

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

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IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES

The visit of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, to the Soviet Union developed into a vivid and powerful demonstration of the growing and maturing friendship between the peoples of the USSR and India, of their fervent desire for peace and the relaxation of international tension.

In Moscow Jawaharlal Nehru had several talks with N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other members of the Soviet Government. These talks took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and covered a wide range of matters of mutual interest to the USSR and India, and the major problems of an international character arising from the present world situation.

On June 22 N. A. Bulganin and Jawaharlal Nehru signed a Joint Statement—a document of immense international significance, outstanding in the history of international relations, the sole object of which is to strengthen world peace and the security of the peoples. The great value of this document lies also in the fact that it indicates concrete ways and means of strengthening peace and friendship among nations. The Joint Statement of the heads of the two Governments is being welcomed with satisfaction by all peace-loving peoples, who consider it a major contribution to the cause of peace.

People in all countries who stand for peace welcome the further development and consolidation of Soviet-Indian relations, which happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. These relations will continue to be guided by the following five principles: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons, whether of an economic, political or ideological character; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.

These principles of peace have already been adopted by more than thirty countries. They can well form a general platform for all nations in the matter of maintaining and strengthening peace. In the observance of these principles, in the conduct of their mutual relations, it is stressed in the Joint Statement, lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from the minds of the peoples and thus of lessening world tension. There can be no doubt that the wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of

also be met with widespread approval. The Soviet Union and India hold that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, testing and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, that there should be a simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments and that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition.

The entire spirit of the Joint Statement testifies to the fact that their firm desire for peace and friendship with all peoples and their efforts to eliminate international tension are the salient factors that draw the Soviet Union and India especially close to each other.

Soviet-Indian relations offer striking proof of the correctness of the Leninist thesis on the possibility of peaceful coexistence and co-operation between states with different social and political systems. The example of relations between the USSR and India shows that states with different social systems can live side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good. Soviet-Indian co-operation is developing in all directions, finding expression in the systematic extension of economic and cultural ties that are mutually advantageous to both countries. With the aid of the Soviet Union, a large metallurgical plant will be built in India. The development of India's metallurgical industry will help to guarantee her national independence and economic progress. Taking into account the mutual benefits of co-operation, both countries will strive to develop and strengthen their relations in the economic and cultural fields and in the sphere of scientific and technical research.

The peoples of all countries know full well what an immense influence the Soviet Union and India exert in international affairs. It was thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and India that an armistice was concluded in Korea and that hostilities in Indo-China were brought to an end. The continued consolidation of Soviet-Indian relations is fully in line with the interests of all peoples, and accord with the interests of peace and security.

The peoples have no more important task than that of preventing a new world war and strengthening the cause of peace. Every step in this direction is welcomed by all peace-loving people. They wholeheartedly approve and support the steadfast

JOINT STATEMENT By N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India

At the invitation of the Government of the USSR, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has paid a visit to the Soviet Union. During his stay in Moscow he had several talks with N. A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and other members of the Soviet Government. These talks have taken place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, and have covered, over a wide range, both matters of mutual interest to the two countries and the major problems of international interest and concern arising from current world affairs.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. The Prime Ministers are resolved that in these relations it is necessary to continue to be guided by the following principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. non-aggression;
3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons, whether of an economic, political or ideological character;
4. equality and mutual benefit, and
5. peaceful coexistence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these principles, which have lately received an increasing measure of recognition, are capable of wider application and that in the observance of these principles by states in the conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from the minds of the peoples and thus of the lessening international tension. The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence among nations and pave the way for closer international co-operation. In the climate of peace thus created, it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation.

Both Prime Ministers recognise that, in various parts of the world, there is, on the part of the smaller and weaker states, a vague and possibly unfounded fear of bigger states. They feel that it is essential to dispel this fear in all possible ways. Here again, the best remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of coexistence enunciated above.

The Prime Ministers acclaim the results of the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in April last. The Conference was of historic significance as being the first of its kind at which independent states of two continents, with differing political and social systems, met together for the common purpose of devising ways and means of achieving fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation. The results of the Conference have been noteworthy, and are of deep significance, not only to the participating countries themselves, but generally to the cause of world peace.

The Prime Ministers wish to commend, in particular, the Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation, adopted by the Conference, which sets forth the concepts of peaceful coexistence.

The Prime Ministers recognise that there have been signs of improvement in the general international situation. In particular, they welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the advent of Austrian independence, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the keener and more general appreciation now discernible everywhere of the dangers of war in an atomic age. Nevertheless, in large areas fear and suspicion dominate the minds of men and nations and vitiate international relations. In the Far East, while there has been a lessening of tension, the causes of tension still remain.

The Prime Ministers are confident that it will be possible by peaceful

authority would thereby be enhanced. They also think it important that all states which conform to the terms of membership laid down in the Charter should be admitted to the United Nations.

The Soviet Union, as the country which provided one of the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and India, as the country which has provided the chairmen of all three international commissions in Indo-China, have undertaken special responsibilities in connection with the implementation of the Geneva agreements. These agreements constitute a notable example of the use of the method of negotiation for solving international conflicts, and the degree of success achieved in the practical implementation of these agreements will be regarded as a measure of the value of the method of negotiation as a means of resolving international disputes. The Prime Ministers, therefore, gave special consideration to the situation in Indo-China. In spite of difficulties, which have occasionally been of a grave character, the implementation of the agreements has on the whole so far been satisfactory.

The progress of implementation is now in some danger of being obstructed by new and unexpected developments. The Prime Ministers desire to exhort all governments concerned with the carrying out of the provisions of the agreements to do their utmost to discharge their obligations so that the purposes of the agreements may be completely achieved. In particular, they would strongly urge that, where elections are to be held as a preliminary to a political settlement, the efforts of the governments concerned should be directed to the full implementation of the provisions of the agreements.

Of the international questions of deep concern to nations, none is more pressing, or fraught with graver consequences to the issue of war and peace, than that of disarmament. The tendency to build up arms and armaments, conventional as well as atomic, has increased the prevalent fear and suspicion among nations and has had the effect of diverting national resources from their legitimate purpose, namely, raising the living standards of the people. In the opinion of the Prime Ministers, nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, testing and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. At the same time, they consider that there should be a simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments and that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition. In this connection, the recent Soviet proposals on disarmament were acknowledged as a substantial contribution to the cause of peace.

The Prime Ministers believe that, under the aegis of the five principles enunciated in this statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between their two states. The fact that each country is following a system which is moulded by its own genius, traditions and environment should be no bar to such co-operation. Indeed, the essence of true coexistence, in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith, is that states with different social structures can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good.

Already, aided by a trade agreement concluded some time ago, there has been a marked development in co-operation between the two countries in the cultural and economic spheres. The recent agreement in regard to the construction of a steel plant in India with the assistance of the Soviet Government is a notable example of such co-operation. The two Prime Ministers, taking note of the mutual benefits of such co-operation, will seek to promote and strengthen the relations between their two countries in the economic and cultural fields as well as in that of scientific and technical research.

Both Prime Ministers are gratified at the opportunity they have had of personal

peace welcome the further development and consolidation of Soviet-Indian relations, which happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. These relations will continue to be guided by the following five principles: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons, whether of an economic, political or ideological character; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.

These principles of peace have already been adopted by more than thirty countries. They can well form a general platform for all nations in the matter of maintaining and strengthening peace. In the observance of these principles by states in the conduct of their mutual relations, it is stressed in the Joint Statement, lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from the minds of the peoples and thus of lessening world tension. There can be no doubt that the wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence among nations and pave the way for greater international co-operation. In the climate of peace thus created it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation.

The Joint Statement contains an evaluation of the present international situation. The heads of the Governments of the USSR and India pointed out that there were signs of an improvement in the general international situation. They welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the granting of independence to Austria, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the keener and more general appreciation now discernible everywhere of the dangers of war in this atomic age. Nevertheless, in large areas fear and suspicion still dominate the minds of men and entire peoples, and vitiate international relations.

The peace-loving peoples support the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and India for the successful settlement of the problem of Taiwan, with due regard for the national interests of the Chinese people. The two countries earnestly hope that it will be possible, by peaceful means, to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan. They consider it essential that the Chinese People's Republic should be given its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation, whose role and prestige would thereby be unquestionably enhanced.

