peace and security.

Article 4

In the event of armed attack in Europe on one or several states signatory to the Treaty by any state or group of states, each state signatory to the Treaty shall, in the course of exercising the right of individual or collective self-defence, in conformity with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, render the state or states so attacked immediate aid, individually and in agreement with other states signatory to the Treaty, by all the means which it shall deem necessary, including the use of armed force. The states signatory to the Treaty shall immediately consult one another regarding the joint measures which must be taken to restore and maintain international peace and security.

In conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council shall be informed of the measures taken on the strength of the present Article. These measures shall be terminated as soon as the Security Council takes the necessary measures for restoring and maintaining international peace and security.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties have agreed to set up a Unified Command of their Armed Forces which, by agreement between the Parties, shall be assigned to this Command which will function on the basis of jointly elaborated principles. They shall also take other co-ordinated measures necessary to strengthen their defence capacity in order to protect the peaceful labour of their peoples, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and territories and ensure defence against possible aggression.

Article 6

A Political Consultative Committee, in which each state signatory to the Treaty will be represented by a member of the Government or other specially appointed representative, is set up to effect the consultations envisaged in the present Treaty between the states signatory to the Treaty and to examine questions arising in connection with the implementation of the present Treaty.

The Committee may set up such auxiliary agencies as may be necessary.

Article 7

The Contracting Parties undertake not to join any coalition or alliance and not to conclude any agreement, the aims of which run counter to the aims of the present Treaty.

The Contracting Parties declare that their obligations under existing international

Article 8

The Contracting Parties declare that they will act in a spirit of friendship and co-operation with the aim of further developing and consolidating the economic and cultural relations between them, adhering to the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's domestic affairs.

Article 9

The present Treaty is open to accession on the part of other states, irrespective of their social and state systems, which express their readiness, through participation in the present Treaty, to promote the pooling of the efforts of peace-loving states in order to safeguard peace and the security of nations. Such accession shall enter into force with the assent of the states signatory to the Treaty upon the deposit of the instrument of accession with the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 10

The present Treaty is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The Treaty shall enter into force on the day the last ratification instrument is deposited. The Government of the Polish People's Republic shall inform the other states signatory to the Treaty concerning the deposit of each ratification instrument.

Article 11

The present Treaty shall remain in force for twenty years. For the Contracting Parties which one year prior to the expiration of this term have not submitted statements denouncing the Treaty to the Government of the Polish People's Republic, it shall remain in force for the next ten years.

In the event that a system of collective security is established in Europe and a General European Treaty of Collective Security is concluded to this end, for which the Contracting Parties will steadfastly strive, the present Treaty shall lose its validity on the day the General European Treaty enters into force.

Executed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, in one copy each in the Russian, Polish, Czech and German languages, all the texts being equally authentic. Certified copies of the present Treaty shall be sent by the Government of the Polish People's Republic to all the other signatories to the Treaty.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals

on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the
People's Republic of Albania

MEHMET SHEHU

on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the
People's Republic of Bulgaria

VYLKO TCHERVENKOV

on behalf of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic

ANDRAS HEGEDUS

on behalf of the President of the German Democratic Republic

OTTO GROTEWOHL

on behalf of the Council of State of the Polish People's
Republic

JOZEF CYRANKIEWICZ

on behalf of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly
of the Rumanian People's Republic

GHEORGHE GHEORGHU-DEJ

on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union
of Soviet Socialist Republics

NIKOLAI ALEXANDROVICH BULGANIN

on behalf of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic

Signing of State Treaty With Austria in Vienna

On May 15 at 11.30 central European time in the Marble Hall of the Belvedere Palace in Vienna, the State Treaty with Austria, envisaging the restoration of Austria as an independent and democratic state, was signed by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Britain, France and Austria.

The actual signatories were: V. M. Molotov, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I. I. Ilyichev, Soviet Ambassador to Austria, on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; H. Macmillan, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and G. Wallinger, British Ambassador to Austria, on behalf of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; J. Dulles, Secretary of State, and L. Thompson, U.S. Ambassador to Austria, on behalf of the United States of America; A. Pinay, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and R. Lalouette, French Chargé d'Affaires in Austria, on behalf of the French Republic; L. Figl, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Austrian Republic.

The ceremony of signing the Treaty was attended by all members of the delegations of the Four Powers and Austria, which had taken part in the Conference convened to consider and sign the State Treaty with Austria.

The signing took place in the presence of J. Raab, Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, and other members of the Austrian Government.

After the signing V. M. Molotov delivered a speech, published below, and short speeches were also made by H. Macmillan, J. Dulles, A. Pinay and L. Figl.

Thereafter, V. M. Molotov, H. Macmillan, J. Dulles, A. Pinay, J. Raab, Vice-Chancellor A. Schaerf and L. Figl, from the balcony of the Belvedere Palace, saluted the people of Vienna who had crowded into the palace park and the adjoining streets.

The appearance on the balcony of these representatives of the powers signing the Treaty was greeted with an enthusiastic ovation from tens of thousands of Austrians.

Speech of V. M. Molotov on Signing the State Treaty With Austria on May 15, 1955

Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Gentlemen,

The signing of the State Treaty with Austria is an important international event. Today is a happy day for the Austrian people. Moreover, peoples who are striving to establish lasting peace and international co-operation will welcome this event with great satisfaction. The Treaty we are signing today restores the sovereignty and independence of democratic Austria. It opens up a new page in the history of the Austrian people and in relations among European states.

Austria declares that she will adhere to a state of permanent neutrality. Thus, henceforth there will be a neutral Austria alongside Switzerland in the centre of Europe. The Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Britain and France have all expressed their readiness to respect the neutrality of Austria. Allow me to express confidence that other countries also will follow this example.

The Soviet Union attaches great significance to Austria's statement that she will not join any military alliance or allow foreign war bases on her territory. The Soviet Union warmly welcomes this stand taken by Austria, a stand of sincere neutrality which is highly significant for the cause of promoting peace in Europe. It is particularly important that this stand fully accords with the sincere aspirations of the Austrian people. It will be wholeheartedly supported by other peoples in Europe, and not just in Europe alone.

It should be recalled today that as early as 1943, at the height of the bloody battles against the Hitler invaders, the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A. expressed their desire to see Austria free and independent again. This was stated in the well-known Moscow Declaration of the Three Powers, with which France also associated herself.

democratic settlement of the German question, and such as will correspond to the legitimate aspirations of the German people for the restoration of the unity of Germany without a revival of German militarism. Only such a settlement of the German question will fully accord with the interests of restoring freedom and independence to Germany as a single state and, at the same time, with the real consolidation of peace in Europe.

It should be admitted that every step which lessens the tension in the international situation now corresponds to the most heartfelt wishes of the peoples. The signing of the Austrian Treaty will promote the easing of international tension, and herein lies its particular significance.

It is common knowledge that the U.S.A., Britain, France and the Soviet Union are now negotiating with a view to a forthcoming conference of the heads of Governments. All four Governments have expressed themselves as being in favour of such a conference. Its aim will be to stimulate such steps and definite measures as will meet the desires of the peoples for the easing of international tension.

This is in full conformity with the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Government, which has invariably upheld the interests of world peace and international security. All moves of the Soviet Union are clear evidence of this. Particularly noteworthy are the recent Soviet proposals outlining a concrete plan for a universal reduction in armaments, a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and the establishment of international control, a plan which corresponds to the interests of world peace.

The signing of the Austrian Treaty is an event of the utmost international significance. The successful carrying through of the preparations for this step bears further witness to the

measures shall be taken as such as the necessary measures for restoring and maintaining international peace and security.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties have agreed to set up a Unified Command of their Armed Forces which, by agreement between the Parties, shall be assigned to this Command which will function on the basis of jointly elaborated principles. They shall also take other co-ordinated measures necessary to strengthen their defence capacity in order to protect the peaceful labour of their peoples, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and territories and ensure defence against possible aggression.

Article 6

A Political Consultative Committee, in which each state signatory to the Treaty will be represented by a member of the Government or other specially appointed representative, is set up to effect the consultations envisaged in the present Treaty between the states signatory to the Treaty and to examine questions arising in connection with the implementation of the present Treaty.

The Committee may set up such auxiliary agencies as may be necessary.

Article 7

The Contracting Parties undertake not to join any coalition or alliance and not to conclude any agreement, the aims of which run counter to the aims of the present Treaty.

The Contracting Parties declare that their obligations under existing international treaties do not conflict with the provisions of the present Treaty.

ON SETTING UP A UNIFIED COMMAND of the Armed Forces of the States Signatory to the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance

In accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic, the states signatory to the Treaty have decided to set up a Unified Command of their Armed Forces.

This decision envisages that general questions pertaining to the consolidation of the defence capacity and organisation of the United Armed Forces of the countries which are signatories to the Treaty shall be considered by the Political Consultative Committee, which will adopt appropriate decisions.

Marshal of the Soviet Union I. S. Konev is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces assigned by the states which have signed the Treaty.

The Ministers of Defence or other military leaders of the states signatory to the Treaty are appointed Deputy Commanders-in-Chief and given command of the Armed

Forces assigned to the United Armed Forces by each respective state signatory to the Treaty.

The question of participation of the German Democratic Republic in measures relating to the Armed Forces of the Unified Command shall be considered later.

A Headquarters of the United Armed Forces of the states signatory to the Treaty shall be set up under the Commander-in-Chief of the United Armed Forces. Its staff shall include permanent representatives of the General Staffs of the states signatory to the Treaty.

The Headquarters shall be located in Moscow.

The stationing of the United Armed Forces on the territories of states signatory to the Treaty shall be effected in conformity with the requirements of mutual defence and by agreement between these states.

on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania

MEHMET SHEHU

on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

VYLKO TCHERVENKOV

on behalf of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic

ANDRAS HEGEDUS

on behalf of the President of the German Democratic Republic

OTTO GROTEWOHL

on behalf of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

JOZEF CYRANKIEWICZ

on behalf of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic

GHEORGHE GHEORGHU-DEJ

on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

NIKOLAI ALEXANDROVICH BULGANIN

on behalf of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic

VILEM SIROKY

The Soviet Union, the United States of America, Britain and France have all expressed their readiness to respect the neutrality of Austria. Allow me to express confidence that other countries also will follow this example.

The Soviet Union attaches great significance to Austria's statement that she will not join any military alliance or allow foreign war bases on her territory. The Soviet Union warmly welcomes this stand taken by Austria, a stand of sincere neutrality which is highly significant for the cause of promoting peace in Europe. It is particularly important that this stand fully accords with the sincere aspirations of the Austrian people. It will be wholeheartedly supported by other peoples in Europe, and not just in Europe alone.

It should be recalled today that as early as 1943, at the height of the bloody battles against the Hitler invaders, the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A. expressed their desire to see Austria free and independent again. This was stated in the well-known Moscow Declaration of the Three Powers, with which France also associated herself.

In 1945, after heavy battles against the enemy, the Soviet Army liberated Vienna, the glorious capital of Austria. Our Army achieved this jointly with its Allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. Thereby the conditions were created for the carrying out of the provisions of the Moscow Declaration.

As is generally known, the negotiations with the Austrian Government delegation, headed by the Federal Chancellor Julius Raab, which took place in April in Moscow, resulted in a final settlement of the Austrian question. The negotiations were held in an atmosphere of sincere mutual understanding and co-operation. They ensured a successful solution of all major problems relating to the Austrian Treaty. At the same time serious economic questions were also settled.

Under the Treaty, Austria is freed from reparations. In this respect, however, the question of former German property was of great importance. It should be noted that this question has also been settled with complete agreement among the Four Powers and Austria herself.

The Soviet Government endeavoured to ensure that there should be no delay in settling the German as well as the Austrian question. But this proved to be unattainable under present conditions.

If the year 1955 marks the final settlement of the Austrian question, it cannot be said that we have advanced as regards the settlement of the German question. New obstacles have arisen in this respect, which seriously aggravate the situation. The danger of a revival of aggressive German militarism has appeared, compelling the peace-loving European countries to take new measures to safeguard their security.

The Soviet Union will continue its efforts to find ways and means for a peaceful and

It is France and Britain, heads of Government, now negotiating with the heads of Government, coming conference of the heads of such Governments. All four Governments have expressed themselves as being in favour of such a conference. Its aim will be to stimulate such steps and definite measures as will meet the desires of the peoples for the easing of international tension.

This is in full conformity with the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Government, which has invariably upheld the interests of world peace and international security. All moves of this kind are clear evidence of this. Particularly noteworthy are the recent Soviet proposals outlining a concrete plan for a universal reduction in armaments, a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and the establishment of international control, a plan which corresponds to the interests of world peace.

The signing of the Austrian Treaty is an event of the utmost international significance. The successful carrying through of the preparations for this step bears further witness to the possibility of solving other urgent international problems.

It is not along the road of preparations for another atomic war, or of this or that military gamble, that the peoples of Europe and the whole world expect settlement of the international questions now at stake. The Austrian Treaty demonstrates that there are ways of solving these problems which lie in another direction, corresponding to the genuine aspirations of the peoples concerned and, simultaneously, irrespective of the social system of their states.

We now know that Austria will not take part in any military bloc and will not permit the setting up of foreign bases on its territory. This cannot but be a matter of rejoicing to the Austrian people.

In conformity with the Treaty, Austria will not discriminate in its trade with other countries. It is impossible not to realise the significance of this decision, supported as it is by the Soviet Union, U.S.A., Britain and France.

All this creates favourable prerequisites for the Austrian people to live in conditions of peace, democratic development and the advance of their national economy. This is also of great importance for the further growth of friendly relations between Austria and other countries.

All this is bound to promote friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Austria to the mutual benefit of the peoples of both countries as well as of the cause of world peace.

Allow me to wish the Austrian people every success in the further advance of their economy and national culture and in the development of political and economic co-operation with other peoples, in the interests of promoting peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Statement of C.C., Communist Party of Indonesia

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia has issued a statement urging all the forces of the people to establish firm unity in the struggle for the realisation of vital tasks. The statement points out that the present Sastroamidjojo Government is more democratic and progressive than that which preceded it, and therefore, enjoys the support of the people. In view of this, the C.C. of the Communist Party calls upon all working people to render ever-greater support to the Government in carrying out measures aimed at improving the economy of the country, destroying the armed bands, abolishing the domination of foreign capital and establishing "wide-scale trade rela-

tions with the countries of Socialism and people's democracy".

Now, as never before, says the statement, we need indestructible unity of the people, unity in support of the Government and the demand that it pursues an even more progressive policy. A united front of all the forces of the people will make for the speediest abolition of all enslaving financial and economic agreements with Holland and for the transfer of West Irian to the Republic.

The unity of all people's forces, concludes the statement, must especially be demonstrated during the forthcoming general elections so that reaction is defeated.

Forthcoming Meeting of Soviet and Yugoslav Representatives in Belgrade

The Soviet press has recently released a communique on the "Forthcoming Meeting of Soviet and Yugoslav Representatives" which reads:

"On the basis of mutual desires and with a view to further improving relations between the two countries and promoting peace, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia have agreed on a meeting of their representatives at the highest level and for this purpose have appointed the following delegations:

"From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of the delegation; N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; D. T. Shepilov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, member of the C.C. of the CPSU and Chief Editor of "Pravda"; A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy Minister for

Foreign Affairs of the USSR; and P. N. Kurnykin, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade of the USSR.