It will be remembered that the Soviet Union and India have undertaken special responsibilities in connection with the implementation of the Geneva agreements. Having given consideration to the situation in Indo-China, N. A. Bulganin and Jawaharlal Nehru urged all those governments upon whom the carrying out of the provisions of the Geneva agreements depend, to do their utmost to discharge their obligations so that the purposes of the agreements might be completely achieved.

The section of the Joint Statement devoted to the problem of disarmament will

Second Congress of Union of Working Youth of Hungary

The Second Congress of the UWYH, meeting on June 15-18, heard and discussed the report of the Union's Central Committee, made by the First Secretary, I. Sakali, and a report on the tasks of the Union in regard to work among rural youth, made by C.C. Secretary J. Gastoni.

The Congress was addressed by the First Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party, Comrade Matyas Rakosi.

In an appeal to the working youth of

Union, a large metallurgical plant will be built in India. The development of India's metallurgical industry will help to guarantee her national independence and economic progress. Taking into account the mutual benefits of co-operation, both countries will strive to develop and strengthen their relations in the economic and cultural fields and in the sphere of scientific and technical research.

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The peoples have no more important task than that of preventing a new world war and strengthening the cause of peace. Every step in this direction is welcomed by all peace-loving people. They wholeheartedly approve and support the steadfast and consistent struggle of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the countries of people's democracy and all peace forces—for the relaxation of international tension, the elimination of distrust among states and the strengthening of peace, a struggle that has brought forth a number of positive results.

The chief aim and highest principle of the foreign policy of the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic and all the countries of people's democracy is the safeguarding of peace and international security. All the efforts of the Soviet Government on the international arena are dedicated to this noble aim. Striking proof of this is the statement of V. M. Molotov, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Foreign Minister, at the Jubilee Session of the United Nations Organisation.

On the other hand, the aggressive circles of the capitalist states are doing their utmost to prevent the lessening of international tension. They are intensifying the arms drive, continue to stockpile atom and hydrogen weapons, setting up military bases on the territories of other countries and knocking together military blocs directed against the peace-loving countries.

This policy of the aggressive forces is in fundamental contradiction to the vital interests of the peoples, whose chief desire is to live in peace and friendship. To this the World Peace Assembly now opening in Helsinki bears witness. There is no doubt that this extremely broad gathering of representatives of the peace forces will demonstrate the unanimous will of the peoples for peace; will help to draw new political and social forces into the peace movement, and will mobilise the peoples for an even more active struggle to prevent another war and to frustrate every attempt of the aggressive imperialist forces to unleash one.

The forces of the peace-loving peoples are without number. If they unite in the struggle, they will compel the warmongers to retreat, and thereby secure the triumph of the cause of peace.

Hungary, the Congress urged them to work perseveringly and strive to fulfil the tasks set by the Hungarian Working People's Party in the building of Socialism. In a message to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party, the Congress delegates promised, on behalf of all Hungarian youth, to justify the confidence of the Party.

The Congress also amended the Rules of the Union.

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It is the earnest hope of both Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan. At the same time, the Prime Ministers wish to reiterate their conviction that the continued refusal to admit the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations lies at the root of many troubles in the Far East and elsewhere. They consider it essential that the Chinese People's Republic should be given its rightful place in the United Nations, whose role and

N. BULGANIN

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister of India

June 22, 1955
Moscow

Signing of Joint Statement Made by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India

The ceremony of signing the Joint Statement made by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, took place on June 22 in the Grand Kremlin Palace in a cordial atmosphere.

At 8.15 p.m. N. A. Bulganin and Jawaharlal Nehru together walked to the table on which lay the texts of their Joint

Statement in the Russian and English languages.

After they had signed the Statement, they shook hands.

Present at the signing of the Joint Statement from the Soviet side were: L. M. Kaganovich, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, N. S. Khrushchev, P. N. Pospelov and M. A. Suslov, G. K. Zhukov, Minister of Defence of the

USSR; V. D. Sokolovski, Marshal of the Soviet Union; A. A. Gromyko and V. V. Kuznetsov, First Deputies of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; D. T. Shepilov, Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of Nationalities, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and others.

Present from the Indian side were: K. P. S. Menon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; N. R. Pillai, Secre-

tary-General, Ministry of External Affairs; A. Husain, Head of European Division, Ministry of External Affairs; the Diplomatic Corps of the Embassy of the Republic of India in the USSR; Indra Ghandi, Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, and the delegation of Indian journalists now in the USSR.

Press representatives from the USSR and other countries were also present.

Meeting in Moscow Devoted to Friendship Between the USSR and India

In the concluding days of his visit to the Soviet Union, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, and those accompanying him, visited Magnitogorsk, Sverdlovsk and Leningrad. In these towns they inspected the work of the biggest industrial enterprises, visited theatres, museums, etc. and on the morning of June 21 returned to Moscow.

Jawaharlal Nehru's stay in the Soviet Union was a vivid manifestation of the growing and strengthening friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, and of their firm desire to preserve and consolidate world peace. A meeting devoted to Soviet-Indian friendship was held on June 21 at the Dynamo Stadium, Moscow.

More than 80,000 working people were at the Stadium, including workers from the capital's factories and building sites, representatives of collective farmers, prominent personalities in the field of culture and science, students and school children as well as representatives of the Soviet Army,

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Comrades N. A. Bulganin, K. E. Voroshilov, L. M. Kaganovich, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, N. S. Khrushchev, P. N. Pospelov and M. A. Suslov appeared in the central box of the Stadium, which was decorated with Soviet and Indian flags. All the people in the stands stood up and cordially greeted the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, and the Head of the Government of the Republic of India, who were presented with bouquets by Pioneers to the accompaniment of prolonged and thunderous applause.

The meeting was opened by Comrade M. A. Yasnov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, who, in a short speech, said:

Highly esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, dear friends and comrades,

Today the working people of Moscow have gathered here to express their most ardent feelings of friendship and esteem for the talented and industrious Indian people. Our two great peace-loving peoples

are drawn together by their common and vital interest in securing world peace, and their common desire to live in peace and friendship.

We know well that the Indian people and their Government do not want war.

The working people of Moscow, like the Soviet people as a whole, wholeheartedly wish the Indian people happiness and prosperity, fresh successes in their noble and just fight for peace. We Muscovites express our warm feelings for the great Indian people and our desire to establish still closer and lasting friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Republic of India.

The people of the capital have ardently and cordially welcomed Jawaharlal Nehru, wherever he has been—in factories, the Metro, theatres and schools—everywhere he has had a warm and joyful reception.

Comrades, permit me once again, on behalf of the working people of Moscow, the capital of our homeland, wholeheartedly to greet Jawaharlal Nehru, outstanding statesman and Head of the Indian Govern-

ment, who is present at our meeting. (Thunderous, prolonged applause.)

We are confident that his visit to the Soviet Union will promote the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between our countries and contribute to easing world tension.

Long live the peace-loving Indian people! Long live friendship between the Soviet Union and India; may it gain in strength! (Stormy, extremely prolonged applause, shouts of "Hurrah!")

This meeting of the working people of Moscow dedicated to friendship between the Soviet Union and India is declared open. (Stormy applause.)

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The solemn strains of the national anthem of the Republic of India rang out, followed by the majestic notes of the national anthem of the Soviet Union.

Greeted with a stormy and prolonged standing ovation by everyone present, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, then addressed the meeting in Hindi, his mother tongue.

(Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru and N. A. Bulganin are published on page 2)

Meeting in Moscow Devoted to Friendship Between the USSR and India

Speech by Jawaharlal NEHRU, Prime Minister of the Republic of India

Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Mr. Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, dear friends.

I beg your pardon for not being able to speak with you in Russian, in your own language. Because I cannot, you will have to hear a translation.

We came to the Soviet Union two weeks ago and will now soon be leaving your great country. In this time we have covered about 13,000 kilometres, visited many well-known cities and seen many wonderful things. But the most wonderful of them all was the welcome we were accorded everywhere we went and the warmth of feeling that was widely expressed in relation to us. We are immeasurably grateful for this expression of feeling and this cordial welcome; I cannot find words which can adequately express my gratitude to the people of the Soviet Union. (Tumultuous applause.) Nevertheless, I should like to express our gratitude to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to your Government and your people, and I would ask you to convey this expression of our deep feeling to the people of the Soviet Union who honoured us so greatly. (Applause.)

We came here to bring to the people of the great Soviet Union the greetings and good wishes of the Indian people. (Prolonged applause.) We shall take home with us your warm feelings and good wishes for our country and our people. (Prolonged applause.)

We were not entirely uninformed when we came here; many of us have followed with keen interest the great changes and events that have taken place in the Soviet Union. Almost at the same time as the October Revolution, led by the great Lenin, we in India entered upon a new phase of our struggle for freedom. For many years our people were absorbed in this struggle and bore heavy oppression with courage and patience. Although under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi we followed a different course in our struggle, we admired Lenin and were influenced by his example. (Prolonged applause.) Despite this difference in our methods, our people have never had unfriendly feelings towards the people of the Soviet Union. We did not understand some of the events in your country just as you, possibly, did not understand much of what was happening in our country. We wished the Soviet Union success in the great, new experiment it was conducting and sought to learn from it wherever we could. Different conditions prevailed in our countries; there were differences in geography, history, traditions, culture and the circumstances in which each country developed.

We have held that it was odious for one country to dominate another, and while struggling for our own freedom we sympathised with the efforts other countries that were suffering from alien or autocratic rule were making to win their

liberation. The position of each country and each people is determined by its past and by the testing it has undergone; each country and people has certain specific features. They cannot develop under foreign rule or when an outside will is imposed on them. They can develop only if they succeed in attaining confidence in themselves and in their strength, and in safeguarding their integrity. We all have to learn from others, and we cannot isolate ourselves, but such learning cannot be fruitful if it is forced upon people.

We believe in democracy, equality and the abolition of special privileges, and we have set ourselves the task of building, by peaceful means, a socialist pattern of society in our country. (Stormy applause.) Whatever the form this socialist-pattern society or democracy may assume, it must open up access to knowledge and grant equal opportunities to all.

Proceeding from the recognition of the right of each country to determine its own destiny, the Government of India and the People's Government of China agreed that in their mutual relations they will be guided by five principles. They are: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. Subsequently, these principles were accepted by Burma and Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Government also approved them. (Stormy applause.) At the Bandung Conference they were developed into ten principles and embodied in the Declaration on World Peace and Co-operation. Thus they have been accepted by over 30 countries. I do not doubt that if these principles of international mutual relations were accepted and if all countries of the world were guided by them, it would help to a great extent to put an end to the fear and apprehension that overcloud the world.

The progress of science and the resulting advance of technique have changed the world we live in, and the latest scientific discoveries are changing men's conception of themselves and of the world. Even our ideas of time and space have changed, and there are opening up to us immense possibilities of investigating the secrets of nature and applying our knowledge for the good of mankind. Science and engineering have relieved man of a good part of the burden festing upon him, opened up new vistas to us and placed great power in our hands. This power can be used for the general good if our actions are governed by wisdom, but if the world goes out of its mind or commits an act of folly, it can destroy itself at the very moment when we stand on the threshold of great discoveries and triumph.

For this reason, if we are concerned about the progress of our civilisation or in any case about its preservation, the question of peace acquires exceptional importance. Peace, as we see it, is not simply a question of abstaining from war, but of adopting an active and positive approach to international relations such as would

lead, in the first place, to relaxation of existing tensions. Peace also means seeking to settle our problems by negotiation, with a subsequent strengthening of co-operation between countries by various means. Cultural and scientific ties can be strengthened, as can the exchange of ideas, the exchange of experience and information. We must try to remove all obstacles and barriers that interfere with the development of our consciousness and spirit, and also all other impediments to international co-operation. There is no reason why countries with different political, social or economic systems should not co-operate in this way, provided they do not interfere in each other's affairs and do not impose their will or try to establish their domination.

Everywhere I went in the Soviet Union I found a passionate desire for peace. I feel certain that the overwhelming majority of the people in every country are eager for peace, but fear of others often clouds their minds and forces them to act otherwise. It is this fear and hatred that we must eradicate; we must try to create an atmosphere of peace. Peace cannot come of war or the threat of war, or of the constant danger of war.

We in India have dedicated ourselves to the cause of peace, and even in our struggle we are trying to employ peaceful means. Peace is necessary both for our own progress and for the things that we hold dear. We will therefore work for peace by all possible means and co-operate with other countries in the solution of this important task.

I should like to congratulate the Government of the Soviet Union upon having recently taken a number of steps that have eased international tension and contributed to the cause of peace. (Tumultuous applause.) In particular, I believe that the Soviet Union's latest disarmament proposals will further advance the solution of this complex problem. Disarmament is necessary if fear is to be eradicated and peace assured.

In our countries we plan our economic and cultural development. Let us then also plan peaceful co-operation between different countries for the sake of the general good and the abolition of war.

Countries often conclude pacts and alliances for fear of some other country or group of countries. Let our rapprochement be determined by the fact that we like each other and wish to co-operate and not by the fact that others do not like us or by any desire on our part to do them harm. (Applause.)

At this moment, as I address you, the United Nations Organisation is holding a special session in San Francisco to mark the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The United Nations Organisation is based on a Charter which is imbued with lofty ideals, and sets peaceful co-operation as its goal. The hopes the peoples of the

world placed in this international organisation have not been justified in full, and much has happened that has obstructed the realisation of the ideals set out in the Charter. I sincerely hope that in the new decade now beginning for the United Nations Organisation, these hopes will be justified. (Prolonged applause.) But the United Nations Organisation cannot represent all the peoples of the world if some countries are not admitted to it. In particular, we have long felt that its failure to recognise the great Chinese People's Republic not only is an abnormal state of affairs and runs counter to the spirit of the Charter, but also jeopardises the cause of promoting peace and the solution of international problems. (Prolonged applause.)

One of the most vital problems of the present day is that of the Far East, but that problem too cannot be solved without good will and without the co-operation of the Chinese People's Republic. I believe that we shall soon see the Chinese People's Republic take its lawful place in the United Nations Organisation (tumultuous applause), and that the efforts being made to solve the problem of the Far East will be increasingly successful.

We live in a vital, developing world that is advancing towards new discoveries and triumphs, in which man has ever-greater power at his disposal.

Let us hope that this power will be placed under control, that its use will be governed by wisdom and patience, and that every country will make its contribution to the common good.

The great achievements of the Soviet Union have impressed me deeply. I have seen the changes that have been effected in this vast country thanks to the diligence of its people and the great purpose that moves them forward along the path of improving their conditions. I am enchanted with the music and dances, as well as with the incomparable ballet that I have seen. What has impressed me most of all is the tremendous care the state and the people give to the children and the younger generation of this great country.

I wish to thank you once again, Mr. Prime Minister, and your Government and your people, for their friendship and generous hospitality. The people of India wish you prosperity, and are striving to co-operate with you in many spheres of joint activity for the good of our countries and the benefit of all mankind. (Tumultuous applause.)

Long live friendship and co-operation between our peoples and other countries of the world for the well-being of mankind! (Tumultuous applause.)

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The next speech was made by Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. He received a prolonged ovation. All rose.

Jubilee Session of United Nations Organisation

June 20 saw the opening of the Jubilee Session of the United Nations Organisation devoted to the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Charter, in San Francisco (U.S.A.).

The Session was opened by Van Kleffens, who presided over the ninth session of the General Assembly. He called on U.S. President Eisenhower, who delivered a speech of greeting. The delegates were welcomed by Mayor Robinson of San Francisco, and Governor Knight of California. Speeches were then made by UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld and the Chairman of the Jubilee Session, Van Kleffens.

Statement by V. M. Molotov

Recalling the situation in which the United Nations Organisation was founded, and stressing the fundamental and supreme task of the UN—to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to secure peace, friendship and co-operation among nations—V. M. Molotov pointed out that at the present time there is considerable tension in international relations that is aggravated again and again by propaganda for another war, and that the further aggravation of this tension imperils the maintenance of peace and creates the danger of another war.

If, continued V. M. Molotov, the propaganda for another war, which has of late become dangerous propaganda for atomic war in particular, is kept up in certain countries without let or hindrance; if there is a further intensification of the arms drive and of the establishment of military bases, which are being set up not in the interests of defence but for the purpose of attacking other countries; if for these purposes military alignments directed against other nations continue to be knocked together—then international tension will be aggravated to a still greater extent. To follow this course means to rush headlong towards a third world war.

V. M. Molotov then brought out the point that in our day there were ample facts showing the existence of tried and tested ways to lasting peace and the consolidation of friendship among nations. Among these facts he listed the cessation of the wars in Korea and Indo-China, the conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria, the normalisation of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia and the visit of Prime Minister Nehru of India to the Soviet Union, which is of great importance for the further consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and also for easing international tension and strengthening peace.