"From the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia—Josip Broz-Tito, President of the FPRY; E. Kardelj, A. Rankovic and S. Vukmanovic-Tempo, Vice-Chairmen of the Federal Executive Council; K. Popovic, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs; M. Todorovic, Member of the Federal Executive Council, and V. Michunovic, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"The meeting is due to take place in Belgrade late in May, 1955."

All peace-loving peoples welcomed this communique with feelings of satisfaction, seeing it as a step forward in strengthening peace and easing international tension. Co-operation and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia accord with their mutual interests and the interests of world peace.

The communique met with a favourable response from that section of the bourgeois press which takes a realistic view of this event. Thus, the France Presse Agency, British Observer and Sunday Times and newspapers in other countries indicate that the prospect of a further improvement in the

Soviet-Yugoslav relations will promote the aim of easing tension in Europe and throughout the world.

The attitude of the most reactionary groups in the U.S.A. towards this communique, however, is one of unconcealed ill will and hostility. Disregarding the interests of the cause of peace and relaxation of international tension, they seek to prevent Soviet-Yugoslav relations from reaching a fully normal footing.

Pravda's leading article "Towards a Further Improvement in Soviet-Yugoslav Relations, towards Promoting Peace!", published on May 18, states that certain representatives of U.S. reactionary groups, in their attempts to measure with their own yardstick relations among democratic countries, are making obviously false assertions, such as that the Soviet side has as its aim the "isolation" of Yugoslavia from the so-called Western world and of disrupting her relations with it. These allegations are clearly absurd. The Soviet Union, writes Pravda, has repeatedly proved by its foreign policy that in the interests of strengthening peace it is imperative not to create closed military blocs counterposed to one another but to take the path of peaceful coexistence and business-

like co-operation with other states, irrespective of differences in their political systems.

In conclusion the article says:

"Further improvement of Soviet-Yugoslav relations is prompted by the interests of the two states, by their common interests in the joint struggle to promote world peace. True, it is impossible to deny that substantial differences exist between us on a number of important questions concerning social development. But the fact that in Yugoslavia there prevails the public ownership of the basic means of production; that the main classes there are the working class and working peasantry, which have militant revolutionary and patriotic traditions; that there exists between the peoples of the two countries a long-established and deep-going community in the realm of culture and thought, and the fact that the working people in the USSR and in Yugoslavia have the same basic interests, the interests of the international working-class movement and the same ultimate aim of the working class—all these show that there exists a solid foundation for broad, comprehensive co-operation between the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples."

CONFERENCE OF WORKERS IN INDUSTRY IN THE USSR

There took place in the Grand Kremlin Palace (Moscow) on May 16-18, an all-Union conference of workers from industrial enterprises and appropriate ministries, scientific-research institutes, project and design offices, foremost workers and innovators in production, Party, Komsomol and trade union functionaries.

The conference was also attended by representatives of industrial workers from the Chinese People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

Convened by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, this conference of industrial workers was opened by Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Among the speakers in the debates were factory directors, engineers and technicians, advanced workers and innovators in production, ministers, scientists, Party and trade union functionaries.

The participants in the conference thoroughly discussed vital problems relating to the work of Soviet industry and the prospects for its continued development on the basis of the extensive introduction of the latest achievements of science and technique and of the foremost experiences.

An important speech was made by Comrade N. S. KHRUSHCHEV, First Secretary of the C.C. of the CPSU.

The conference adopted an appeal to all industrial workers of the Soviet Union.

Abridged versions of the speeches of Comrades N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev are given below.

Speech by Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

Our conference, said Comrade N. A. Bulganin, has been convened by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government to discuss measures for the further advance of industry on the basis of the extensive employment in production of the achievements in science and technique and of the foremost experiences.

Socialist industry, the leading branch of the national economy, is steadily advancing. The rate of development of our industry, particularly that of heavy industry, is several times higher than that prevailing in the chief capitalist countries.

This year industrial output will be approximately 80% greater than in 1950, and over three times more than in the prewar year of 1940. As regards volume of output, the Five-Year Plan for the development of our industry is being successfully carried out, and there is every reason to believe that the planned target will be surpassed.

The Party teaches us not to rest content with results achieved, but to devote greater attention to the unresolved tasks and to the elimination of existing shortcomings. It should be borne in mind that behind the overall figures indicating fulfilment of production plans as a whole, there are hidden many enterprises which systematically fail to carry out their assignments and hence to provide the country with a large volume of products.

Comrade Bulganin then went on to say that the question posed for discussion at the conference was one of great state significance. It is only the permeating of production with the latest achievements in science and technique—the basis of technical progress—that can ensure a swift growth of labour productivity which, as Lenin put it, is in the last resort the most important, the main thing for the victory of the new social system.

In the past 26 years labour productivity in our industry has increased more than six times over.

To guarantee the further development of the economy it is essential to raise labour productivity to a new, higher level. This task can be solved only by means of unflinching and decisive introduction into industry of new technique and advanced technology, modernisation of the available machinery and equipment and a radical improvement in the organisation of production.

The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy does not pay the necessary attention to the production of especially scarce and more economical rolled-steel shapes; this creates difficulties for industry and leads to over-expenditure of metal.

There are still many unutilised reserves in our metallurgical industry. Comrade Bulganin gave a number of examples which bore this out.

The Ministry of Chemical Industry shows insufficient speed in organising the production of mineral fertiliser concentrates, new organic materials, plastic wares, substitutes for non-ferrous metals and dye-stuffs, and is lagging behind in the organisation of the chemical processing of oil and natural gases.

Speaking of the oil industry, Comrade Bulganin pointed out that individual boring teams had achieved high-speed boring. For example, a team led by foreman Mugalim Minyazovich Gimazov at the "Tatneft" trust drilled about 16,000 metres in 1954, or more than 1,300 metres per boring machine a month. In some cases this team reached a speed ranging from 2,500 to 3,000 metres per boring machine a month.

However, on the whole the oil industry is lagging behind in the speed of boring, as well as in the processing of oil.

It should be noted, Comrade Bulganin went on, that the raising of labour productivity depends not only on the amount and the level of technique available, but also on its correct utilisation. For instance, it is generally known that our coal industry is the most highly mechanised branch of the economy. But it does not fulfil its assignments for raising labour productivity. The fact that mechanisation in the coal industry is not on a complex footing and embraces only the main processes of coal extraction has a negative effect on the work of miners.

There are also serious shortcomings in the timber and light industries and other branches with regard to the employment of existing technique and the introduction of new technique and advanced technology.

How are we to explain such a situation? The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have justly pointed out that the lag in introducing advanced technique derives from the fact that many workers in industry have become complacent and conceited, have lost their sense of responsibility to the state for the job assigned and their perspective and orientation as regards technical policy,

paid to the question of cadres of technologists. It is necessary to elevate their role and advance the science of technology.

There are serious errors in the work of the designing and scientific-research organisations. Some of the organisations, having insufficient contact with production, offer industry machines and recommend technology now out of date. Not a few scientific organisations have long worked without yielding any return and without creating anything of real value.

Socialist emulation has always played and will continue to play a great part in the ensuring of higher labour productivity and the mastering of new technique. At the same time it is necessary to note that in the past few years our business executives, Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations have paid less attention to socialist emulation.

The major task of socialist emulation is now to spread the experiences and achievements of the advanced workers in industry on a wider scale. However, innovators and advanced workers do not get the support they deserve; their experience is insufficiently popularised and does not become the property of the masses.

There are serious shortcomings in the matter of inventions. The examination of inventions and rationalising proposals is often a long-drawn out process. In this time many of them become antiquated and their introduction in industry loses all meaning.

Comrade Bulganin pointed to the need of discussing all these questions at the conference, examining them in detail, and working out measures for the speediest elimination of shortcomings which prevent the introduction of new technique; he then dwelt on questions relating to organisation of production and cited the following words of V. I. Lenin: "Neither railways nor transport, neither large-scale machines nor enterprises generally, can function properly unless there is unity of will which can fuse all those working into one economic organism, working with the precision of clock-work." (Lenin's Works, Vol. 27, p. 186, Fourth Russian Edition.)

We, said Comrade Bulganin, are far from achieving clock-work precision in our work. Our organisation of production suffers from many shortcomings. Take industry as a whole: here the problems of specialisation and co-operation in production have taken on particularly acute forms. It is high time

We have many examples of good work on the part of whole staffs who, by pursuing the course of introducing new technique and improving the organisation of production, attain higher productivity of labour, reduce production costs and ensure a high quality of goods produced.

I should like to cite a few examples. Among them are the personnel of the Magnitogorsk metallurgical works, of the "Zapadnaya Capitalnaya" mines (the Donetz Basin), the managerial board of the Tuimazy oilfields, Uralmash works and many others.

We have thousands of advanced workers and innovators who have set examples of how to achieve high productivity of labour such as Grigori Konstantinovich Pomyatun, steel smelter in the "Zaporozhstal" works; Ivan Vassilyevich Pilipenko and Pyotr Azarovich Gulyashov, boring team leaders in the Kalinin mines (the Donetz Basin); Mugalim Minyazovich Gimazov, boring foreman in the "Tatneft" Amalgamation; Vitaly Kupriyanovich Seminsky, turner at the "Krasny Excavator" plant in Kiev; Nicolai Mikhailovich Kuzmin, turner at the "Krasny Proletarii" machine-tool plant in Moscow and many others.

By popularising the experiences of the advanced enterprises and innovators in science and production on a wider scale, by improving the leadership of socialist emulation, we shall be able, in the future

too, to increase output at a rapid rate, improve its quality, reduce production costs and advance steadily along the road of technical progress and further growth of labour productivity. Our country has all the necessary prerequisites for solving these tasks.

For a further development of the economy, stated Comrade Bulganin, it is necessary to improve state planning. With this in view, the C.C. of the CPSU and the Government have started to carry out a series of measures having as their purpose the improvement of state planning and the introduction of new technique in the economy. A decision has been adopted to reorganise the State Planning Commission of the USSR, in order to effect a basic improvement in the long-range planning of the national economy of the USSR. It was decided to separate the working out of long-range planning of economic development from current planning. To this end there will be established, on the basis of the existing State Planning Commission, a State Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for long-range economic planning (State Planning Commission of the USSR) and an Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for current planning of the economy (Economic Commission of the USSR).

It has also been decided to set up a State Committee for introducing new technique,

which will direct and co-ordinate the work of the Ministries in this respect. Further measures are being prepared.

In conclusion Comrade Bulganin called on the participants of the conference to centre their attention particularly on the following questions which, in the opinion of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, are especially important:

1. The speediest elaboration and introduction of advanced technique, improving technology and organisation of production for sharply raising labour productivity.

2. Better utilisation of the equipment available and the existing production space.

3. Strengthening state discipline, and, as the immediate task, fulfilment and overfulfilment by every enterprise of the state plan for all indices for the current year which is the last year of the Five-Year Plan.

4. Reduction in size and cutting of costs of the administrative apparatus in industry.

Bold criticism of shortcomings, said Comrade Bulganin, will help the Central Committee of the Party and the Government to go more deeply into the state of affairs in industry as regards the introduction of the achievements of science and technique, into the organisation of production, to draw the attention of the public to these questions and find ways and means for a speedy elimination of the existing shortcomings.

Speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, First Secretary, C.C., CPSU

Before commenting on the work of our industry (said Comrade Khrushchev), I should like to cite a few facts and figures characterising the situation in agriculture. The Party decisions on promoting an advance in agriculture are of exceptional importance. There is every reason to assume that the tasks set by the January meeting of the Party Central Committee will be carried out, not in six years, as originally estimated, but in three or four. (Prolonged applause.)

Here are a few figures on grain growing. You know that the advancement of grain growing and, on that basis, of livestock raising, are the chief tasks posed in the decisions of the C.C. meeting.

As the plan stands, the area sown to cereal crops this year is to be 18,587,000 hectares greater than in 1953. I am certain, however, that the collective and state farms will improve upon this plan somewhat. It will definitely be overfulfilled. Last year, instead of the projected 13 million hectares of virgin and fallow land, over 17 million were brought under cultivation.

Add to this some two million hectares ploughed in the spring and the round figure—for virgin land alone—will come to about 20 million hectares. Even if we gather only 60 poods of grain per hectare, the country will receive an extra 1,200 million poods of grain—not a small addition to what we had before. This should gladden our hearts.

How were we able to enlarge the sown area and lay a firm foundation for the advance of agriculture so quickly? Because (said Khrushchev) our powerfully developed socialist industry equipped the areas of virgin land with an ample quantity of good machines. This was made possible by the heroic labour of our working class, our collective farm peasantry, because in response to the call of the Party the Komsomol sent many thousands of its best people to these areas.

not the case. What we want is improvement, and there is no limit to improvement. That is why we shall raise and discuss at regular intervals one or another set of problems relating to the development of our economy.

How is our industry working? It is working well. We may already say today that the fifth Five-Year Plan will be overfulfilled. What does that show? It shows how devotedly our working class, collective farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia are working, under the guidance of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. (Prolonged applause.)

Under the guidance of the Communist Party the Soviet people have won victories of world-historic importance. As a result of the realisation of the general line of the Communist Party, our country has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial and collective farm power.

Guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people have built Socialism and are confidently advancing towards Communism. Our task is to continue to strengthen the might of the Soviet Union and to develop our economy, primarily heavy industry, and on its basis to advance light industry and agriculture, to steadily improve the well-being of the people. Our task is to strengthen to the utmost the fraternal alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the great friendship between the peoples of our country. It is by these aims that all our Party's activities are guided.

Comrade Khrushchev then noted that industry had immense potentialities, but that they were poorly utilised. All the speakers at the present conference, he said, justly commented on this fact. The participants in the conference unanimously support the measures worked out by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council

ministries but also between them. The establishment of specialised factories will enable us to organise the mass production of high-grade and cheaper industrial products and to eliminate inefficient methods of work more quickly.

More attention, said Comrade Khrushchev, has to be given to the development of the machine-tools industry, to the production of tools and devices. We must improve the technique of production to the utmost and steadily supply all branches of industry with the latest machinery. This we shall be able to do only if our machine-tools and tools industries far outstrip the development of other industries. A lathe should not be worked until it is completely worn out and only then replaced or modernised.

To have first-class equipment we must develop our machine-tools industry to the utmost, improve the work of our designing bureaus and our scientific institutes, enlist the aid of our best designers and inventors in making new machine-tools and other machines. Favourable conditions must be provided for their creative work.

Of course, we shall continue to build new industrial enterprises. But we must build them reasonably, advancing and extending those industries which need to be expanded. It would, however, be inexcusable if we did not use the existing reserve for expanding production, such as the renewal of machine-tool equipment and the introduction of new technique. This is also an extension of production, but an extension which can be attained with a smaller expenditure of energy and resources.

In his speech Comrade Khrushchev paid a great deal of attention to planning. He pointed out that production should be planned not only on a national scale, but for local economic areas also, making fuller use of all their potentialities.

Now nearly every factory has its foundry, possibly a bad one, but its own. So why can we not build foundries on a district scale, which would be well mechanised and

Comrade Bulganin then went on to say that the question posed for discussion at the conference was one of great state significance. It is only the permeating of production with the latest achievements in science and technique—the basis of technical progress—that can ensure a swift growth of labour productivity which, as Lenin put it, is in the last resort the most important, the main thing for the victory of the new social system.