The facts he had just mentioned, said V. M. Molotov, as well as a number of others, showed that the policy of relaxing international tension followed by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries was yielding more and more positive results.

There can be no doubt that the same aims are served by the Soviet Government proposal to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the German Federal Republic and the invitation extended to Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow for negotiations.

At the subsequent sittings speeches were made by Mr. Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister; Mr. Macmillan, British Foreign Secretary; Mr. De Freitas Valle, Brazilian representative to Uno; Mr. Haled Azem, Syrian Foreign Minister; Mr. Hansen, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Denmark; Mr. Olsen, Chilean Foreign Minister; Mr. Popovic, Yugoslav State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and others.

On June 22 V. M. Molotov, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the USSR, made a statement which was followed with keen attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

fundamental difference from the restricted military groupings created in recent years, which have been established contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and which further aggravate international tension.

This proposal of the Soviet Government is an expression of the substance of the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy, which is designed to build up collective security instead of creating military blocs opposed to one another.

The proposal of the Soviet Government for a reduction of armaments, prohibition of atomic weapons and elimination of the threat of another war, submitted on May 10 to the Disarmament Commission in London, should be considered in the same light.

It is now up to the United States of America and other Western countries. Since the USSR has accepted in toto their proposal with regard to conventional armaments there is no reason now why the Western countries should put off the solution of the question of atomic weapons, and they should agree to renounce the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and to ban them completely, as proposed in the Soviet draft.

To take these steps on both sides, V. M. Molotov emphasized, would mean to contribute by deeds to a relaxation of international tension, to contribute by deeds to the consolidation of universal peace.

The Soviet Government has also met the Western countries halfway as regards atomic weapons.

The Soviet Government has agreed to their proposal that, until atomic weapons are completely banned, states should have the right to use these weapons for the purpose of defence against aggression, provided that, if such an exceptional case arises, there is a definite decision on this score by the Security Council. At the same time the Soviet Government deems it necessary for the states to enter into a solemn undertaking not to use nuclear weapons and to regard them as prohibited. The Soviet Union is prepared to give such an undertaking, provided other countries possessing atomic weapons do likewise. Here too, therefore, it is up to the other countries to act, not the Soviet Union.

In addition to new proposals on a general reduction of armaments...

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

(Prolonged applause.)
in our methods, our people have never had unfriendly feelings towards the people of the Soviet Union. We did not understand some of the events in your country just as you, possibly, did not understand much of what was happening in our country. We wished the Soviet Union success in the great, new experiment it was conducting and sought to learn from it wherever we could. Different conditions prevailed in our countries: there were differences in geography, history, traditions, culture and the circumstances in which each country developed.

We have held that it was odious for one country to dominate another, and while struggling for our own freedom we sympathised with the efforts other countries that were suffering from alien or autocratic rule were making to win their

ideas of freedom and space have changed, and there are opening up to us immense possibilities of investigating the secrets of nature and applying our knowledge for the good of mankind. Science and engineering have relieved man of a good part of the burden resting upon him, opened up new vistas to us and placed great power in our hands. This power can be used for the general good if our actions are governed by wisdom, but if the world goes out of its mind or commits an act of folly, it can destroy itself at the very moment when we stand on the threshold of great discoveries and triumph.

For this reason, if we are concerned about the progress of our civilisation or in any case about its preservation, the question of peace acquires exceptional importance. Peace, as we see it, is not simply a question of abstaining from war, but of adopting an active and positive approach to international relations such as would

in our countries to plan economic and cultural development. Let us then also plan peaceful co-operation between different countries for the sake of the general good and the abolition of war.

Countries often conclude pacts and alliances for fear of some other country or group of countries. Let our rapprochement be determined by the fact that we like each other and wish to co-operate and not by the fact that others do not like us or by any desire on our part to do them harm. (Applause.)

At this moment, as I address you, the United Nations Organisation is holding a special session in San Francisco to mark the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The United Nations Organisation is based on a Charter which is imbued with lofty ideals, and sets peaceful co-operation as its goal. The hopes the peoples of the

in Korea and the USSR, the normalisation of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia and the visit of Prime Minister Nehru of India to the Soviet Union, which is of great importance for the further consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and also for easing international tension and strengthening peace.

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Negotiations have also been started in London on the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Speaking of the forthcoming Conference of the heads of the governments of the Four Powers, V. M. Molotov indicated that it would be of great value if all its participants showed a real desire to lessen international tension, settle pressing problems and strengthen peace.

While noting the positive aspects of the work done by the United Nations, V. M. Molotov called to mind the abnormality of the fact that the indisputable rights of the People's Republic of China had not yet been restored in the UN and that it was still deprived of the right to take its lawful seat there. This illegal situation, said V. M. Molotov, cannot be tolerated any longer without undermining confidence in the United Nations. The People's Republic of China should without further delay be given the full opportunity to have its representatives both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council.

Further, dwelling on the principle of coexistence and peaceful co-operation among countries with different social systems, a principle that has been extensively confirmed, V. M. Molotov emphasized the fact that today all of us are interested, not in the mere recognition or proclamation of one principle or another, but in concrete actions that would help to maintain and strengthen international peace and security.

In this connection, V. M. Molotov said, mention should be made of the importance of the well-known Soviet proposal for the establishment of a collective security system in Europe. The aim of the Soviet draft on the matter is to ensure, with the participation of the United States, peace and security for all European countries irrespective of differences in their social systems. This demonstrates its

cannot but note the systematic extension of mutually advantageous economic and cultural ties which help to bring our peoples still closer together.

There can be no doubt that the visit of Mr. Nehru to the Soviet Union, his close contact with the Soviet people and his personal meetings with the leaders of the Soviet Union, will serve the cause of further developing and strengthening friendship and co-operation between our countries. I am happy to say that the exchange of opinions which took place between us showed the existence of mutual understanding and unity of views on a number of questions of vital significance for easing international tension. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

During his stay in the Soviet Union Mr. Nehru has had the opportunity of personally seeing that the Soviet people are sincerely striving for the maintenance and consolidation of peace. Mr. Nehru has undoubtedly also had the opportunity of observing the depth and sincerity of the feelings of sympathy and friendship which the peoples of our country have for the peoples of India. (Stormy applause.)

On behalf of the Soviet people and the Government of the USSR, I convey to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to the Government of India and to the whole Indian people, our greetings and wishes for success along the road of development and prosperity for India. (Stormy, prolonged applause. Cries of "Hurrah!")

Long live friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India!

May Soviet-Indian friendship grow and become stronger for the well-being of the peoples of both countries, for universal peace and security! (All rise, stormy, prolonged applause, cries of "Hurrah!")

The speeches by Jawaharlal Nehru and N. A. Bulganin were listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause. The speeches being over, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, shook hands.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and was a powerful manifestation of the approval and support of the entire people for the wise foreign policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Government, the policy of peace and co-operation among the peoples; it was a manifestation of the warm friendly feelings of the Soviet people for the great Indian people.

Soviet Union, Jawaharlal Nehru left Moscow for Warsaw by plane. All along the route to the central airport the Prime Minister of India was cheered by scores of thousands of Muscovites. He was seen off by leaders of the Soviet Government and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by diplomatic representatives, journalists and others.

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

Comrades!

Esteemed Prime Minister! Friends!

Speaking on behalf of the Soviet Government, the representatives of the Moscow working people who are assembled here, the whole of the Soviet people and also for myself, I thank our esteemed guest, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mr. Nehru, for his warm and friendly words about our homeland. We Soviet people are pleased to hear these words from Mr. Nehru, who is known as one of the outstanding leaders in the struggle of the Indian people for national independence and as a courageous fighter for the cause of peace. (Stormy applause.)

The Soviet people particularly warmly, joyfully and with feelings of sincere friendship, welcomed Mr. Nehru in their country, seeing in him a representative and envoy of the great Indian people.

Friendly relations have existed between our country and India for a long time. The industry and talent of the multi-national 400 million-strong people of India, who have created immortal monuments of culture in the course of their long history extending over many centuries, their unswerving desire for freedom and national independence and unwavering love of peace, merit the profound respect and warm appreciation of the peoples of our country. (Tumultuous applause.)

The Soviet people are watching with great interest and sympathy the efforts being made by the great Indian people to create in their own country a society on the socialist pattern, and welcome the progress made by them in advancing their economy and developing their national industry.

Soviet-Indian relations are based on firm and stable foundations; they are based on principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

These principles of a peaceful foreign policy have been proclaimed by India and the Chinese People's Republic, have since been accepted by Burma and Yugoslavia, and, as Mr. Nehru has just said, were also approved at the Bandung Conference by 29 countries of Asia and Africa and incorporated in the Declaration on strengthening international peace and co-operation which was adopted at that Conference. The Soviet Government likewise approves these principles and believes that they could become a

common platform for all peoples in maintaining and consolidating peace. (Prolonged applause.)

Soviet-Indian relations provide convincing proof of the correctness of the conception proclaimed by the great Lenin, of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and co-operation among states possessing different social-political systems.

The Soviet Union and India particularly are being drawn closer together by their unwavering desire for peace and friendship with all peoples and by their struggle to end tension in international relations. Our peoples, engaged in peaceful, creative labour, do not want war. They are moving, each in their own way, toward a new and better life.

The ensuring of peace and the security of the peoples has always been and remains the chief aim and highest principle of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

In recent times the Soviet Government has undertaken a number of new measures aimed at lessening international tension and removing distrust from the relations among states. These measures are the signing of the Austrian State Treaty, the Soviet Government's proposals on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war; the normalisation of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia, the proposal to establish diplomatic and trade relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic, the Soviet-Japanese talks and others.

The Soviet Government has agreed to take part in the Conference of the heads of Government of the Four Powers which is scheduled to open on July 18 in Geneva. Herein we proceed from the fact that the aim of the Conference will be to ease international tension and to strengthen mutual trust in the relations among states. We shall make every effort to achieve this and hope that other participants in this Conference will also strive to the same end. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The contribution made by the Soviet Union to the cause of strengthening peace has met with the sympathetic response and support of all peace-loving peoples, including the Indian people.

The Soviet people in their turn highly value the great contribution to the cause of peace made of late by India.

The cease-fire in Korea and the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China were achieved with the active participation of

India jointly with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

India was one of the initiators of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, which was an important contribution to the cause of the struggle of the Asian and African peoples for their rights and independence, and to the cause of strengthening world peace.

India, like the Soviet Union, stands for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. We hope that in the person of Mr. Nehru and in the Indian Government we shall have an ally and friend in carrying out the Soviet Government's extensive and radical plan for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. (Stormy applause.)

India and the Soviet Union are undertaking joint efforts for the successful settlement of the question of Taiwan, taking into account the national interests of the Chinese people.

The joint struggle of India and the Soviet Union for the granting to the Chinese People's Republic of her rightful place in the United Nations Organisation is particularly appreciated by all peace-loving peoples. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Waging an active fight for the lessening of international tension, and for peace and co-operation among peoples, the Soviet Union and India have been constantly guided by the principles outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The Jubilee Session of the United Nations Organisation devoted to its 10th anniversary opened yesterday in San Francisco. People in all parts of the world profoundly hope that it will be the beginning of new measures directed at ensuring peace and international security.

Today, on behalf of our country, I greet the 10th anniversary Session of the United Nations Organisation and express the earnest wish of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government that this organisation of the peoples of the world shall continue to work persistently for the realisation of the ideals of the UN Charter in the interests of universal peace and security. Our country and its Government will do their best to promote the implementation of these noble aims. (Stormy applause.)

Co-operation between the Soviet Union and India is not confined to the sphere of international relations.

Speaking of the friendship and co-operation between our two countries, one

in an atmosphere of great warmth and cordiality.

On the same day, the Indian guests, accompanied by L. M. Kaganovich and A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, visited the first atomic power station of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

On June 23, after a 16-day stay in the

On June 21-22 N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, met in the Kremlin for talks in which L. M. Kaganovich, A. I. Mikoyan and N. S. Khrushchev also took part.

A cordial, friendly atmosphere prevailed.

On June 22 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru held a reception at which leaders of the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were present; N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, gave a dinner in honour of Prime Minister Nehru in the Grand Kremlin Palace which took place

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In addition to new proposals on a general reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Soviet Government's proposal of May 10 sets out concrete measures for the establishment of effective international control over the implementation of the corresponding decisions. Such are the Soviet Union's basic proposals for reducing armaments, banning atomic weapons and eliminating the threat of a new war. It goes without saying that the People's Republic of China should also take part in the discussion of all these questions.

Here, in San Francisco, continued V. M. Molotov, we find ourselves in the midst of the American people. As a representative of my country I particularly want to convey the feelings of good will the Soviet people entertain toward the people of America. Everyone will agree that it depends to a great extent on the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States of America whether peace and security become more certain and more lasting and confidence and tranquility are thus ensured throughout the world for long years ahead. That is what the Soviet people want and they are certain that this is also the desire of the American people.

The outstanding differences between governments can be resolved, and the mistrust between states can and must be overcome, if both the Soviet people and the Americans get down to this, without minimising the difficulties involved, but firmly resolved to uphold peace and their national interests in keeping with the principles of the United Nations.

Dwelling on the tasks confronting it, V. M. Molotov said in conclusion that the United Nations Organisation could and must play its outstanding part in the struggle to strengthen peace. One must do everything to end the tension obtaining in international relations and promote the establishment of the necessary confidence between states, which would conform to the aspirations of the peoples striving for peace, for conditions that would ensure a tranquil and peaceful life.

Jawaharlal Nehru Arrives in Warsaw

On the invitation of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, Jawaharlal Nehru and those accompanying him arrived in Warsaw on June 23.

He was met at Warsaw's central airport by J. Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; B. Bierut, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; A. Zawadzki, Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic;

Marshal K. Rokossowski, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of National Defence, and other leading statesmen of the Polish People's Republic, and by delegations of the capital's working people.

Jawaharlal Nehru was also met by P. K. Ponomarenko, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR in Poland, and by the heads of a number of embassies and missions in the Polish People's Republic.

Opening of World Peace Assembly

In the Messuhalli Hall in Helsinki on June 22 at 4.45 p.m. the World Peace Assembly started its proceedings. The great hall, in which plenary sessions will take place, is bright with the flags of the countries represented at the Assembly, and "Assemblée Mondiale de la Paix-Helsinki 1955" hangs in great golden letters on a blue background over the platform of the Presidium.

About 2,000 delegates from 90 countries gathered in the hall, anxious to exchange opinions on important international problems and to jointly work out proposals which would promote their peaceful settlement.

Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Peace Council, submitted a panel of names for the Presidium. He stressed that it was composed in such a way that all the peace-loving forces participating in the Assembly would be represented on the Presidium. Every organisation and delegation, he added, had been invited to make their nominations. Jean Laffitte added that the Presidium would include not only delegates but also guests and observers.

He then read out the panel, composed of 150 names, which was unanimously adopted with stormy applause. Following this, Jean Laffitte nominated Professor Frederic Joliot-Curie, President of the World Peace Council, as Chairman of the first session of the Assembly. This proposal was also accepted amidst stormy applause. The Chairman and members of the Presidium then took their places.

Amidst thunderous applause Joliot-Curie declared the Assembly open and gave the floor to V. Meltti, Governor of Niiland and member of the World Peace Council, who on behalf of Finnish peace supporters welcomed the Assembly delegates.

After V. Meltti's speech, messages to the Assembly were read from Elisabeth, Queen of Belgium, Mme. Rameshvari Nehru, well-known Indian public figure and member of the Indian National Congress, General Cárdenas, former President of Mexico, and Edouard Herriot, Honorary Chairman of the National Assembly of France.

Queen Elisabeth's message states: "Today it is not enough to express one's devotion to peace in words: one must defend it actively by increasing the number of such actions as yours. It is for this reason that I wish that the World Assembly of Peace to be held in Helsinki may achieve its aims and so make its contribution to the cause of understanding between the peoples and of peace—essential conditions for the flourishing of culture and progress."

The message of Mme. Rameshvari Nehru states that the mounting international tension, the arms race and the threat to use atomic weapons in a new war represent such a horrifying prospect for the ordinary man that he cannot remain indifferent.

The message continues: "The World Peace Assembly is the answer to the problems facing peace-loving peoples... I hope that from the rostrum of this conference all peoples will give their solemn oath to rid mankind of it."

have been with you at this moment and would have added my voice to those who once again speak out against the brutalities of senseless war..."

"My dear friends, please accept my support, the support of an 83-year-old man who has not much longer to live. With all the strength left to him he adjures you to unite even more closely morally than politically, in order to crush the vile monster, to ensure the right of every nation to a tranquil life and, especially, to protect women and children and to give effect to the most wonderful words ever addressed to man: Peace on earth to all men of good will."