In the past 26 years labour productivity in our industry has increased more than six times over.

To guarantee the further development of the economy it is essential to raise labour productivity to a new, higher level. This task can be solved only by means of un-failing and decisive introduction into industry of new technique and advanced technology, modernisation of the available machinery and equipment and a radical improvement in the organisation of production.

Engineering workers play an especially important part in the development and introduction of new technique and in raising labour productivity in the economy. Their influence on technical progress in the country is effected in two ways. On the one hand, through the introduction of new technique and the raising of labour productivity at the machine-building plants themselves in the course of turning out machinery and equipment; on the other, through the designing and production of machines which will ensure technical progress in the whole of the economy.

In wartime and in the first postwar years such progressive methods of work as production lines, automatic and semi-automatic welding, high-speed metal cutting, heating by high-frequency current and a number of others were introduced on quite a broad scale in the machine-building industry, but nowadays little is heard about new large-scale technological developments in this industry. On the whole our engineering workers limit themselves to the application of technological processes already mastered, whereas new progressive technological processes have been evolved, which make it possible to increase labour productivity several times over, to curtail drastically the expenditure of metal and materials and to turn out more products in the same production space.

One cannot consider it a normal situation when in our machine-building industry an inadequate output of special machine-tool equipment leads to a reduction in the proportion of highly productive machine-tools. The production of forging machines and presses is seriously lagging, the processes of automatization of production are introduced slowly, and at many engineering plants the available equipment is utilised poorly. There are factories which still turn out machines that are inferior to those produced by some plants abroad.

Comrade Bulganin pointed out further that our metallurgical and chemical workers were called upon to play a great part in ensuring the technical progress of the country and in raising labour productivity. While the metallurgical and chemical industries have registered certain achievements in the introduction of new technique, both these branches are still lagging behind the level of world technique in some types of production.

Inadequate work is carried on in the ferrous metallurgical industry to improve the quality of special brands of steel and alloy, particularly of heat-proof brands. Highly productive processes are slowly being introduced into blast-furnace work and steel smelting which are based on the use of oxygen and blast-furnace gas at higher pressures, bringing up iron ores to average composition, the use of new highly fire-proof materials, complex automatization of the control of metallurgical processes.

the level of technique available, but also on its correct utilisation. For instance, it is generally known that our coal industry is the most highly mechanised branch of the economy. But it does not fulfil its assignments for raising labour productivity. The fact that mechanisation in the coal industry is not on a complex footing and embraces only the main processes of coal extraction has a negative effect on the work of miners.

There are also serious shortcomings in the timber and light industries and other branches with regard to the employment of existing technique and the introduction of new technique and advanced technology.

How are we to explain such a situation? The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have justly pointed out that the lag in introducing advanced technique derives from the fact that many workers in industry have become complacent and conceited, have lost their sense of responsibility to the state for the job assigned and their perspective and orientation as regards technical policy. A number of executives have forgotten the directives of the Party to the effect that technique must always advance, and that without this it is impossible to develop socialist production.

We live in an age of very rapid progress of science and technique, in the age of atomic energy. Now, as never before, life demands that executives and engineers and technicians in industry be able correctly to estimate and apply the latest achievements and to foresee the further development of science and technique. But in industry there are leading comrades who prefer to simply produce or apply obsolete technique, and do not wish to trouble themselves with the assimilation and introduction of new, more advanced technique and progressive technology. As a rule, the introduction of new technique demands the reorganisation of the established production process and the training of cadres. Hence certain business executives often themselves cling to backward but well-assimilated technique.

Some of our designers and scientists say, not without reason, that it is easier to design a machine than to get it to be used. To get it introduced in production requires an immense amount of pressure, and not every inventor or designer possesses it.

The introduction of new technique is a difficult job which sometimes takes a long time. It requires means, materials and time, and here the leading role of the Ministries must be exerted to the full.

The existing system of financing and of material-technical preparation of measures for the introduction of new technique is not perfect, suffers from shortcomings, and therefore should be revised.

While introducing a new technique, said Comrade Bulganin, one cannot forget, of course, the old one. It is clear that we cannot throw out at once all old equipment and machines and replace them by new ones. This equipment and machinery must be modernised so that we can use it more effectively.

The introduction of a new technique must take into account state interests and its maximum benefit for the economy. Technique cannot be separated from economics. Every introduction of new technique requires an economic justification, calculations and preliminary check-up, a fact which is frequently overlooked.

The introduction of advanced technique and better organisation of production, Comrade Bulganin went on to say, cannot be viewed in isolation, apart from people engaged in production. Nothing can be achieved if the workers, technicians, engineers, designers and technologists do not widely participate in this matter, if there is no permanent, creative co-operation between scientific workers and those engaged in production. Particular attention must be

given to the fact that the introduction of new technique is not a matter of mere numbers, but of quality. The introduction of new technique is not a matter of mere numbers, but of quality. The introduction of new technique is not a matter of mere numbers, but of quality.

Comrade Bulganin pointed to the need of discussing all these questions at the conference, examining them in detail, and working out measures for the speediest elimination of shortcomings which prevent the introduction of new technique; he then dwelt on questions relating to organisation of production and cited the following words of V. I. Lenin: "Neither railways nor transport, neither large-scale machines nor enterprises generally, can function properly unless there is unity of will which can fuse all those working into one economic organism, working with the precision of clock-work." (Lenin's Works, Vol. 27, p. 186, Fourth Russian Edition.)

We, said Comrade Bulganin, are far from achieving clock-work precision in our work. Our organisation of production suffers from many shortcomings. Take industry as a whole: here the problems of specialisation and co-operation in production have taken on particularly acute forms. It is high time that we make a turn, in this respect, in the direction of more widespread co-operation and the setting up of specialised enterprises.

In the sphere of organisation of production, problems of rhythms of work at the enterprises, and of the utilisation of internal reserves, require our special attention. Almost half of the output in many branches of industry is accounted for in the last third of the month. This means that the enterprises work at less than full capacity in the first two-thirds of the month, and then they begin to race against time. The C.C. of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR are of the opinion that non-rhythmical work in enterprises is scandalous and impermissible. We must exert all our efforts to do away, in the shortest possible time, with this serious shortcoming in the work of industry.

Our industry has great reserves at its disposal. The experience of the innovators in production shows how much additional output can be obtained through better utilisation of the existing technique, introduction of progressive technology and the adoption of more up-to-date methods of work. However, there are still not a few workers in industry who fail to display the necessary initiative in perfecting the organisation of production.

The shortcomings in the organisation of industry find their reflection in the management structure of the enterprises. The Party and the Government demand that red tape, bureaucratic style of leadership be eliminated root and branch, the numbers of administrative staff reduced, their work improved, and the leadership enhanced. These directives of the Party have thus far been carried out inadequately. As a rule, the management structure at the medium and small enterprises hardly differs at all from that of the large-scale plants. For example, we cannot regard as normal the state of affairs at the Kharkov road-building machinery plant of the Ministry of the Building and Road-building Machine Industry, where there are 10 departments and 6 workshops and 88 employees on the managerial staff, but only 273 workers. There is no need to prove how much this costs the state or how it affects the cost of production. We must improve the management structure of the enterprises, rid them of unnecessary subdivisions and enlarge small workshops and departments.

We have no doubt, Comrade Bulganin went on to say, that the socialist system, as the more progressive one, will win out in the economic competition between the two social systems. But it is common knowledge that victory does not come by itself—people have to organise it and win it. To win out over capitalism in economic competition we must have advanced technique, better organisation of production and higher labour productivity.

will improve upon this plan somewhat. It will definitely be overfulfilled. Last year, instead of the projected 13 million hectares of virgin and fallow land, over 17 million were brought under cultivation.

Add to this some two million hectares ploughed in the spring and the round figure—for virgin land alone—will come to about 20 million hectares. Even if we gather only 60 poods of grain per hectare, the country will receive an extra 1,200 million poods of grain—not a small addition to what we had before. This should gladden our hearts.

How were we able to enlarge the sown area and lay a firm foundation for the advance of agriculture so quickly? Because (said Khrushchev) our powerfully developed socialist industry equipped the areas of virgin land with an ample quantity of good machines. This was made possible by the heroic labour of our working class, our collective farm peasantry, because in response to the call of the Party the Komsomol sent many thousands of its best people to these areas.

Although we are having a late spring this year, the spring sowing is proceeding much better than last year. By May 15 the collective and state farms of the country had topped their last year's grain sowing figure for the same date by 16,300,000 hectares, of which 11,750,000 were sown to wheat.

The area sown to maize is being rapidly enlarged. Our collective and state farms are displaying great activity in this matter, and upon their activity much depends. It has been proved in practice that maize is a powerful means of advancing livestock raising. It is being sown on a large scale this year, and at a rapid rate. Sixteen million hectares are to be sown to it as against 3,500,000 last year. By May 15 the area sown to it already exceeded last year's area of the same date by 4,500,000 hectares.

In most areas the climatic conditions this year are good. Everywhere there is sufficient moisture. Barring unforeseen circumstances (which in nature are rather frequent) we have reason to expect a good harvest this year.

Some results have also been obtained in livestock raising. Facts show that the gross milk yield in the past seven months increased by 840,000 tons or by 29% over the same period in 1953-54, and by 1,424,000 tons or 60% over 1952-53. The quantity of milk delivered and purchased by May 10 was 22% greater than the figure for the same date last year.

This achievement is the result of the fact that the Party was able to heighten the material interest of the collective farmers in the development of livestock raising, to release their initiative, centre the attention of Party organisations upon the development of agriculture and reinforce the staffs of the machine and tractor stations.

These figures on grain growing and animal husbandry, said Khrushchev, show that the decisions of the January meeting of the Central Committee of the Party are being carried out successfully. But that, of course, does not mean that now we can relax our attention to agriculture and let things proceed of their own accord. We must continue with the same perseverance our effort to advance agriculture, improve its organisation and promote its progress. Our aim is to achieve a state of affairs in which socialist agriculture will supply the population with an abundance of foodstuffs and industry with raw material. And we have every possibility of doing so.

Further, Comrade Khrushchev turned to a discussion of industrial problems.

Our enemies may say, he stated, that our discussing industrial problems so broadly indicates that we are faced with big difficulties, that the situation in industry is unfavourable. That of course, is

the result of the general line of the Communist Party, our country has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial and collective farm power.

Guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people have built Socialism and are confidently advancing towards Communism. Our task is to continue to strengthen the might of the Soviet Union and to develop our economy, primarily heavy industry, and on its basis to advance light industry and agriculture, to steadily improve the well-being of the people. Our task is to strengthen to the utmost the fraternal alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the great friendship between the peoples of our country. It is by these aims that all our Party's activities are guided.

Comrade Khrushchev then noted that industry had immense potentialities, but that they were poorly utilised. All the speakers at the present conference, he said, justly commented on this fact. The participants in the conference unanimously support the measures worked out by the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR for promoting the continued advance of our socialist industry.

Better organisation of production will enable us to increase substantially the output of industrial goods with the existing production space and with the same equipment. Better utilisation of metals will enable us to increase the output of metal wares by from 50 to 100%. Comrade Khrushchev cited numerous concrete examples of a non-rational use of metals.

To this day, little use is made of reinforced concrete in building industrial establishments, with the result that large quantities of metal are wasted on metal structures. Some builders cite the necessity of building durably and quickly as an excuse for the extensive use of metal structures. As for durability, we know that our forefathers built the belfry of Ivan the Great without using metal structures, yet its durability might well be envied by many modern builders. As for rates of construction, given correct organisation, the use of reinforced concrete can yield exceedingly good results.

Further, Comrade Khrushchev stressed the necessity of paying more attention to the economic side of the question in construction as well as in other branches of production.

How much extra metal is wasted in shavings! And all because of the inertia of many of our business executives, who give no heed to improving production and introducing new technological methods that almost completely eliminate metal waste. Modern techniques offer great possibilities in this regard. Extensive use of stamping and forging presses, the introduction of the method of precision casting and many other technical methods make it possible to reduce shavings to a minimum.

In actual fact a forging sometimes weights 10 kilograms, whereas the part made from it weights only one kilogram. In other words, 9 kilograms of metal are shaved away. In the process, lathing and milling machine-operators expend much labour, a good deal of electric current is used up and equipment is used in an impractical manner.

Comrade Khrushchev then spoke of the necessity of enlarging the assortment of rolled items. Much metal can be saved, he said, if the assortment of rolled goods put out is more richly varied in gauge, size and also quality.

Of great significance for the further development of industry is the specialisation of production, the establishment of co-operation between enterprises and between branches of industry. Each minister wants to conduct production in isolation, with reference only to the establishments under his ministry. But that is not sensible, especially under our socialist conditions. Our task is to work towards specialisation and extensive co-operation in production. There should be co-operation not only within the

most improve the work of our designing bureaus and our scientific institutes, enlist the aid of our best designers and inventors in making new machine-tools and other machines. Favourable conditions must be provided for their creative work.

Of course, we shall continue to build new industrial enterprises. But we must build them reasonably, advancing and extending those industries which need to be expanded. It would, however, be inexcusable if we did not use the existing reserve for expanding production, such as the renewal of machine-tool equipment and the introduction of new technique. This is also an extension of production, but an extension which can be attained with a smaller expenditure of energy and resources.

In his speech Comrade Khrushchev paid a great deal of attention to planning. He pointed out that production should be planned not only on a national scale, but for local economic areas also, making fuller use of all their potentialities.

Now nearly every factory has its foundry, possibly a bad one, but its own. So why can we not build foundries on a district scale, which would be well mechanised and would cater for the whole industrial area?

We must also build some specialised plants, organised according to the last word in technique, to turn out various types of diesel engines.

We look to local industry and producer co-operatives to play an important part in meeting the growing requirements of the population in mass-consumption goods. This production must be centralised and concentrated, local industry must be equipped with new technique and new advanced technology introduced; only then shall we receive from local industry two or three times more consumer goods, cheaper and of better quality. Thus we shall improve the people's supply of daily necessities. (Applause.) Of course, this will require a certain amount of capital investment, but this will be quickly made up for.

Describing the tasks in improving planning, Comrade Khrushchev pointed to the importance of the recent decision on the division of the "Gosplan" into two parts, one of which, the State Planning Commission, will deal with questions of long-range planning, and the other, the Economic Commission will handle questions of current planning. These bodies will supplement each other. We cannot live without long-range planning, said Comrade Khrushchev, any more than we can live without current planning.

We need to draw up plans for the development of our economy, not only for one or five years but for a longer period. We must have long-range plans for certain branches of industry, especially the power industry, which should be worked out for ten or fifteen years.

Who is to work out these long-term plans? It must be done by the State Planning Commission with the assistance of the scientific institutes. The drafting of plans for a long period ahead will equip the Soviet people with a clear perspective of the progress towards Communism, and will show how in this or that industry we shall outstrip the most advanced capitalist countries in per capita output.

It may be asked: why must we have an Economic Commission in addition to a State Planning Commission? We need the Economic Commission in order more efficiently to utilise all possible material, technical and labour reserves for carrying out the state plans for the development of the economy. In current planning we must display the maximum of flexibility and a creative approach. This is necessary because, as it is fulfilled, even an ideal plan can be improved on through the development of the creative initiative and activity of the working people fulfilling and over-fulfilling their planned assignments.

Comrade Khrushchev stressed the need to increase the responsibility of leaders in the ministries for the drafting and fulfilment of plans, for the summing up and popularising of advanced experience.

(Continued on page 4)

Speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev

(Continued from page 3)

It is necessary that a minister has at his side experienced inspection engineers to enable him to make a more profound study of the organisation of work in factories, of technology, machine-tool equipment and advanced methods of labour in individual branches, generalising these and passing on experience from one factory to another. The ministers must organise work in such a way that everything new and advanced is disseminated as widely as possible and becomes common property. (Applause.)

In connection with the tasks facing our industry in the drive for technical progress, to raise labour productivity and lower production costs, Comrade Khrushchev stressed the special role of the Ministry of State Control and the Committee on State Technique which is being set up anew. State control, said N. S. Khrushchev, must to a greater extent be geared to production itself and more fully utilised in this respect.

Comrade Khrushchev devoted a great deal of attention to questions of raising labour productivity, of rationing, wages, improving the quality of produce and lowering its production costs.

He strongly criticised bureaucratic managerial shortcomings in ministries, offices and industrial enterprises.

Summing up the tasks in industry, Comrade Khrushchev spoke of the great responsibility of Party organisations in industrial enterprises for advancing and improving industry and fulfilling state plans. He pointed out that if all the numerous cadres working in industry, the Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations set to work properly and led creative activity among the masses, socialist industry would develop even more quickly and would score fresh successes.

Comrade Khrushchev then turned to certain questions relating to the international situation. He stressed the tremendous significance of the State Treaty, recently signed in Vienna, on the restoration of an independent, democratic Austria.

The settlement of the Austrian question, reached through the initiative of the Soviet Union, is a substantial contribution to relaxing international tension and strengthening peace.

Bourgeois propaganda persistently and maliciously claims that the Soviet Union

wants to seize the whole of Europe. Yet when concluding the Austrian Treaty we proposed that all troops, including our own, be withdrawn from Austria. Could there be any stronger proof that the Soviet Union does not intend to seize Europe or to wage war in general? Who would withdraw his troops if he were going to attack? We have been and remain the most consistent and resolute defenders of peace both in Europe and throughout the world.

The Soviet Government's recent proposals on reducing armaments, prohibiting atomic weapons and eliminating the threat of a new war, are a tremendous contribution to the cause of peace.

Implementing a policy of preparing a new war, the aggressive circles are organising military blocs, pursuing an arms drive, threatening the peoples with atomic war, reviving German militarism and taking a number of other measures directed against the peaceful life of the peoples. The proposals of the Soviet Union deal a fresh blow to the designs and schemes of the imperialists. Of particularly great significance is the fact that these proposals provide a serious basis for making practical headway towards the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction and the elimination of the threat of a new war, all objects passionately desired by the peoples.

All these facts clearly show that our foreign policy is based on the inviolable principles bequeathed to us by the great Lenin.

The fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy is the recognition of the possibility and necessity of the peaceful coexistence of different social systems. It is only on the basis of this principle that normal relations and business-like co-operation can be established among all states.

It is this fact which those who cling to a "positions of strength" policy obstinately refuse to understand.

They forget one simple thing: that even in the very first years of the existence of the Soviet state, when we were so weak, Lenin taught the Soviet people not to give in to imperialist threats, but to answer them with a firm rebuff. Lenin led the struggle of the Soviet people against the intervention of fourteen states and our people were victorious. Is it not

obvious that now, when the Soviet Union is a mighty industrial state, the "positions of strength" policy is doomed to failure?

Comrade Khrushchev then stressed the great significance of the forthcoming meeting of the Soviet and Yugoslav government delegations in Belgrade for the easing of international tension and the consolidation of peace. The delegation of the Soviet people, he said, will go there with an open mind and sincere good feeling. We have every necessary precondition for ensuring the complete normalisation of relations between the USSR and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, above all in terms of state relationships.

We firmly adhere to the view that for normal relations among states it is necessary to apply the principle of equality and mutual non-interference in each others' internal affairs. Can we establish firm and friendly relations with Yugoslavia on this basis? Certainly, we can.

Further, can we develop trade and other economic relations with Yugoslavia on mutually advantageous conditions? Is it advantageous to both countries? There is no doubt that we can and that it is mutually advantageous.

We are firmly convinced that the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, with their age-old traditions of friendship, and who have more than once fought together against common enemies, and have common aims in the fight for a better future and a happy life, possess a firm basis for broad, comprehensive co-operation. This co-operation, said Comrade Khrushchev, is not only important for the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples; it is important for the cause of world peace.

Comrade Khrushchev concluded: Comrades, the Soviet socialist state founded by the great Lenin is becoming stronger and ever more flourishing. Our successes are growing and multiplying. They will be even greater if sensibly, in a Bolshevik, Leninist manner, we tackle the solution of all the tasks facing us in the leadership of industry, agriculture, state organisation and foreign policy.

Under the guidance of the Communist Party, its Central Committee and our Government, the Soviet people will work with still greater energy for the accomplishment of the great tasks of building Communism. (Prolonged applause, all rise.)

May Proletarian Unity Develop and Grow Strong*

Comrades!

As the Central Committee has noted, our Party did not do badly in the cantonal elections. Despite the numerous attacks of all sorts to which it has been subjected in the past eight years, it remains the leading party in France, standing well ahead of the others. As the bourgeois press has been constrained to admit, the vote confirmed the fact that our Party is a major factor in the life of the country. One Paris weekly has acknowledged that the French Communist Party has the support of the "most stable" section of the electorate, and the newspaper *La Croix* wrote on April 26: "The strength of Communism continues to be immense."

Special note should be taken of the appreciable number of additional votes gained by our Party in a number of large working-class centres, such as Argenteuil and Montluçon, the suburbs of Lyons and Toulon, the Briey-Longwy basin and some of the proletarian cantons in the North of France. The Communist Party is the party of the working class: the working people have once again shown their trust in it.

More than ever, the doings and actions of our Party have in the past fortnight been a subject of discussion in all quarters. Political leaders and groups are defining their position in reference to ours. "What do the Communists say? Where do the Communists mean to go?"—no one is indifferent to this question. We stand at the hub of French political life.

What attracts the greatest attention is the growing unity of proletarian action, for which we have always worked.

It will soon be two years since the plenary meeting of our Central Committee, held in Issy-les-Moulineaux in June 1953, described the progress of the idea of unity among the masses as "the decisive fact of the hour", pointing out that a united front of the working class would lead to a union of the democratic and national forces that would be capable of sweeping reaction out and determining the deep-going change that is required.

The Central Committee meeting in Drancy in October of that year was able, after a number of big strikes, to take note of the fact that the masses had not only become more deeply convinced of the necessity of unity, but had also successfully begun to put this idea into effect.

In 1954 our Congress urged the Communists to "redouble their initiative, perseverance and fraternal efforts to draw into a united front the working people and the Socialist organisations and also all the groups under Socialist influence".

Since then some very important steps have been taken towards joint struggle and we can see the powerful impact they have had both in the social and the electoral sphere.

The present struggle of the working class against pauperisation and poverty, for a higher minimum wage and the abolition of the wage zones—for all their economic demands—is for the most part marked by the achievement of unity among the members and lower organisations of the different trade union centres. Sometimes agreement is reached even between national industrial federations. In 38 departments, the departmental CGT organisations concluded agreements with the departmental organisations of the Force Ouvrière, the Christian Confederation and the Confederation of Cadres, to say nothing of the increasingly numerous agreements with the National Trade Union of Schoolteachers and the Autonomous Federation of National Education.

The establishment in the

★
Maurice Thorez
General Secretary,
French Communist Party

★ ★

class. Above all, it opened up broad prospects. The establishment of numerous fraternal ties between the activists, sections and even federations of the Socialist and Communist Parties is a highly promising event.

It is precisely because of the progress of unity that the reactionaries are bringing to bear every possible means to impede the movement of the masses and the activity of our Party.

The law introducing a state of emergency in Algeria, where the people's and national movement is being brutally suppressed, is a threat to the political life of France as well. The Premier advances as his chief task a reactionary revision of the Constitution. The unjust nature of the electoral laws makes itself apparent in all elections; only a few days ago it was necessary to poll eight times the number of votes to elect a Communist to the post of general councillor that were needed to elect a representative of such a reactionary party as the MRP. Yet the enemies of the people intend to frame a law for the forthcoming parliamentary elections that would further reduce the number of representatives of the working people.

In the factories the trade union freedoms and personal rights of the working people are being trampled underfoot.

In the educational field the offensive of obscurantism is extending its scope.

Alongside the application of and search for repressive and anti-democratic measures, the henchmen of the bourgeoisie can be seen to be intensifying their "left" manoeuvres. Politicians who would like to wash their hands of their prime responsibility for the preparation and adoption of the Paris agreements are trying to spread fresh illusions in regard to economic and social questions, while openly manifesting their hostility to the Popular Front and Communism.

If we analyse the orientation of the recent congress of the Radical Party and its so-called "shift to the left", we can observe a dual tendency.

On the one hand, the congress reflected the pressure that is being exerted by the masses, the growth of objective contradictions among the social groups which form the traditional electoral base of this, one of the principal parties in the government camp. In a more or less confused way, the Radical Party congress reflected the growing desire of the petty bourgeoisie for a change of policy. It reflected the oscillations which at present carry these, naturally unstable, elements towards social progress and the defence of liberties and peace.

On the other hand, the congress was an arena of manoeuvres on the part of the politicians, designed to intercept this trend, which is favourable to the unification of the forces of the people, and turn it to the account of the big bourgeoisie, and to knock together a political and electoral grouping directed in the main against our Party and the hopes it represents.

The Communist Party is the party of the working class and at the same time the authoritative spokesman of the interests of the peasant masses and middle

Aware of the responsibility borne by our Party, which with its whole being serves the interests of the working class, the people and the country, we will spare no effort to overcome all barriers to unity, to win all working people one after the other, and especially the Socialist workers, over to the side of united struggle.

Thanks to unity we shall secure satisfaction of the economic demands of the proletariat, of the needs of the poorest and most exploited sections, to which the January meeting of our Central Committee called special attention.

Thanks to unity we shall abolish the law introducing a state of emergency and the anti-secular laws, we shall avert the fresh dangers threatening democratic freedoms, we shall give our fraternal support to the colonial peoples fighting for their liberty and independence.

Thanks to unity we shall thwart the policy of war and of the remilitarisation of Western Germany which the American imperialists and their accomplices in the Atlantic bloc are feverishly pursuing. To our rulers' nullification of the Franco-Soviet treaty we shall reply with a more ardent and wholehearted friendship than ever between our people and the Soviet people. We shall secure real negotiations which will replace the "positions of strength" policy by one of relaxing international tension, of international co-operation. We shall promote solution of the problem of supervised reduction of armaments. We shall steadily broaden the movement of the masses for the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and it will be our first object to conduct a broad, mass campaign for signatures to the Appeal issued by the World Peace Council.

It behoves the Communists to fight with all their might against everything that may retard the broad unification of the popular forces and, in particular, against everything that may harm the unity of the working class, the union of Socialist and Communist workers.

May the unity of proletarian ranks develop and grow strong, and then the working peasantry, the urban middle classes, the intellectuals as well as all the petty bourgeoisie upon whom the policy of imperialist reaction relies but who are being led to ruin by the offensive of the monopolies, will feel the magnetic pull of a working class that is demonstrating its unity and might. Unification of the democratic and national forces will become an indisputable reality in the ion in Parliament as well.

In view of this great prospect, it is the duty of every Communist to strengthen the Party's ties with the proletarian and non-proletarian masses, to be the conscientious defender of the demands of the working class and all working people and to take an active part and display a sense of responsibility in the various workers' and democratic organisations, above all in the trade unions.

It is the duty of every Communist to work for the application of the correct Party policy of unity, fighting resolutely on two fronts—against every opportunist tendency manifestations of the Party, and against sometimes even contempt for Socialist workers.

It is the duty of every Communist to work unceasingly to heighten the whole Party's capacity for action, by recruiting new members, especially in the

Successes of French Peace Partisans

The collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal is proceeding successfully in France. A local youth committee for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction in Grenoble organised a meeting, at which the committee members collected signatures to the Appeal and over 6,000 francs to print leaflets and posters with a view to popularising the Appeal among the townsfolk.

In a small metallurgical plant in Clichy (Seine Department) the Appeal was signed by nearly all the workers. But the canvassers did not stop at that; they then went to a neighbouring factory where a collection of signatures to the Appeal had not as yet taken place.

In Auriol (Bouches-du-Rhône Department), a delegation from the local peace committee was present at a meeting of the municipal council. After the meeting it suggested that the council, consisting of Communists, Socialists and Independents, should support the Vienna Appeal. The Mayor, his deputies and ten councillors who were present signed the Appeal.

More than 200,000 of the citizens in Paris have already put their signatures to the Appeal. Some 12,000 signatures have been collected in the town of Vitry and 8,000 in the town of Saint Denis. In a number of residential quarters in Antibes

(Alpes-Maritimes Department) from 88 to 100% of the citizens have signed the Appeal. Throughout the whole of France hundreds of thousands of signatures have already been collected.

Numerous elected bodies are coming out in support of the Appeal. For example, the general councils of the Basses-Alpes, Aude, Hautes-Alpes, Gard, Allier and Ardennes Departments have unanimously passed resolutions, some including the text of the Appeal, others demanding a ban on atomic weapons. Similar resolutions have been adopted by the municipal councils of Aubervilliers (Seine Department) and Martigues (Bouches-du-Rhône Department).

Best Canvassers in Vienna

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Best Canvassers in Vienna

The Vienna Peace Council regularly features the names of those activists who achieve the best results in collecting signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council. And in the first place on this list of honour appears the name of an ordinary Austrian woman Anna Hobodites, who has collected 2,893 signatures.

Maria Augustovics, a worker in one of the Vienna factories, who has collected 1,405 signatures, tells how, directly after work each day, she collects signatures in the

most crowded streets and squares of Vienna. "To do that", she says, "one must have much patience. While collecting signatures discussions very often arise, and many people, who at first stopped just out of curiosity, also sign the Appeal. But to collect one thousand signatures, I had to explain to people the significance of the signature campaign five thousand times or, maybe, even more."

A 62-year-old woman pensioner Gisela Draskovits, residing in the 15th district of

Vienna, has obtained 208 signatures. "One must possess grit", she said. "It may happen that people get angry with you but, eventually, you succeed in convincing many of them. In the street strangers often approach me and when I ask how they came to know me, they answer they gave me their signatures to the Appeal. I think that those from whom I obtained signatures will never regret signing and will always have happy memories of me."

Working-Class Unity—the Basis of Victory Over the Franco Regime

Contrary to the views of Republican leaders, who have no faith in the masses, the Communist Party of Spain has repeatedly declared that American aid will not save the Franco regime. One after another, facts prove that the Communists are right.

A crisis is slowly but surely undermining Franco's regime, which creates an urgent need for Spanish democratic forces to build unity so as to prepare them for active and decisive intervention in its solution.

The monarchist forces in Spain are developing feverish activity, preparing to effect the political changes of which they have been dreaming during the entire 16 years of Franco's rule. They want to prevent a plebeian solution of the crisis, that is, one in which the proletariat and the masses of the people take a hand.

The political position of the regime is now so unsteady that the question whether Franco should remain in power or whether the monarchy should be restored is being openly discussed in the streets.