The famous French scientist, Professor Frederic Joliot-Curie, President of the World Peace Council, then made a major speech.

No one can deny, said Joliot-Curie, that the peoples all over the world are demanding that there be no war. This demand must be satisfied... In the last twelve months or so the international situation has changed for the better. Declarations stating the attitude of governments, written and oral statements by influential persons, and an increasing number of articles in the world press—all are in harmony with the aspirations of the people of every nation and already constitute a factor making for relaxation in international tension.

Joliot-Curie then pointed out that, thanks to the vigorous activity of the peace fighters, many people who regarded war as inevitable now renounce this view.

Measures must immediately be taken, he continued, to avert an atomic war. We must therefore strive to get a decision adopted as early as possible to ban tests and production of atom bombs of all types and for the stocks of fissile materials built up for their production to be used for peaceful purposes.

He laid stress on the fact that the problem of banning weapons of mass annihilation was bound up with that of disarmament and disarmament was the concrete action for which public opinion was calling.

It would be difficult to dispute, said Joliot-Curie, that the international situation has improved today. Everyone who has helped to achieve this in one form or another sees in this fact a spur to further effort. Nevertheless there are still difficult problems to be solved: a peace treaty with Germany, the problems of Korea, Viet Nam, Taiwan, North Africa, the Middle East, South America... Economic and cultural relations have been disrupted and are restricted in a dangerous way; states are forming military blocs; certain countries are constructing and occupying military bases far removed from their borders; the arms race continues; research into bacteriological weapons is being pursued and logical weapons are piling up... stocks of atomic weapons are increasing. However, the people's desire to see all these problems settled peacefully is growing. The Four-Power Conference which will soon be convened in Geneva is in keeping with this desire. This Conference will take account of the great hopes and it will take

In the three years since its last Congress our Party has upheld its political line and worked for the consolidation of its ranks and the strengthening of its cadres and leadership.

The keynote of the present Congress is the rallying of all forces of the Party, the working class and all labouring people in the struggle to maintain peace and safeguard democratic rights, in the struggle for the people's well-being.

Lenin's teaching on the uneven development of capitalism in the era of imperialism is of decisive importance for evaluating the present situation and advancing revolutionary thought. The whole course of events bears out the correctness of Lenin's teaching on imperialism as the last stage of capitalism.

I.

Characteristic of the present situation is the disintegration of the single all-embracing world market and the emergence of two opposing world markets. Of decisive importance here is the fact that the countries of the democratic camp co-operate in the economic field, that their mutual relations are of a new type in content and take on new forms which exclude rivalry and conflict among them and guarantee mutual assistance. While the democratic camp grows, consolidates and develops, there are increasingly acute contradictions within the capitalist camp and an intensified struggle for control over the already curtailed capitalist market and the countries which are still under the imperialist yoke.

The capitalists are trying to create the impression that there is peace, unity and mutual assistance in their camp, whereas in reality it is torn with strife: the big strangle the small, the strong trample on the weak, and the U.S. imperialists seek to establish their dominion over them all. The capitalists are extorting millions and thousands of millions of dollars from the working population for rearming and for preparations for a new war.

The struggle for preserving peace remains the paramount, cardinal and decisive task. In the past few years the world camp of peace headed by the Soviet Union, People's China and all the countries of people's democracy has scored tremendous successes. The ending of the war in Korea, peace in Indo-China, the Bandung Conference and the Austrian State Treaty represent landmarks on the way to relaxing international tension and safeguarding peace. However peace will be assured only if the peace forces do not relax their vigilance, do not rest on their laurels, do not cease their efforts until guarantees against the unleashing of a new war exist in the form of a system of collective security, a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and a general reduction of armaments on an international scale.

* From Comrade Edgard Woog's report to the Sixth Congress of the Swiss Party of Labour, made on May 28, 1955, in Geneva.

Swiss Party of Labour in the Struggle for Peace, Unity and Progress*

Edgard Woog
General Secretary of the Swiss
Party of Labour

Through this Congress our Party calls on all peace-loving people of our country, on all who hold their country dear, to sign the Vienna Appeal and, whenever possible,

to take part in collecting signatures. Up to now some 85,000 signatures have been collected in the country, and the goal is 250,000. This means that tremendous efforts must still be made. It is essential that all Party members take part in the signature campaign and that it becomes a powerful demonstration for peace by the Swiss people.

One of the outstanding successes of the struggle for lessening international tension and safeguarding peace is the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty. In Moscow the Austrian Government entered into an undertaking that Austria would not participate in any military alliances and would not allow any foreign power to set up military bases on her territory. This also has great significance for Switzerland.

In his speech in Vienna, when the Austrian State Treaty was signed, Comrade Molotov emphasized the significance of the fact that from now on there would be a neutral Austria alongside Switzerland in the centre of Europe. "It is particularly important", Comrade Molotov pointed out, "that this stand fully accords with the sincere aspirations of the Austrian people." It was and remains a decisive question for us likewise. In our country, too, the policy of neutrality fully corresponds to the sincere aspirations of the Swiss people, who stand for neutrality because they do not want war, because they stand for peace. Thus the state political neutrality of Austria, as well as that of Switzerland, is today a factor contributing to the maintenance of peace.

Our Party and the whole peace-loving Swiss people greet the fraternal Austrian Communist Party and our neighbours, the Austrian people, and congratulate them on the restoration of their national independence and the decision to observe strict neutrality. This decision will help to draw even closer the bonds of friendship between our peoples and will make for more effective joint struggle for peace, well-being and progress.

II.

The working class and all working people must carry on joint struggle for obtaining a bigger share of the fruits of their labour, for securing a change in the Government's policy on taxation and expenditure. Higher wages, tax reductions and an increase in state expenditure on social needs—these are the demands of our programme of action.

In connection with the national policy on expenditure we raise the question of the military budget. The 1954 state budget reveals that military expenditure last year amounted to 688 million francs. Of the 1,684 million francs earmarked for the emergency armaments programme 1,003 million francs were spent by the end of 1954. This is a huge sum, considerably in excess of what would be appropriate in the conditions of our country.

A commission of experts appointed by the Government in July 1953 to make recommendations as to further expenditure for military purposes, formulated in its report of November 29, 1954, the following conception of the country's defence:

"A strong army is the most impressive means by which we can demonstrate to foreign countries our will to defend our independence and the neutrality we ourselves have chosen, and thus, as far as possible, ensure peace for the country."

We do not consider that such a conception corresponds to the interests of the country. It is the conception of "peace through strength", a conception formulated from the "positions of strength" viewpoint.

In contrast to this "policy of strength", our Party upholds the policy of peace, of reducing armaments and settling international issues by means of negotiations. During the discussion of the armaments programme in September 1953, the representative of our Party declared in the National Council:

"We consider that for such a small state as Switzerland the defence and security of the country depend, above all, not on the strength of the army and the realisation of the armaments programme, but on a correct policy. Such a policy has the aim: firstly, to observe state political neutrality—genuine neutrality and not merely a cloak for some other policy; secondly, to support all efforts directed towards maintaining peace and settling international issues by negotiation; thirdly, to improve the conditions of the working people by way of an increase in their purchasing power and bigger allocations for social services by the state as a whole and by the cantons and communes."

To the demand for a reduction of military expenditure we add the supplementary demand: "social insurance for everybody!" The millions of francs that will become available after the reduction of military expenditure must be used for increasing allocations for social needs and expanding all forms of social insurance.

III.

The Party cannot fight alone for the realisation of its programme of demands. These demands are not only the cause of the Party, not only the cause of the working class, but also the cause of all working people, including the peasants. The actions of the peasants show that there are forces among them that are ready to fight against big capital. The Party of Labour declares its solidarity with and supports the peasants' struggle for better conditions of life and labour. Our slogan "Town and countryside, hand in hand!" is not a mere propaganda slogan. We want to realise it, and must do so, for only a joint struggle of all sections of the people will lead to success. The rallying of all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for common demands will increase the power of the people and will

enable them to shape their own destinies. The people can do anything if they act in unity!

The materials prepared by the Central Committee for the Congress and the proposals of the sections cover a number of other questions: the struggle for preserving and extending democratic rights and against the attempt to restrict the right of initiative of the people; the mobilisation of the public against the system of blacklisting in enterprises and against the entire regime of spying and police surveillance; the question of the economic and political equality of women, the problem of the youth and, above all, the question of unity. We have made progress with regard to the policy of united action, we have definite successes to our credit though they may be small. The question of unity is above all a question of concrete action. Here we may say that the smallest joint action is worth more than the longest resolution.

A great deal might be said about the policy of the right-wing Social Democratic leaders. It is a policy of "peace in the factories" and of diverting workers from the struggle, a policy of class conciliation and betrayal of working-class interests. However, the Party should never forget that it must fight on two fronts, against two dangers: against right-wing opportunism and against sectarianism. Concrete action, which will lead to unity, must be placed in the foreground.

A few words on cultural work. There are still Party members who underestimate this work. They fail to understand that life is varied and many-sided, that it has thousands of aspects. I would like to say here to all Party members engaged in the cultural sphere that their work is very valuable, that we consider it to be like any other Party work and that they are the people who can help considerably to improve the positions of the Party.

The resolution of the Central Committee of October 17-18, 1953, has a detailed section on "The organisational strengthening of the Party", containing a number of directives on the weaknesses and shortcomings in organisational work and how to overcome them. All this holds good today. The Party's organisational work still lags behind its political tasks.

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We look to the future confidently and fearlessly, convinced that our cause is just and our path correct!

For indissoluble friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the great Chinese people and the working people of all countries of people's democracy, which are successfully building Socialism and stand on guard over peace!

For indissoluble friendship with our fraternal Parties—the Communist and Workers' Parties of the whole world!

Under the invincible banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin—forward in the struggle for peace and freedom, well-being and progress!

that I wish that the World Assembly of Peace to be held in Helsinki may achieve its aims and so make its contribution to the cause of understanding between the peoples and of peace—essential conditions for the flourishing of culture and progress.”

The message of Mme. Rameshvari Nehru states that the mounting international tension, the arms race and the threat to use atomic weapons in a new war represent such a horrifying prospect for the ordinary man that he cannot remain indifferent.

The message continues: “The World Peace Assembly is the answer to the problem facing peace-loving peoples... I hope that from the rostrum of this conference, all peoples will give their solemn oath to condemn war and to rid mankind of it entirely.”

Lázaro Cárdenas writes: “The noble aims of the Assembly are dear to the peoples of all continents. In the struggle against attempts to stifle the peaceful aspirations of mankind, these high aims arouse people all over the world. These ideas, close to the hearts of millions, are, without doubt, of immense importance, and the minds and the efforts of the people who realise the danger with which another war is fraught must be concentrated on carrying them out.”

The message of Edouard Herriot to the delegates reads:

“Dear friends, had my age and the state of my health not prevented me, I would

the situation has improved today. Everyone who has helped to achieve this in one form or another sees in this fact a spur to further effort. Nevertheless there are still difficult problems to be solved: a peace treaty with Germany, the problems of Korea, Viet Nam, Taiwan, North Africa, the Middle East, South America... Economic and cultural relations have been disrupted and restricted in a dangerous way; states are forming military blocs; certain countries are constructing and occupying military bases far removed from their borders; the arms race continues; research into bacteriological weapons is being pursued and stocks of atomic weapons are piling up... However, the people's desire to see all these problems settled peacefully is growing. The Four-Power Conference which will soon be convened in Geneva is in keeping with this desire. This Conference raises great hopes and it will take account of public opinion. That is why the results of our work acquire immense importance.

We realise how difficult are the tasks we have taken on today. We appreciate the enormity of the responsibility resting on our shoulders. But we shall not betray the hopes of those who have confidence in us. We shall be able to come to decisions that will unite everyone, decisions through which the public will find the necessary strength to overcome all obstacles and impel the course of events onto a peaceful path.

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The World Peace Assembly continues its work.

The struggle for preserving peace remains the paramount, cardinal and decisive task. In the past few years the world camp of peace headed by the Soviet Union, People's China and all the countries of people's democracy has scored tremendous successes. The ending of the war in Korea, peace in Indo-China, the Bandung Conference and the Austrian State Treaty represent landmarks on the way to relaxing international tension and safeguarding peace. However peace will be assured only if the peace forces do not relax their vigilance, do not rest on their laurels, do not cease their efforts until guarantees against the unleashing of a new war exist in the form of a system of collective security, a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and a general reduction of armaments on an international scale.

★ From Comrade Edgard Woog's report to the Sixth Congress of the Swiss Party of Labour, made on May 28, 1955, in Geneva.

DEMANDS OF NORWEGIAN WORKING PEOPLE

Not only is the Vienna Appeal being signed by large numbers of individuals in Norway, but also by many trade union organisations, such as the tram workers' union in Oslo, the trade union organisations at the Oslo Sveisebedrift plant and the biggest shipyard—Nulands Mekaniske Verksted, the trade union organisation of the municipal service workers in the town of Drammen and others.

Recently the painters' trade union in Bergen held a meeting at which it was unanimously decided to appeal to the Nor-

wegian Storting and the Government, demanding that they display initiative to secure the prohibition of atomic weapons. A passage in their resolution reads: “We demand that the organ of supreme power in the country—the Norwegian Storting—show concern for the security of its people and use its authority to put forward the following basic demands: destruction of all stockpiles of atomic weapons, an end to their production, and the discontinuance of A and H-bomb tests.”

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III.

The Party cannot fight alone for the realisation of its programme of demands. These demands are not only the cause of the Party, not only the cause of the working class, but also the cause of all working people, including the peasants. The actions of the peasants show that there are forces among them that are ready to fight against big capital. The Party of Labour declares its solidarity with and supports the peasants' struggle for better conditions of life and labour. Our slogan “Town and countryside, hand in hand!” is not a mere propaganda slogan. We want to realise it, and must do so, for only a joint struggle of all sections of the people will lead to success. The rallying of all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for common demands will increase the power of the people and will

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Voice of Indonesian Public

The collection of signatures in Indonesia to the Vienna Appeal has been stepped up considerably, over 2 million signatures having been obtained altogether. Among those who signed the Appeal were Abidin, Minister of Labour; Gondokusumo, Minister of Justice; Abbas, Minister of Public Welfare; Sadjarvo, Minister of Agriculture; Likaten, Minister of Public Health, and 31 M.P.s.

Trade union, youth, women's and peasant organisations have also increased their activity. For instance, the Indonesian Women's Movement has collected over 100,000 signatures. In regions of West Java

the Appeal was signed by about 22,000 members of the Indonesian Peasants' and Farm Labourers' Union.

A National Indonesian Peace Conference was recently held in Djakarta.

The Conference passed a number of important resolutions condemning the schemes of the Western powers, who are creating aggressive blocs, and approving the principles formulated at the Asian-African Conference. In the name of broad sections of the Indonesian public the Conference demanded a ban on weapons of mass destruction.

Strengthening and Extending Party Ranks—Vital Task of British Communists

The 23rd National Congress of the Communist Party held in April last year expressed serious concern that despite political successes in our work the Party did not grow and that fluctuation in membership was excessive. The concern was all the deeper because this state of affairs had persisted for a number of years. The Congress resolved that the new Executive and every leading member would be judged at the next Congress (April 1956) by what he or she did to build the Party membership and extend the sales of the *Daily Worker*.

Various steps were taken to tackle this problem during last year. But no real progress was made in extending Party membership.

Arising out of this the Political Committee of the Party decided to place the issue of building the Party squarely before the entire membership.

During December and early January a series of meetings of Party activists addressed by Comrade Pollitt were held in 21 major cities of the country. They were attended by 9,000 members. These meetings resulted in greatly increased mass activity, with factory meetings, deputations to members of Parliament, poster parades and the like. The mass campaigning of the entire Labour, progressive and peace movement which resulted, reached an extraordinarily high pitch in the National Deputation to Parliament on January 25, when delegates from all the main factories and towns of Britain, joined by the London

★
John Gollan
National Organiser,
British Communist Party

★ ★
workers to make a force of 17,000, sought to interview their M.P.'s and demonstrate their opposition to rearming the German militarists.

I.
The report made at the March 12 meeting of the Executive of the Party boldly and frankly placed the issue of fluctuation in membership as a key problem that must be solved if the Communist Party in Britain is to grow beyond its present numbers. Despite a fighting record, the principal weakness of the Communist Party during its existence in Britain has been its inability to retain new members.

Recruitment to the Party, for example, has gone on steadily since 1945. If we had cut down the fluctuation in our membership by half, we would today have 44,000 members instead of 33,000; if we had cut it by two-thirds we would today have 50,000.