This crisis places a choice before the Spanish people: either to reconcile themselves to a simple transference of power from Franco to the pretender to the throne, leaving intact the entire fascist structure of the regime; or to strive to solve the crisis—not in the interests of the financial oligarchy and reactionary castes which raised and reared the Franco regime, but in the interests of the majority of the people, in the interests of Spain.

This means fighting for the establishment of a democratic regime which would remove Spain from the camp of the aggressors, restore her independence and sovereignty, and guarantee a decent life for the masses;

Dolores Ibarruri

General Secretary,
Communist Party of Spain

which would eliminate the danger of war to Spain by annulling all Francoist treaties and obligations which encroach upon her integrity and security both now and in the future.

The Communist Party of Spain has consistently and steadfastly fought for unity against the Franco regime, against the false "ultra-radical" positions of the Socialist and Republican leaders, who have so greatly damaged the cause of the Republic.

We see that at the very moment when the crisis of the regime is reaching its peak, the democratic forces are disunited, scattered and unable to influence the course of events. This is so serious a matter that it should be given active consideration rather than become a matter for polemics, for this situation is being exploited by all who wish to perpetuate the fascist and pro-fascist set-up in Spain, by all who are interested in using the country as a pawn on their strategic chessboard, in their plans of aggression and war.

If this disunity continues, despite the efforts of the Communist Party to reduce friction and find a suitable ground for establishing mutual understanding, the right-wing forces will be able to enforce an anti-popular solution to the crisis now developing in Spain. The very course of events will itself remove the Republican political groups

from the political arena, and the political forces will become concentrated at two poles: reaction on the one hand and on the other the most consistently democratic elements—the working class in alliance with the peasantry, led by their party, the Communist Party of Spain, which draws into its ranks all the most militant members of the working class and the masses of the people.

This situation will inevitably arise if the Republican leaders, through their policy of passivity and division, continue to assist reaction in the materialisation of its designs; if, despite the knocks they have received, they continue to bank on the U.S., hoping that the Republic can be restored with transatlantic help rather than by the united action of all Spanish democrats, among whom the Communists justly occupy a prominent position.

Some weeks ago, in connection with the publication of the Programme of the Communist Party of Spain, the head of the Republican government in exile decreed that Communists be "excommunicated" from the "Republican church", and entered the Communist Party on the "Index" in the manner of some inquisitor.

Such behaviour, apart from being stupid, reveals lack of responsibility on the part of a man who is supposed to represent the Republic but who, in his desire to serve reaction, ignores the fact that no other political organisation has so consistently defended the Republic as the Communist Party, that it is impossible to restore the Republic without the Communists.

If the Republican leaders think that the people have forgotten the activities of the

severance and fraternal efforts to draw into a united front the working people and the Socialist organisations and also all the groups under Socialist influence'.

Since then some very important steps have been taken towards joint struggle and we can see the powerful impact they have had both in the social and the electoral sphere.

The present struggle of the working class against pauperisation and poverty, for a higher minimum wage and the abolition of the wage zones—for all their economic demands—is for the most part marked by the achievement of unity among the members and lower organisations of the different trade union centres. Sometimes agreement is reached even between national industrial federations. In 38 departments, the departmental CGT organisations concluded agreements with the departmental organisations of the Force Ouvrière, the Christian Confederation and the Confederation of Cadres, to say nothing of the increasingly numerous agreements with the National Trade Union of Schoolteachers and the Autonomous Federation of National Education.

The establishment in the second round of the cantonal elections of a united front between Communists and Socialists on the basis of a minimum programme, despite fierce opposition on the part of the Socialist Party leadership, yielded immediate results very gratifying to the working

* Speech at the concluding session of the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the French Communist Party, May 12, 1955.

Communists and the losses they suffered in defending the Republic, that all this can be overlooked, they are deeply mistaken, and their awakening from these dreams may be accompanied by unpleasant surprises.

Moreover, if they believe that the three years of armed struggle and sixteen years of fascism, in which the Communist Party led the battle to liberate the people and free Spain, were all in vain, they are making a dangerous mistake.

The Communist Party, which of all the Republican forces is the party possessing the greatest number of effective links with the nation and which undoubtedly enjoys the greatest support of the masses, would not accept the childish idea that it alone could end Franco's regime. For this reason it wants to fight alongside all who are against Francoism, for this reason it struggles to unite all these forces.

In response to this statement by the head of the Republican government on our "excommunication" and his irresponsible, slanderous assertions as to our political sincerity and loyalty, the Communist Party reminds Señor Gordon Ordax that, had it not been for the loyalty of the Communists to their political commitments and their staunchness in defending their allies and the programme of the People's Front, the representatives of the Republican parties would have been driven out of the government during the bitter days of our national revolutionary war.

When in 1937 the "left" Trotskyist elements, indulging in treacherous hidden machinations (the very same elements now on friendly terms with the head of the Republican government), proposed that the Republican parties be ousted from the government, Comrade Jose Diaz rebuffed similar tendencies, bluntly declaring:

"They want to bypass our allies, whether these be peasants, petty bourgeoisie or bourgeois Republicans. But our motto is: 'Together now to win the war, together after-

wards to reap the fruits of victory'. He who attempts to break the unity of the Spanish people... consciously or unconsciously plays into the hands of our enemies."

It was not the Communists who broke the unity of the democratic forces, undermined Republican resistance, delivered Spain to Franco; who proved to be "disloyal", or who organised the treacherous junta led by Cassado. These things were performed by others known to Gordon Ordax, and whose infidelity and betrayal cost our people streams of blood and for which Spain is paying with the horror and shame of Franco's fascist dictatorship.

The Communist Party has drawn up and published a democratic programme, not as a snare for political innocents, but as a banner in the struggle against the Franco regime, as a banner of unity for all those fighting it.

We Communists do not hide the fact that we strive for Socialism. Nevertheless in promoting unity we do not ask our allies to give up their ideals, any more than we intend to give up ours.

The awareness of this grave moment in the history of our country, at a time when the threat of imperialist war hangs over the world like a dark cloud, should compel everyone of us to set aside our differences and reach agreement and mutual understanding, uniting all Spanish political groups and social strata which are against Franco's regime in order to end the bloody fascist terror paralysing the life of the country and open for our people the road to peace and social progress.

II.

As has been repeatedly pointed out, the Franco regime is sustained not by its own strength and now not even by American aid, although this did prevent the regime being speedily crushed. It retains power mainly because of the lack of unity of the forces opposing Franco's regime, because of disunity among the workers and democratic forces, which renders impotent all activity

in view of this great prospect, to strengthen the duty of every Communist and non-Party's ties with the proletarian and non-proletarian masses, to be the conscientious defender of the demands of the working class and all working people and to take active part and display a sense of responsibility in the various workers' and democratic organisations, above all in the trade unions.

It is the duty of every Communist to work for the application of the correct Party policy of unity, fighting resolutely on two fronts—against every opportunist tendency to hide the banner of the Party, and against manifestations of sectarian narrowness, sometimes even contempt for Socialist workers.

It is the duty of every Communist to work unceasingly to heighten the whole Party's capacity for action, by recruiting new members, especially in the factories; by raising the ideological level of all Party members, old and new; by safeguarding the unity of our ranks with ever-greater care and strictness—in short, by systematic and unflagging efforts in all spheres: political, ideological and organisational.

Upon these efforts on the part of all Communists, upon the devotion and activity of each Communist, depends the ability of the united front of the working class to exert a decisive influence in the near future upon the country's political course, for the preservation of the working people, for the preservation of the democratic freedoms and peace, for the reconquest of our national independence.

directed against the regime by any anti-Franco opposition group.

This situation dictates the necessity of a policy of unity against the Franco regime. After many years of bloody fascist terror, dealing severe blows at workers' organisations and democratic political parties, no isolated democratic force can fight successfully against Franco's regime, however weak this may be.

This applies not only to the democratic forces but also to those of the right wing. A significant example of this is the municipal elections in Madrid last November and December.

Aware of the people's hatred of the regime, the monarchists apparently thought it would be a good psychological manoeuvre to run their candidates independently of the Franco regime—for the first time since 1939.

However, irrespective of the political significance of these elections, at which the split in the Franco bloc was openly revealed, the monarchists failed to achieve the results they desired. Why was this? It was because the masses did not vote, because the parties of the workers and the Republicans did not participate and because the monarchists did not put forward a programme which could satisfy the aspirations of the masses; so that the working people justly saw in them "the same dogs merely with different collars".

Could this have happened if the monarchists (who claim to be against Franco) and the democratic and workers' forces had concluded a pact or had compromised on the basis of a minimum programme, so as to deal a combined blow at the Franco regime? Undoubtedly not. Despite all restrictions imposed by fascist legislation, the elections could indubitably have become a serious anti-Franco demonstration, a great united mass political mobilisation, a preparation for action on a wider scale.

We may suppose that the monarchists will draw their conclusions from these

(Continued on page 5)

Leninist Ideas in Brazil

★
Luiz Carlos Prestes

General Secretary,
Communist Party of Brazil

★ ★

with before: while working on the basis of general Communist theory and practice you must, in accordance with specific conditions which are not present in the European countries, be able to apply this theory and practice to conditions where the peasantry form the bulk of the people, where it is necessary to solve the problem of struggle not against capital but against survivals of the Middle Ages."

In defining the character of the Brazilian revolution at the present stage and in working out the Party programme, the Brazilian Communists based themselves on these and other basic propositions of Leninism. In other words, our programme is imbued with the ideas of Leninism. Applying these ideas, we take into account the specific features of our country. For instance, mindful of the sentiments of the broad peasant masses who want to own land and are in favour of its distribution in the form of private property, the programme does not raise the question of nationalising the land, but restricts itself to the demand of confiscating the land of the latifundia owners and distributing it free among the peasants who have either no land or very little and to all who want to cultivate it. Mindful of the fact that the national bourgeoisie may support the people or at least take a neutral stand—in itself favourable to the people—the programme does not pose the question of nationalising the banks and big national enterprises, but limits itself to the statement that only those big capitalists who venture to betray the country, going over to the side of U.S. imperialism, will be regarded as enemies of the people and have their property confiscated.

Never have our people lived so wretchedly. Millions of Brazilians from widely divergent walks of life are groaning under U.S. imperialist oppression and the regime of the latifundists and big capitalists. Ever greater grows the number of those who are seeking a way out of this situation and fighting against poverty, backwardness and ignorance, for freedom and progress in their homeland. But a large section of the people still fail to see clearly enough the causes of their suffering. Only Marxism-Leninism can point out the right road. Lenin's ideas can be spread still more widely in Brazil. And the task of the Brazilian Communists consists precisely in making able use of this invincible weapon and indicating the right road towards solution of the problems troubling the people and thereby winning millions of Brazilians over to the side of the great ideas of Leninism.

We know that in order to lead the Brazilian people to victory we must, above all else, learn to apply our programme in every case and area in conformity with the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement. With this aim we, inspired by Lenin's precepts, are waging an energetic struggle against opportunists, who strive to lower the level of the Party's consciousness to that of workers who take part only in the economic struggle, and to that of intellectuals sympathetic to the revolution. We also vigorously combat another type of opportunism, the "left-wing" opportunism which divorces the Party from the masses. The vanguard must never lose contact with the

True to these precepts of the great Lenin, the Brazilian Communists are working to win over the broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces of Brazilian society, especially the working class and the peasant masses, as well as the urban middle classes and national bourgeoisie, to the positions of the Party programme, and to organise them in a broad democratic front of national liberation. They have joined with enthusiasm in the campaign to collect ten million signatures for the Vienna World Peace Council's Appeal; they are preparing to take active part in the presidential election campaign, feeling confident that in the fight to get a people's candidate elected President of the Republic it will be possible to set up a powerful coalition of patriotic and democratic forces; they are directing the campaign for agrarian reform, which is daily winning the support of fresh and considerable sections of the peasantry; they are devotedly working for the unification of the working class; they are urging the strengthening and expansion of the patriotic activity of the League for National Liberation, which is fighting against U.S. imperialism's increasing colonisation of Brazil, in defence of the country's national wealth, for the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations with the USSR and People's China, against the military agreement between Brazil and the United States and any other agreements with Washington that are detrimental to the national interests.

For our people to win their historic battle for Brazil's liberation from imperialist oppression and for the establishment of a people's-democratic system, powerful and unremitting efforts must be made to strengthen the Communist Party. Lenin taught us that the Party must constantly pay heed to the unity and solidarity of its ranks. And unity and solidarity depend on Marxist ideological unity and unity of will and action among Communists. We are striving to strengthen the ranks of the Party and working for the Marxist development and education of our cadres. Every passing day sees our Party growing more and more quickly and winning greater prestige. Four years ago systematic educational work was begun in our Party and now, despite a great many difficulties, there are many regularly functioning Party schools. A large number of Party cadres have already completed theoretical and political courses. The Fourth Congress of our Party, which summed up the results of its activity in the past 25 years, promoted the still greater unity of our ranks and heightened the fighting efficiency of the Communists.

We consider it necessary to exert still greater efforts in our work of bringing to the broad masses of the working people and other sections of the Brazilian people and popularising among them the brilliant ideas of the great and immortal Lenin. Our Party is working for the creative assimilation of these ideas and knows that it will thereby bring closer the day of our people's victory over U.S. imperialism and its Brazilian servitors.

The Communist Party of Brazil is doing everything in its power to educate its members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and to apply Marxism-Leninism in the specific historical conditions of our country. Our cause will be invincible, provided we remain loyal to the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We are tirelessly fighting for peace and devoting all our energies to the cause of

Bulgarian Agricultural Co-operatives Strive for High Incomes

★
S. Todorov

Member, Central Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party
Minister of Agriculture,
People's Republic of Bulgaria

★ ★

Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the agrarian question and the world-historic experience of collective farm building in the USSR, the Communist Party of Bulgaria has defined the way of reorganising agriculture along socialist lines—the path of voluntary unification of peasants in agricultural producer co-operatives.

Today, producer co-operatives unite 52.3% of all peasant households in Bulgaria. They till 60.5% of all the cultivated land—an area equal to nearly all the non-mountainous land in the country.

A meeting of the Party's Central Committee, held at the end of January this year, heard and discussed a report by Comrade V. Tchernov on the carrying out of the Vth Party Congress decision to develop agriculture, and adopted a resolution on continuing the struggle for higher crop-yields.

The meeting pointed out that last year considerable success was achieved in carrying out the Congress decision.

In 1954 alone machine and tractor stations received 2,719 new tractors (in terms of 15 h. p. units), 569 harvester-combines and over 8,000 other types of agricultural machinery. Last year 56% of all agricultural processes in the producer co-operatives were mechanised, including 65.3% of the spring and autumn ploughing, 58.6% of the sowing, 42.9% of the harrowing, 50.1% of the harvesting and as much as 92% of the threshing.

To provide constant agrotechnical and veterinary assistance to the co-operatives, 2,350 agronomists and veterinarians were appointed to the MTS. Organisation of labour within the producer co-operatives has been improved and rates of payment have been raised, especially for machine-operators and agronomists. The state has also raised the purchase prices of tobacco, cotton, vegetables, milk and other agricultural produce.

All this has had a good effect, both in consolidating the co-operatives and in promoting development of agriculture as a whole.

But alongside the well-organised co-operatives there still exist some that do not fulfil production plans and do not obtain a good harvest. The cause of this is to be found in weak leadership, in serious deficiencies in organising and planning agricultural processes, such as tardy tilling and sowing, poor tending of crops, and so on.

So far not every Party organisation and people's council has been able to reorientate their work to meet the new requirements. In many cases their guidance is not sufficiently active and efficient, and they do not go into the work of the co-operatives deeply enough.

From last year's experience, the resolution of the C.C. meeting states, one major conclusion can be drawn—a radical improvement is imperative in the work of Party organisations and people's councils engaged in directing agriculture.

★
The importance of the work-day unit in co-operative production is enormous. The struggle to raise productivity in co-operatives—a matter of interest to all co-operative members—is at the same time a struggle for a higher work-day unit of full value, and that too is a matter of personal concern to every co-operative member. The better the management of a co-operative, the greater the productivity of crop-raising and stock-breeding, the better the development of

many times over and the well-being of its members improved. In it electricity, radio, cinema and books have become part of everyday life.

The construction of a reservoir, named after V. Kolarov, and an irrigation system trebled the co-operative's irrigated area, considerably improving the fertility of the soil. The main crops grown are vegetables, grapes and tobacco. Owing to abundant field irrigation, the use of fertilisers—both natural and artificial—and proper cultivation of the soil, the co-operative obtains bumper yields. For example, in 1953 it gathered per decare an average of 2,944 kg. of early tomatoes, 2,542 kg. of early pepper, more than 2,500 kg. of cabbage and 900 kg. of grapes etc. Last year large amounts of both early and late vegetables were harvested and about 4,000 tons of grapes were obtained on an area of 3,000 decares. The farm's socially-owned livestock is also increasing.

The rising yields of agricultural crops and greater productivity of stock-raising have substantially increased the income of the co-operative, resulting in higher payment, both in cash and kind, for work-day units. During the past four years the co-operative has paid as much as 19-20 leva per work-day unit, quite apart from payments in kind.

The cultivation of diversified crops is of great importance in raising the payment for each work-day unit. In such co-operatives the means of production and labour power are better utilised over the whole year and agriculture becomes much less seasonal in nature.

Linked with the growing mechanisation of agriculture is a steady rise in the productivity of labour. This releases labour power from field work for use in other branches of farming. In this way favourable conditions are provided for the development of other branches, such as live-stock-breeding, market gardening, horticulture, wine-growing, bee-keeping and silkworm cultivation etc.

Farms with diversified crops have an advantage over those specialising in one, not only because they are guaranteed a considerable increase in money income, but also because of the more regular receipt of this income the year round. Such co-operatives are able to make advance payments in cash to their members all through the year. Many co-operatives have already started to pay money in advance to their members every month, taking into account the number of work-day units earned by them during the month.

The drive for high payment for each work-day unit is also bound up with the establishment of correct standards of labour and its economical use and with the prompt calculation of work-day units.

Distribution of work in the co-operative according to categories (i.e., taking into account the amount of labour expended, the necessary skill and so on) enables the co-operative management to take into consideration the difference in payment for skilled and unskilled, hard and easy labour.

Economic expenditure of work-day units is likewise an essential factor in increasing the payment for them. Many co-operatives commit errors in the expenditure of work-day units and the payment of the administrative and service staff. For example, in 1954, the Krichim village co-operative in Plovdiv Region estimated its annual payment for labour on the basis of 230,000 work-day units (excluding those estimated for the payment of land shares), of which 17,000 or over 7% of the total were earmarked for the administrative and service staff. If we add to this the work-day units registered for the management (chairman, team leaders and so on) we shall see that the co-operative planned to expend approximately 14% of the total on management and administrative staff. It is clear in this case that the co-operative must drastically reduce its administrative and service staff.

In every co-operative the utilisation of internal reserves is an important means of raising the value of the work-day unit. Last year ten co-operatives in the Plovdiv Region challenged all others in the country to increase production, curtail running costs and make complete use of hidden internal reserves. Many co-operatives responded. One of them is the Khristo Milevo village co-operative, Asenovgrad Region. Like the others, it is making a great effort to utilise all internal reserves. Its members have pledged to produce 346,000 leva worth of agricultural products over and above the plan, reduce production costs by 39,000 leva and save 3,456 work-day units. Thanks to the additional mechanisation of ploughing, weeding, harvesting and other agricultural processes, this co-operative has saved 4,569 work-day units.

Of great importance in the economical use of labour is the adoption of suggestions for improving methods of labour. For instance, Luben Karakolev, a co-operative member, invented a horse-drawn sprinkler to combat agricultural pests and a mechanical sharpener of stakes for supporting tomato plants. Sharpening the stakes by hand used to cost the co-operative 2,100 work-day units a year; mechanical sharpening has reduced the cost to a mere 400 a year.

The system of remuneration of labour in accordance with its quantity and quality and the amount produced is of great importance in strengthening the co-operative. This system encourages members to earn more work-day units and achieve higher crop-yields and greater livestock results. Owing to it the average number of work-day units registered per worker in the Maslarevo village co-operative, Svishchov Region, has grown year by year: in 1951 it amounted to 170, in 1952—224, in 1953—230 and last year 275. The increased material interest of co-operative members in the results of their work stimulates a better attitude towards labour.

Development of the creative activity of agricultural workers is a decisive factor for a steady advance in agriculture. This depends, above all, on the work of Party organisations and the local people's councils. It is necessary to overcome shortcomings in this work and to thoroughly reinforce leadership in agriculture. For this purpose the Party is sending experienced leading cadres to the countryside. With a view to improving direct guidance of the most important sectors of agricultural production, the structure of regional Party committees is being simplified and their composition strengthened by the inclusion of agricultural experts. The Central Committee has decided to set up groups of instructors in every regional Party com-

the path to be taken by the peoples of colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for liberation. Developing the ideas of Marx and Engels on national liberation movements, he evolved a comprehensive system of views on national and colonial revolutions in the era of imperialism, linked the national and colonial questions with the task of overthrowing imperialism, and showed them to be a component part of the general question of the international proletarian revolution. Drawing the attention of Communists in the colonial and dependent countries to the importance of educating the working class in the spirit of internationalism, Lenin at the same time stated in his report on the national and colonial question at the Second Congress of the Communist International: "...what is the most important, the fundamental idea contained in our theses? The distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasize this distinction."

This proposition provides the key to a correct analysis of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries, for it takes into account the fact that in these countries imperialist oppression also affects the national bourgeoisie, which may support the revolution for a certain period of time, that there the national factor is one of the factors of the revolution.

Speaking particularly of the peoples of the East but evidently addressing Communists in all colonial and dependent countries, Lenin taught us:

"Here you are faced with a task the Communists of the world did not have to deal

can be spread still more widely in Brazil. And the task of the Brazilian Communists consists precisely in making able use of this invincible weapon and indicating the right road towards solution of the problems troubling the people and thereby winning millions of Brazilians over to the side of the great ideas of Leninism.

We know that in order to lead the Brazilian people to victory we must, above all else, learn to apply our programme in every case and area in conformity with the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement. With this aim we, inspired by Lenin's precepts, are waging an energetic struggle against opportunists, who strive to lower the level of the Party's consciousness to that of workers who take part only in the economic struggle, and to that of intellectuals sympathetic to the revolution. We also vigorously combat another type of opportunism, the "left-wing" opportunism which divorces the Party from the masses. The vanguard must never lose contact with the broad masses; on the contrary, it must unite them, educate them and march forward together with them. We implacably combat sectarian tendencies in the ranks of our Party and emphasize that the basic criterion of our organisation and work is that of being amidst the broad masses of the people. Lenin insisted that the proletarian party be able "to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, if you will, to a certain extent merge with the broadest masses of the working people—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses".

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We consider it necessary to exert still greater efforts in our work of bringing to the broad masses of the working people and other sections of the Brazilian people and popularising among them the brilliant ideas of the great and immortal Lenin. Our Party is working for the creative assimilation of these ideas and knows that it will thereby bring closer the day of our people's victory over U.S. imperialism and its Brazilian servitors.

The Communist Party of Brazil is doing everything in its power to educate its members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and to apply Marxism-Leninism in the specific historical conditions of our country. Our cause will be invincible, provided we remain loyal to the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We are tirelessly fighting for peace and devoting all our energies to the cause of the victory of the great campaign against the growing danger of atomic war. We are doing everything we can to help strengthen the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union, which in turn is led by the glorious and invincible Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Under the invincible banner of Leninism—and only under that banner—will mankind at last free itself from capitalist slavery and imperialist aggressive wars and build a new life of freedom and happiness.

So far every Party organisation and people's council has been able to reorientate their work to meet the new requirements. In many cases their guidance is not sufficiently active and efficient, and they do not go into the work of the co-operatives deeply enough.

From last year's experience, the resolution of the C.C. meeting states, one major conclusion can be drawn—a radical improvement is imperative in the work of Party organisations and people's councils engaged in directing agriculture.

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The pay in cash and in kind per work-day unit depends, above all, on the results of production in the co-operative as a whole and on the correct distribution of the co-operative's total income.

Let us take as an example the Pervenetz village co-operative, one of the most advanced farms in the Plovdiv Region. It is 6 years old, and during this period its commonly-owned wealth has increased

culture, wine-growing, bee-keeping and silkworm cultivation etc.

Farms with diversified crops have an advantage over those specialising in one, not only because they are guaranteed a considerable increase in money income, but also because of the more regular receipt of this income the year round. Such co-operatives are able to make advance payments in cash to their members all through the year. Many co-operatives have already started to pay money in advance to their members every month, taking into account the number of work-day units earned by them during the month.

The drive for high payment for each work-day unit is also bound up with the establishment of correct standards of labour and its economical use and with the prompt calculation of work-day units.

Distribution of work in the co-operative according to categories (i.e., taking into account the amount of labour expended, the necessary skill and so on) enables the co-operative management to take into consideration the difference in payment for skilled and unskilled, hard and easy labour. The establishment of correct production quotas and evaluations of work performed in work-day units is an important means of improving labour discipline and raising labour productivity in the co-operative.

Labour productivity is not stimulated by incorrect production quotas and wrong evaluations of work-day units. Nor can these provide a solid basis upon which to work out a feasible production plan giving due account to the work-day units required and the distribution of labour power among the different branches of farming.

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The working people of our country will spare no effort to carry out the Party's decisions for the continued advance of agriculture and the improvement of the people's material standards.

(Continued from page 4)

elections; it is necessary for the democratic forces to do this as well.

The fundamental lesson to be learnt is that the democratic opposition to Franco's régime cannot continue to limit itself to a policy of passivity, negation and fatalism, a policy based on the saying: "Sit on your doorstep until your enemy's corpse is carried past."

These municipal Madrid elections show that it is necessary to exploit every legal opportunity, however insignificant, in order to deal a blow at the Franco regime. The elections also demonstrate that the battle should not be fought without unity, without organisation or a definite programme, with each one fighting in isolation, leaving everything to chance.

The working people should not forget this lesson. For the workers' organisations and parties it is of prime importance, because when united, they will constitute the fundamental force in the democratic camp, and without their decisive participation in the struggle against the Franco regime no effective or stable political transformation of the political and economic leadership of Spain can be achieved.

III.

Working-class unity is always necessary, but in our country's present condition it is imperative, because it is the key to unity with other non-proletarian forces and the basis for victory over the Franco regime.

Various non-proletarian social sections, vacillating because of their character, will rally around the working class and recognise its leadership in the battle for democracy—only inasmuch as the working class, united, in all its indestructible power, struggles for the life and freedom of the nation and for the future of Spain.

Hence a tremendous responsibility is borne by the Socialist leaders who oppose united action by the working class and pre-

fer a mutual understanding with the bourgeois parties as against unity with the Communists, thus debilitating the democratic front and encouraging attempts to solve the crisis of the Franco regime without the participation of the democratic and workers' forces and actually against them.

The main objection of the Socialist leaders to uniting in action with the Communists, according to a recent statement by Trifon Gomez, Chairman of the Spanish Socialist Party, is that the Socialists, allegedly, can only unite with those who fight for "freedom", "though they belong to different political parties, whoever they may be and no matter from what continent they come". Thus they accept unity with bourgeois parties which allegedly defend freedom, and refuse unity with Communists because the latter are "fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat".

We do not know what rank-and-file Socialists will think of their chairman's views. But the fact that there exists in the Socialist Party a strong trend towards unity shows that Socialist Party members do not entirely agree with such views.

Trifon Gomez is right when he asserts that there is a gulf between his reformist ideas and the Marxist revolutionary conceptions of the Communists in relation to the role of the working class and peasantry in the struggle for Socialism, and even as to what Socialism is. If this were not so, all of us would belong to the same workers' party. Today, however, it is not a question of discussing bourgeois as against proletarian Socialism. It is a question of the struggle to overthrow the Franco regime and restore democracy, the struggle to regain the independence and sovereignty of Spain, sold out by the Franco regime; it is a question of removing our country from the camp of aggression and war.

Different ideas about Socialism, lack of unity on questions of Socialism and in the

struggle for Socialism do not preclude, in our opinion, unity on questions of democracy and in the struggle for the Republic.

Leninism teaches that to forget this means forgetting the logical and historical differences between the democratic and socialist revolutions.

For all their ideological and tactical divergences, the Communist and Socialist Parties and the trade union organisations—the General Union of Working People and the National Confederation of Labour—constitute the advanced force of the Spanish working class, capable of mobilising the whole of the working class and promoting unity among all those who are ready to fight for the economic, cultural and political rebirth of Spain.

IV.

Franco has steered a tortuous course through the storms that from time to time have threatened the existence of his regime, not only with the help of terror but also by playing on the ambition and egoism of various forces that supported his regime, and exploiting the split in the democratic forces.

However, neither terror nor the Franco policy of juggling and repeating empty promises could prevent the economic and political problems facing Spain from coming to the surface with more and more force, thus threatening the stability of the regime.

The pillars which have supported Francoism are crumbling; the Catalonian bourgeoisie itself—and this is especially significant in view of its influence among the Spanish bourgeoisie as a whole—giving expression to the general dissatisfaction of various bourgeois groupings, appealed to the Governor of Barcelona and presented its demands to him, demands which can be summed up as follows: publication and discussion of laws affecting the national economy before they are passed by the Franco legis-

lature; freedom of trade; cuts in taxes; freedom of opinion; more respect for Catalonia; in fact—the restoration of democratic liberties.

Thus the bourgeoisie is presenting its demands, the monarchist forces and the church are stepping up their activities and the resistance of the working people is sweeping through the country, forcing the Franco tycoons to pay heed to the workers' demands.

However, Franco is making desperate attempts to retain power and to enhance his reputation as butcher of the Spanish people. Recently the Franco Government let loose another wave of terror against the democratic forces, especially against the Communists, thus striving to justify the maintenance in power of its regime as a bar to the "resurgence of the Communist menace".

In the Basque country there have been arrests and the apartments of many anti-Francoists have been searched by the police, while in Madrid and Valencia dozens of Communists have been arrested and brutally tortured, in an attempt to force them to confess to engaging in... espionage.

This is the first time that the Franco regime has used such an accusation against Spanish anti-Francoists. The weapon of insolent slander resorted to by Francoism in its attempts to foster a hatred of Communists among the Spanish public—a weapon which at the same time was used to justify the monstrous crimes perpetrated by the Falangists against the Spanish Communists and anti-fascists—has become blunt in the face of the heroism and valour of the Communists who have endured persecution without flinching and have always been the heart and soul of the popular and national resistance to the Franco regime.

"We have won a moral victory over the Franco terror", said one of the delegates to the Vth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, "because we have turned out to be stronger than suffering and death."

Among the anti-Francoists arrested in Valencia are a university professor and some prominent Communists, including Narciso Julian, who has spent many years in prison and against whom, after bestial torture, they are now going to bring an absurd espionage charge. This stupid accusation would be laughable, if it did not carry with it the threat of death for him and other ordinary Communist working people!

Now, in the decline of his régime, Franco strives to prove that he is the reliable and loyal gendarme in the service not only of Spanish reaction but of U.S. imperialism as well. But whether Franco is still of any use to the finance oligarchy and the most reactionary bourgeois groupings linked up with foreign capital, developments now unfolding in Spain indicate that the Franco regime cannot last for long.

Our people are oppressed by the bloody yoke of the crumbling fascist dictatorship which, however, must be pushed if it is to fall. If the Republican forces do not act, if they continue to oppose unity of the democratic and anti-Francoist forces, the crisis undermining the economic and political foundations of the Franco regime may end in a more or less amicable deal between Franco and the monarchists, or in the last resort, in the restoration of the monarchy against the Caudillo's will, if the latter turns out to be too obstinate.

In any case this would be a reactionary solution which would mean that the Republican leaders must either resign themselves to the idea of dying in exile, like the last of the Mohicans of the Second Republic, or of being admitted to Spain as an act of grace and to live there in humiliation, like shadows of the past, warming themselves round the fireside, without weight or influence in public life, and indulging in recollections among their family circle of the days of the triumph and zenith of the 1931 Republic.

Is this what they want, after sixteen years of exile, or is there, perhaps, a tacit or

actual agreement with the reactionary forces to make it easier for the latter to carry out their plans to preserve the status quo in the form of a monarchy, to transform Spain more and more into a place d'armes for U.S. imperialism?

If such an agreement exists, then what was the bait? Maybe the Republican leaders were offered the opportunity of playing the part of "His Majesty's loyal opposition".

This policy of non-resistance, passivity and division pursued by the Republican leaders is an act of complicity with Spanish reaction, with the butchers of the people, with all who are turning Spain into a storehouse of A-bombs, a U.S. aircraft-carrier and a base for aggression and war. By this attitude the Republican leaders are in a cowardly way playing into the hands of the worst enemies of the people and the Republic.

This attitude of the Republican leaders—when we say Republican we have in mind the Socialist, anarchist and nationalist leaders as well—will make the liberation struggle of the people more rigorous and difficult but will not prevent it.

Whatever the solution to the crisis, the working class will carry on the struggle; with it will be the Communist Party of Spain, fearless of prison and death penalties, sure of victory. And this will be so, because the historical development of society, the advance of the peoples towards Socialism, may be retarded temporarily but in no case indefinitely.

Having united, the Spanish working class will win victory—that victory which has already been won by the peoples who comprise more than one-third of the world's population and who, guided by their Communist and Workers' Parties, are building a new life, laying the foundations of the society of the future, Communist society.

Some Aspects of Development of Syria's Agriculture

Agriculture is the chief branch of the Syrian economy. Industrial output and trade account for no more than 13% of the national income.

Despite a relative increase in the use of farm machinery in some parts of the country (the latest and most accurate estimates put the number of machines at no more than 2,000), agricultural output as a whole is diminishing rather than increasing. Although the area sown to wheat increased from 1,314,422 hectares (1 hectare equals 2.47 acres) in 1953 to 1,334,358 in 1954, the total yield dropped from 871,000 to between 750,000 and 800,000 metric tons. It is not along the lines of increasing harvest yields that agriculture is developing, but along the lines of extending the sown acreage in certain parts of the country. The land is generally cultivated by primitive methods. Mineral fertilisers are not used to any appreciable extent. Irrigation, so essential a factor in our agriculture, is practised on a negligible scale. Consequently, yields are wholly dependent upon the caprices of the weather and drought is a terrible scourge for the farmers.

Despite the low level of agricultural development, there are symptoms of an incipient agrarian crisis: prices for agricultural produce and the products of animal husbandry get lower every year. The wholesale price for a metric ton of wheat, for instance, dropped from 340 Syrian pounds in 1952 to 270 in 1953 and 240 in 1954. There has likewise been a considerable drop in the price of raw materials for the textile industry.

The peasants, who are Syria's principal agricultural producers, live in dire poverty, in a state of ignorance bordering on utter darkness. They are exploited and oppressed in the most outrageous manner. For instance, the annual income of a peasant family in the Euphrate area is exceedingly low. For a certain period of the year the peasants in the area stretching from the village of Haffeh to Tel-kalakh (Lattaquieh Department) have nothing to eat but the herbs they find on the hills and in the meadows. No better off are the peasants of the Marje, Hauran, Djebbel-Druze, Homs and Hama Districts and the area east of Aleppo.

Hunger and want drive them from their villages to the nearby cities. Very often they are forced to leave their villages because of the replacement of manual labour by machine labour. A recent incident in the village of Shaddi, in the Djezireh District, which prompted the peasants there to send a telegram to the Chamber of Deputies, offers graphic proof of this. What happened was that the owner of the village decided to use a tractor on his land, and so he ordered the peasants and their families to take themselves off. But the peasants refused to go. They had lived in Shaddi all their lives. They and their fathers before them had tilled the land with their hands and watered it with the sweat of their brows; so much was this so that they had become completely identified with it. They considered it their own, even though at the end of every year they gave up a fourth or fifth part of their harvest to the landlord. The latter, however, insisted on getting his own way. He got a tractor and began to plough the land. The peasants offered resistance. Police appeared on the scene, abused the peasants, beat them up and drove them out of the village. Sixteen peasants were arrested.

★
Khaled Bagdache
General Secretary, Communist Party
of Syria and Lebanon

★ ★

their collective services to one of the big landowners who between them have seized more than two million dunoms of state land (494,200 acres). The landlord gives them a plot of land and provides them with the implements to work it with—tractor, reaper, lorry etc.—for four or five years. The cost of the machinery is entered in the owners' books as a loan to the workers. He also pays them a fixed monthly wage which is likewise counted as a loan. The harvested grain is stored in his barns, 10% of it being deducted in payment of the rent for the land and 40% as interest on or payment of the cost of the farm machinery he allowed them to use. From the remaining 50% he deducts the monthly wages and other debts entered against them. The workers have to toil day and night until they are ready to drop from exhaustion; they sleep in tents, buy their food supplies and even drinking water from the owner at prices he himself fixes. When their four or five years are up they have nothing to show for their hard work. They leave, as they came, with their work-worn, weary hands as their sole possession...

Another form of hiring and exploitation practised in the Syrian countryside is for a businessman or someone who has influence with the banks or the farm machinery agencies to come to an agreement with a worker who is a specialist or a mechanic. The person with influence obtains a tractor, say, and then he and the worker-specialist rent a plot of land. Together they pay off the cost of the tractor, but from what remains of the harvest after that, the businessman or influential person receives half, although, unlike the worker who has had to toil and sweat for his half, he has not done a stroke of work.

★

Why, one may ask, should Syrian agriculture be in this state of stagnation? Why should the toiling peasantry and farm labourers be living in such dire conditions? Why is nothing done to improve the land by use of fertilisers, extension of the irrigation system and greater utilisation of agricultural machinery?

To answer these questions one must first analyse the social relations prevailing in the Syrian countryside. It is then quite obvious that the chief cause of the stagnation in agriculture and the disastrous position of the peasantry is the monopoly ownership of land. The land is in the hands of a handful of big landlords and bankers, the big exporters and businessmen, who look upon agricultural production solely as a source of profit for themselves. To the rulers of Syria the hundreds of thousands of peasants are no more than "tools of production". They own no land; they merely cultivate it for the big landowners. They have neither the means nor the possibility of improving the land and increasing its fertility. It hardly needs saying that under these conditions it is impossible to increase the fertility of the land or cut down the cost of agricultural production.

As for the agrarian policy in our country, it is difficult to say that it has undergone any substantial changes under various governments that have

Why does the state surrender in the face of legal formalities when it is a matter of retrieving the lands forcibly wrested from it by landlords, and refuse to consider them when it is a matter of taking repressive measures against workers on strike in defence of their rights, or against peasants who refuse to leave their land? The explanation lies in the policy followed by government circles. The head of a large concern or a feudal lord who is the owner of a village has only to make a telephone call for the forces of repression to be brought into immediate action. Does not this reveal the real foundation upon which the state system rests, irrespective of what government is in power?

It has also been irrefutably proved that after 1945 the boundaries were fixed and an inventory and valuation made of the 1,343,123 hectares (3,318,857 acres) of land in the possession of the state. However, nearly all this land (with rare exceptions) was seized by the landlords who are still in possession of it.

Representatives of the ruling groups assert that the problem of the state domains is one of fixing boundaries, compiling inventories and assessing the value of the land, and not one of distributing it among the small peasants. It is clear from this that the Government has no intention of taking this land away from those who unlawfully seized it, or of distributing it among the poor and small peasants.

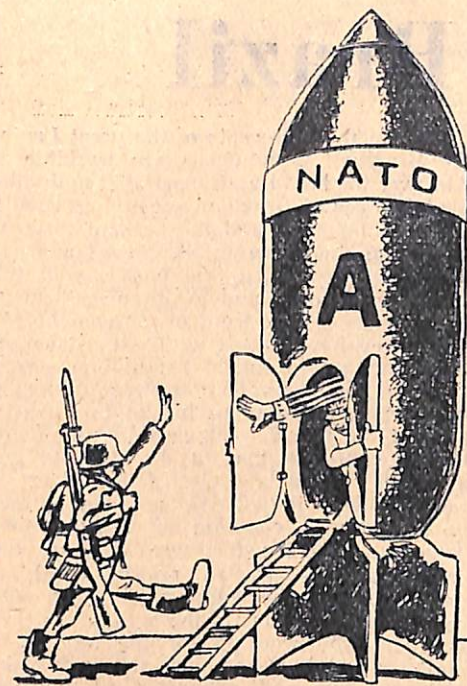
The Government's policy in relation to the agricultural bank also leads to the consolidation of land monopoly. The bank only grants credits to landlords and, sometimes, to the middle landowners, because as a rule its loans are only given against security in the form of land.

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The policy of the ruling groups does not alleviate the dire plight of the Syrian economy. There is only one way of achieving the stable economic and political situation we should like to see in Syria, and that is by conducting a national and democratic policy in all spheres of economic and social life. As regards the problem of developing agriculture and improving the conditions of the Syrian peasantry, the only radical solution of this is to abolish the monopoly ownership of land in our country in the interest of the peasant masses—poor, small and middle peasants and even those who are better-off than the middle peasants. As concerns the state domains, the solution of this problem is linked up with the general settlement of the agrarian question in Syria, the only difference being that these lands must undoubtedly be regarded, even from a legal point of view, as unlawfully alienated.

When the peasants have land and water, they will quite easily find ways and means of establishing lasting co-operation in the use of agricultural machinery, provided there is a national-democratic rule in the country that will really concern itself with the interests and well-being of the people.

What we Communists are demanding—the abolition of the monopoly ownership of land and the granting of land and water to the peasants—is a democratic rather than a socialist measure, inasmuch as it does not in fact go beyond the limits of the capitalist relations of production. As for So-



You Are Welcome Mr. Wehrmacht,
Make Yourself at Home!
(Drawing by N. Mirchev, Bulgarian
newspaper "Styrshel")

Success of Democratic Forces in Japan

Elections of governors, mayors, members of prefecture assemblies and municipalities recently took place throughout Japan. The Communist Party contested jointly with the Worker-Peasant Party (Ronoto), the Right-wing and Left-wing Socialists. Despite all obstacles, the democratic forces have registered considerable success in the elections.

The Communists won 10 seats in prefecture assemblies, an increase of four over the 1951 elections. The bloc of the democratic forces has gained an additional 170 seats in these assemblies. It should be noted that the Liberals lost 302 seats and Hatoyama's Democratic Party succeeded in gaining only one additional seat.

The Communists also won seats in the municipalities. For example, Tatsumi Osawa, a Communist worker, was elected to the Municipality of Okatani (Nagano Prefecture) and three Communists were elected to the Municipality of Utsugo (Fukushima Prefecture).

Release Jesus Faria!

On May 8 it was five years since Comrade Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Venezuelan Communist Party and Vice-President of the Confederation of the Latin American Working People, was thrown into prison.

Arrested in connection with a large-scale strike of oil workers, which he led, Comrade Faria has all this time been languishing in prison without a trial or any charge having been made against him.

Jesus Faria is a loyal son of the Venezuelan people who are fighting a heroic battle against the predatory policy of the Standard Oil Company and the fascist government of the U.S. henchman, Jimenez.

In token of solidarity with the Venezuelan patriots a powerful movement for the release of Jesus Faria is now under way throughout Latin America.

This movement has met with a response in other continents. The significance of it

POLITICAL NOTES

The Bonn Camouflage

Reports from Bonn now besprinkling the pages of newspapers in many countries show that with ratification of the Paris agreements the West German warlords received a free hand and they are accordingly pressing ahead with their military preparations. Military installations are under construction, military formations are being built up to full strength, militarist propaganda is being poured out without stint. The renaissance war machine is steadily reassuming its old, openly anti-people's and aggressive physiognomy.

At the same time, however, the Bonn rulers are taking certain steps to disguise the essential nature of the new Wehrmacht to some extent at least, to make it more "attractive". Noteworthy in this respect is the report of the American United Press agency on some of the innovations in the West German army. It appears from this report that the Bonn authorities have decided to rename the renaissance army: instead of "Wehrmacht" it will be called "Streitkräfte", which is the German for "armed forces".

Changes are also being introduced in the uniform of the future mercenaries. Although the West German soldiery will wear helmets of the same shape as those worn in Hitler's day, everything else will be "altogether different". Take boots as an example—the traditional high Prussian boots with iron-clamped heels. Their clatter on the pavements is still remembered in hundreds of European cities. These boots will be replaced by American laced shoes. And what about the belted uniform with the brass buckle plump on the stomach—the uniform hated by millions of people? That too is being discarded—in favour of a shirt and tie and a grey-green jacket resembling "Ike's jacket" as worn in the American army.

So far, no announcement has been made of "radical changes" to be introduced in shoulder-strap edgings or the disposition of buttons on great-coats, but there can be no doubt that the Blank Office will not fail to introduce some bold reforms in regard to them, too. Need one, after all this, fear these near-angels in "Ike's jackets", who will man British "Centurion" tanks, jet bombers and atomic guns?

It is just this thought that the Bonn revenge-seekers who made up this comedy of redressing the Wehrmacht are tiresomely trying to implant in the minds of the peoples of Europe. To millions of people who have experienced Nazi occupation, seen the gallows and the shootings, known mockery and humiliation and the horrors of the Hitler death camps, there is nothing more detestable than the German militarists and their brigand army. Bonn and Washington have no illusions on that score, and that is why they hope to confuse public opinion in the European countries by somewhat altering the uniform of the West German soldier.

Of course, the redecorating experts have another aim in view as well. The point is that a revanchist Wehrmacht and everything connected with it stands in no better odour with decent people in West Germany either. The West German youth do not want to be hirelings of the Ruhr magnates, they do not want to don the detested Wehrmacht uniform. Even before the Paris agreements went into effect, the revenge-

seekers began a propaganda campaign intended to break the resistance of the youth to service in the aggressive army now being resurrected. Looking for new arguments in favour of military service, *Union in Deutschland*, the bulletin put out by Adenauer's party, even had recourse to Herder's "social catechism". Characteristically, the bulletin was entranced with the following passage from the works of this 18th century German writer: "The citizen must respond when he is called up for service even when he is firmly persuaded that the state is arming with a view to launching a military attack."

But this campaign failed to bring the results its sponsors had expected. Blank and his conferees who tried to persuade the youth to join the West German army were hooted out of meetings time and again. Many young men are going over to the German Democratic Republic to escape being recruited into the army of mercenaries. One of them, 24-year-old Horst Butter, a fitter, said when he made this move:

"With the best will in the world I cannot understand what I am to defend in Adenauer's army, whom or what I am to fight for. That's why I have come to the GDR."

Similar thoughts come to the minds of many other West German young men when they hear the appeals of recruiting agents from the war office. That is why the Bonn revenge-seekers are trying to cover up the bestial character of the Wehrmacht in some way, if only with a shirt and tie and "Ike's jacket".

But this is a trick meant to fool sim-
pletons.

In the same United Press item, incidentally, it is reported that the West German army will be headed by some 40 generals, in the main the Hitler generals. Literally within a few hours after the disgraceful comedy of the admission of Western Germany to the North Atlantic bloc was enacted in Paris, new appointments to the future West German army were announced in Bonn. General Grüwell, a commander of the tank forces under Hitler, is designated "inspector-general" or, in other words, commander-in-chief. The chief of general staff is to be General Heusinger, formerly on Hitler's general staff. General Wenk, known for his loyalty to Hitler, is to be in command of the ground forces. Is it they, forsooth, the "scorched earth" strategists who converted thriving areas of Europe into "desert zones", who are now to be ennobled by grey-green jackets and laced shoes?

In his day Heine caustically ridiculed the pompous and haughty Prussian militarists. "No", he wrote, "the ramrod is not apurtenance." How appropriate are these words today, when the Bonn warlords seek to hide the true nature of their robber army under an outwardly different cloak.

"The snake sheds its skin, but the poison remains", says an old proverb. The grey-green finery will fail to camouflage the robber nature of the revanchist Wehrmacht.

Jan MAREK

Wretched Life of...

villages to the nearby cities. Very often they are forced to leave their villages because of the replacement of manual labour by machine labour. A recent incident in the village of Shaddi, in the Djezireh District, which prompted the peasants there to send a telegram to the Chamber of Deputies, offers graphic proof of this. What happened was that the owner of the village decided to use a tractor on his land, and so he ordered the peasants and their families to take themselves off. But the peasants refused to go. They had lived in Shaddi all their lives. They and their fathers before them had tilled the land with their hands and watered it with the sweat of their brows; so much was this so that they had become completely identified with it. They considered it their own, even though at the end of every year they gave up a fourth or fifth part of their harvest to the landlord. The latter, however, insisted on getting his own way. He got a tractor and began to plough the land. The peasants offered resistance. Police appeared on the scene, abused the peasants, beat them up and drove them out of the village. Sixteen peasants were arrested.

Equally grim is the lot of the farm labourers.

Eager to make the biggest profits they can, the landlords use many different forms of renting out land and exploiting farm labour. In the Djezireh District, for instance, the brigade form of renting is widely practised. A few workers get together and offer

ourselves by living in such dire conditions? Why is nothing done to improve the land by use of fertilisers, extension of the irrigation system and greater utilisation of agricultural machinery?

To answer these questions one must first analyse the social relations prevailing in the Syrian countryside. It is then quite obvious that the chief cause of the stagnation in agriculture and the disastrous position of the peasantry is the monopoly ownership of land. The land is in the hands of a handful of big landlords and bankers, the big exporters and businessmen, who look upon agricultural production solely as a source of profit for themselves. To the rulers of Syria the hundreds of thousands of peasants are no more than "tools of production". They own no land; they merely cultivate it for the big landowners. They have neither the means nor the possibility of improving the land and increasing its fertility. It hardly needs saying that under these conditions it is impossible to increase the fertility of the land or cut down the cost of agricultural production.

As for the agrarian policy in our country, it is difficult to say that it has undergone any substantial changes under various governments that have succeeded one another in Syria in the past few years. It is a policy designed to strengthen and actually extend the monopoly ownership of land, as is clearly proved by the Government's policy regarding the state property unlawfully seized by the landlords. Why is it that this land is not taken away from them and put at the disposal of the peasants?

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What we Communists are demanding—the abolition of the monopoly ownership of land and the granting of land and water to the peasants—is a democratic rather than a socialist measure, inasmuch as it does not in fact go beyond the limits of the capitalist relations of production. As for Socialism, this is a subsequent and higher stage for our country.

The carrying through of a democratic agrarian reform will make the age-old dreams of the landless peasants of Syria come true and will be an important step forward in our country's advance to a higher level.

to the municipality of Chicago (Prefecture).

Release Jesus Faria!

On May 8 it was five years since Comrade Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Venezuelan Communist Party and Vice-President of the Confederation of the Latin American Working People, was thrown into prison.

Arrested in connection with a large-scale strike of oil workers, which he led, Comrade Faria has all this time been languishing in prison without a trial or any charge having been made against him.

Jesus Faria is a loyal son of the Venezuelan people who are fighting a heroic battle against the predatory policy of the Standard Oil Company and the fascist government of the U.S. henchman, Jimenez.

In token of solidarity with the Venezuelan patriots a powerful movement for the release of Jesus Faria is now under way throughout Latin America.

This movement has met with a response in other continents. The significance of it, as Comrade Palmiro Togliatti said in his message to Jesus Faria, is that "the release of Jesus Faria, now being publicly demanded by many millions of people all over the world, will be a victory for freedom and peace over the forces of darkness and the striving of imperialism for war".

trying to implant in the minds of the peoples of Europe. To millions of people who have experienced Nazi occupation, seen the gallows and the shootings, known mockery and humiliation and the horrors of the Hitler death camps, there is nothing more detestable than the German militarists and their brigand army. Bonn and Washington have no illusions on that score, and that is why they hope to confuse public opinion in the European countries by somewhat altering the uniform of the West German soldier.

Of course, the redecorating experts have another aim in view as well. The point is that a revanchist Wehrmacht and everything connected with it stands in no better odour with decent people in West Germany either. The West German youth do not want to be hirelings of the Ruhr magnates, they do not want to don the detested Wehrmacht uniform. Even before the Paris agreements went into effect, the revenge-

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Jan MAREK

Wretched Life of Taiwan Workers

Last year a number of Taiwan companies dismissed over 11,000 workers. In February alone, more than 5,000 people were out of work as the result of closing down more than 100 textile mills.

The average monthly wages of workers in 21 branches of industry, including the textile, metallurgical and mining industries, is 365 Taiwan yuan, or less than half the subsistence minimum necessary for a family of medium size.

Women's wages are even lower. The women employed at knitted goods factories work 13 hours a day and receive 5 Taiwan yuan. This sum is scarcely enough to buy 2 kilogrammes of rice. Moreover, payment is postponed. At the beginning of this year the total arrears of wages owed to miners amounted to 6 million yuan.

Stevedores very often receive less than half their wages, and 83% of the workers engaged in salt extraction are also heavily in debt.

Disease is rife among the workers because of bad conditions of labour and malnutrition. In six counties and towns of the northern part of the island, 84.7% of the miners suffer from occupational diseases. In Keelung one out of every five stevedores suffers from pulmonary diseases. Of workers employed in salt extraction, 75.7% suffer from eye troubles and 61.4% of them have diseases of the legs.

Explosions often occur at many enterprises and pits because of the lack of safety precautions. Last year, 12,524 workers were killed, wounded or crippled as the result of such accidents.

Facts Expose...

Octopus Company In the first quarter of this year General Motors made 309 million dollars in profits, after deduction of taxes. In five years this octopus company has squeezed more than 3,300 million dollars profits from the sweat and blood of the working people.

Harlow Curtice, President of General Motors, has declared that the company's profits reflect the "sound policy" of the present U.S. Government. Exposing the substance of that "sound policy", the N. Y. Daily Worker showed that from the abolition of the tax on super profits alone General Motors netted 144 million dollars in 1954. Another manifestation of this "sound policy" was that military orders to the sum of 1,400 million dollars were secured for the company by Defense Minister Wilson—former president of General Motors.

Worshippers of "Fuehrer" The Frankfurter Zeitung, published in Frankfurt on Main,

contained an insolent advertisement to the following effect: "In case you wish to get the Fuehrer's speech of January 30, 1942, send to..." (the newspaper's address follows). In another West German city, Hamburg, the out-and-out worshippers of the frenzied "Fuehrer" have become so impudent that, as a textbook on state law in educational establishments, they have started using... "Mein Kampf".

This is how the West German fascists, encouraged by the Paris agreements, are getting more brazen with each passing day.

A Strange Invitation The National State Council of Uruguay recently announced in the press that "at the special invitation of Mr. Lempster MacIntosh, United States Ambassador, Dr. Santiago Romani, Foreign Minister of Uruguay, left by plane for Salto". In other words, Uruguay's Foreign Minister needs a special invitation from a foreign ambassador to visit... a city in his own country.

The newspaper *Justicia* justly asks: "Who, then, governs this country? How can it happen that an American ambassador invites an Uruguayan statesman to 'visit' our own Republic?" It is apparent that the U.S. Ambassador feels so much at home as an agent of the American monopolies that he sees no essential difference between Uruguay and, say, Texas or Oklahoma.

"Passes For Robbery" Franco's Finance Minister recently issued an order relieving U.S. servicemen, stationed in Spain, from paying a number of indirect taxes. In Spain there are now two kinds of prices for bread, meat, footwear, ready-made clothes and some other goods: one for Americans (with tax deducted), the other for Spaniards (with tax added).

It is not without justification that the people call the cards with the tax minus, now being supplied to G.I.s by the Francoists, "passes for robbery".

PRESS REVIEW

Chinese People Unanimously Condemn U. S. Atom Maniacs

Jenminjihpao—organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
Kuangmingjihpao—organ of various democratic parties and groupings in China

The campaign for signatures to the Vienna Appeal was a powerful demonstration of the Chinese people's ardent desire for peace and their unshakable will to uphold it.

The newspapers Jenminjihpao and Kuangmingjihpao played an immense role in getting the campaign launched.

On the eve of the campaign, these newspapers in their editorials called on the Chinese people to support in every possible way the efforts of the peoples in defence of peace and to voice their resolute protest against preparations for an atomic war by U.S. aggressive circles. Jenminjihpao commented that in recent years the aggressive forces of the U.S.A. have been flagrantly interfering in China's internal affairs, and are preventing now the Chinese people from liberating China's own territory—Taiwan; they have forcibly occupied this island and, having converted it into a military base, attempt to intimidate the Chinese people by threats of atomic war. This act of aggression, says the newspaper, as well as other actions of the United States, have provoked deep indignation throughout the world.

The Vienna Appeal, Jenminjihpao pointed out, expresses the common interests of the whole of mankind; it met with the wide and enthusiastic support of all fair-minded people. This important Appeal inspires the peace-loving peoples of the world to act without delay.

Kuangmingjihpao stressed that the Chinese people signed the Appeal with deep confidence in the victory of the cause of peace.

Both newspapers have been regularly carrying letters from people of all walks of life. All these letters bear witness to the fact that the Chinese people highly value peace and that they will never agree to sacrifice the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their country. In the course of their liberation struggle against imperialism they well understood that any concession to the aggressor only put a premium on aggression. Thus, the newspapers state, the struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is an important link in the defence of world peace.

In an article entitled "I Have Signed" Tsao Yu, writer, relates: "The peace-loving Chinese people, confident in the victory of the peace forces, have never thought of attacking anyone; by the same token they will not allow any power-crazed enemy to occupy their own territory." Lien Kuo-ju, a folk songs singer, said: "The liberation of Taiwan is China's own business. It has absolutely nothing to do with the United States. Chiang Kai-shek is a traitor. The U.S.A. wants to make people believe that ganging up with bandit Chiang Kai-shek is for the defence of the U.S.A. against Chinese aggression. This sort of reasoning just won't hold water." Chen Ching-yu, an industrial-

ist, wrote: "Even atomic weapons can't terrorise the Chinese people into submission. Taiwan is part of the sacred and inviolable territory of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people will liberate Taiwan and won't allow any aggressor from outside to meddle in their internal affairs."

The Chinese people are consistently fighting for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the complete removal of the threat of atomic war. They demand that atomic energy be used only for peaceful purposes.

Both Jenminjihpao and Kuangmingjihpao have been giving vivid illustrations of the tremendous enthusiasm with which the Chinese people took part in the collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal. Together with four generations of her offspring, Grandma Lan, 136 years old, of Yao nationality, added her name in defence of a peaceful and happy life. Tang Yan-tseng, mother of 13 children, voiced the opinion that it was a mother's duty to add her signature so that the flames of war, fanned by U.S. imperialism, should not endanger her children's lives.

Supporting himself on a walking stick, the celebrated 95-year-old painter Chi P'ai-shih attended a meeting of writers and artists in Peking in the course of the signature campaign. He was bitter in his condemnation of the shameless clamour made by the warmongers of the U.S.A. in threatening to use atomic weapons. "I've been a painter for 70 years", he said, "painting beautiful things, things full of life. Even in painting an insect, I try to convey life. How can I stand by and permit the destruction of this beautiful world?"

Chutsan, eminent Buddhist monk, said that by signing against aggressive war and for the prohibition of atomic weapons, the peace-loving peoples of the world would be able to "transform these weapons into a lotus flower of peace".

Simultaneously with the collection of signatures, unsparing efforts were made to inform the people in all areas about the problem of using atomic energy for peace-

ful purposes. The newspapers Jenminjihpao and Kuangmingjihpao have given much prominence to the achievements of the Soviet Union in using atomic energy for peaceful ends. The science supplement of Kuangmingjihpao has many times discussed the general topic of atomic energy. The two newspapers have also fully featured the wide support the Chinese people are giving to the proposals of the Soviet Union on prohibiting atomic weapons and using atomic energy for peaceful purposes on the basis of international co-operation. The papers have reflected the gratitude of the Chinese people to the Soviet Union for its decision to help China with research into the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Chinese workers and scientists are confident that with the assistance of the Soviet Union they will be able to master the technology of producing atomic energy for use in the course of socialist construction.

The collection of signatures to the demand that atomic weapons be prohibited, which was successfully carried through by the Chinese people, was another powerful demonstration against atom maniacs and U.S. imperialism. More than 220 million names were collected in China to the Stockholm Appeal of 1950, and more than 340 million names to the 1951 Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

The signature campaign to the Vienna Appeal has met with even greater and more united support from the Chinese people. In China's eight largest cities—Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Shenyang, Wuhan, Canton, Chungking and Sian—the collection of signatures was completed in two weeks. By April 10 it had been successfully completed throughout the whole of the People's Republic of China, a total of 400,505,997 people having signed. These signatures are a vivid testimony of the ardent desire of the Chinese people for peace and their burning hatred for the incendiaries of atomic war.

Now that the campaign is over, Jenminjihpao and Kuangmingjihpao are actively continuing to uphold the cause of peace, vigorously campaigning against warmongers and for friendship among the peoples.

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