A major reason for our excessive fluctuation is poor organisation and poor methods of work. Few members leave for directly political reasons. But if a member is organisationally isolated from the Party, he can become susceptible to enemy pro-

paganda. Many recruits have never really been in the Party in the sense of being involved in varied activity or being helped to understand our socialist aims. Sometimes in our own eagerness to get members we have stressed that the intended recruit need not do this or that, and therefore have encouraged passivity.

No important problem can be solved unless it is brought out into the open before the Party membership. We allowed a procedure to develop regarding the annual re-registration of membership and exchange of Party cards which hid this problem. Re-registration was allowed to drag on for five months of the year, with our branches recruiting new members to make up for losses during the year so as to try to re-register 100%. This concealed the problem and stopped it being brought out into the open. A frame of mind was created where the main aim became not expansion, but 100% re-registration—that is, to have the same amount of members at the end of a year's work as we had at the beginning of the year.

Even before the Executive meeting the Political Committee decided to take urgent steps to bring this problem to light. The re-registration period was cut to three months and war was waged on the criminal situation that on an average one member in five was not paying membership contributions. This was a reflection of severe organisational weaknesses and neglect of this vital issue by Centre and Districts. As a result, three-quarters of the

membership was re-registered by the end of December, that is in eight weeks.

The Executive meeting put this entire issue sharply before the Party. It advanced three main reasons for this situation.

First, we have tended to succumb to the problem, to accept stagnation in fact.

Secondly, there has been a fear of the capitalist press and our opponents, of what they would say about the problems of stagnation, and so we ourselves have covered them up.

Finally, as a Party we do not like self-criticism anyway.

The Executive, therefore, decided as a central issue this year for the building of the Party, alongside a big sustained recruiting drive, to make a determined effort to overcome fluctuation.

The following organisational decisions were taken:

To investigate the situation in all branches which did not re-register 100% and take the necessary political and organisational decisions to bring about an improvement;

To institute a strict control of dues payment month by month, covering every branch;

To exercise strict control of transfers of members in and out of Districts;

To carry through a national card check. We are confident that these will bring results.

The British Communist Party, which is the most consistent force in the country in the struggle for peace and the vital interests of the workers, in the fight against the stranglehold of American monopolies, has at present all the objective possibilities for expanding its ranks.

II.
The very strength of the left movement in Britain can create dangerous illusions. Some militant workers are saying that the Left in the Labour Party is enough, that a better job can be done inside the Labour Party than in the Communist Party. We get advice from certain people that the

Left doesn't need the Communist Party. Our Executive meeting sharply exposed these illusions. It pointed out that there would not be such a great leftward development in Britain were it not for the work of the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*.

The basic aim of the working-class struggle, the Executive declared, is to obtain political power. This cannot be achieved without a revolutionary working-class party, and that party is and can only be the Communist Party, which is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory.

The only way to challenge capitalism, defeat the right wing and win victory, declared the Executive, was: To build up and extend the Communist Party as the vanguard of the British working class for struggle and political power; to fight still harder along the lines of our 23rd Congress for the unity of all the forces of the Left, the unions, the Labour Parties, and the Communist Party and to take the offensive for the removal of all bans against unity in the Labour movement.

At present there are two problems in our work in this sphere. The first is to get rid of every remnant of sectarianism in the fight for unity.

But the second danger is equally important. It is the danger of the submergence of our Party in the general Labour movement. Some of our own comrades see a conflict in practice between working in unity with other sections of the movement and building the Communist Party. In fact many of our comrades are working as a ginger group in the trade unions and the broad Labour movement. Comrades can become so involved with work in peace councils, in tenants' committees, shop stewards' committees, etc., that they have no time for

work in Party organisations. Working in such a way the Party will never be expanded—the workers may see the need for Communists but won't see the need for or even hear the case for Communism. The Executive meeting demanded an end to this method of working and called on the Party to find the best way to combine broad united work on the immediate issues with the public advance and appearance of the Party, building up its votes, winning the people for the ideas of Communism, for the need for decisive social change from capitalism to Socialism, with the aim of the conquest of political power along the lines of “The British Road to Socialism”.

Our Executive meeting gave considerable attention to the problem of how to express the leading role of the Party in practice. Our comrades do excellent mass work but there are weaknesses which can feed the “ginger group” conception existing in the minds of many workers.

In fact, most factory workers see Communists but don't see the Communist Party. Our factory comrades appear publicly before the people and in many cases are recognised as leaders of the workers. But this is not the same as the appearance of the Party as an organised force. The conditions in the factories being what they are, they appear first and foremost as shop stewards and trade unionists in their official capacity representing their particular sections of workers.

A vital conclusion reached by the Executive meeting was the need, to elevate the role of our branches, both factory and area. The effectiveness or otherwise of our

(Continued on page 4)

Democratic Forces Successful in Sicilian Regional Assembly Elections

World opinion showed a keen interest in the Regional Assembly elections in Sicily. Because these elections were of such vital importance, the ruling classes of Italy, the church authorities and foreign imperialists made an all-out political effort to check the irresistible desire of the working masses and the middle classes for a radical change in Italy's political course.

Over two and a half million electors, or nearly one-tenth of the entire Italian electorate, took part in the Sicilian elections. Since the elections of June 7, 1953, these have been the most important politically. They were bound to and really did serve as an important gauge of the growing desire of the majority of the Italian people for a change and regeneration of the situation in the country. This desire even found reflection in the address of the new President of the Republic, which referred to the necessity of the working masses taking part in running the state, and urged a change in the country's economic and social structure. It also stressed the necessity of weakening the domination of the monopolies and distributing the national wealth more justly.

In Sicily the fundamental constitutional, social and political problems are of a specific character in view of the fact that it enjoys regional autonomy, i.e. special rights recognised by the Constitution of the Italian Republic. Under the statute on autonomy, the Regional Assembly (the Sicilian parliament) is vested with legislative powers. It may introduce structural reforms, especially such as are designed to put an end to the arbitrary rule of the baronial castes, to give land to the peasants, to wrest the deposits of sulphur, mineral salts, oil and combustible gases, which Sicily is rich in, from the hands of the Italian and foreign monopolies and place them in the hands of regional bodies, which in their turn will transfer them to small and medium businessmen and to the working masses. The Regional Assembly has the right to abolish the Institute of Prefects on the island—the long arm of the central government—and thereby put an end to the arbitrary rule of the bureaucratic centralised police state which suppresses the freedom of the communes. It may demand definite financial assistance from the state, which would make amends for the injustice done to Sicily throughout nearly a century, i.e., since the foundation of a unified national state.

The strategic location of the island, the presence on it of an international oil cartel that has taken possession of a great part of its rich deposits of oil and combustible gases and is at present able to exploit several oil wells in the Province of Ragusa, and the pressure exerted on the regional government by foreign monopolies, all lend international significance to events on the island.

All this gives a national character to the political life of Sicily and the struggle waged there to remove the grave danger of its being reduced to the level of a colonial country.

The foreign imperialists, Italian monopolies and church authorities find natural support in the Sicilian feudal castes and in the Christian Democratic Party which rules in Rome and Palermo, the party which unites and consolidates these forces.

★
Girolamo Li Causi
Leadership Member, Italian Communist Party,
Secretary, Sicilian Regional Party Committee

★ ★

From 1946 on, the will and desire of the Sicilian people to put an end to social backwardness and to win freedom by giving full practical effect to the statute on regional autonomy have always found expression in an acute and heroic struggle that has involved bloodshed.

The people's (Communist and Socialist) parties, which together polled 384,828 votes in the Constitutional Assembly elections in 1946, polled 667,540 votes in the parliamentary elections of 1953.

In the Regional Assembly elections of the first convocation in 1947 the popular bloc (Communist and Socialist Parties and independents) polled 582,899 votes, in the second elections in 1951 it polled 644,752. In the elections of June 5, 1955, the number of votes cast for the candidates of the Italian Communist Party (ICP) and the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) totalled 707,919. Taken separately, the votes polled by the Communist and Socialist Parties (where they put forward separate lists of candidates) equalled: on June 2, 1946, ICP—150,908, ISP—233,920; on June 7, 1953, ICP—497,494, ISP—170,046; on June 5, 1955, ICP—481,975, ISP—225,944.

In other words, the Christian Democratic Party failed in its intention to engineer another April 18 at the last elections. (In the elections to the national parliament of the first convocation, held on April 18, 1948, the number of votes cast for the candidates of the People's Front in Sicily dropped from the 582,889 polled in the elections of April 1947 to 464,092, while the Christian Democratic Party, which got little more than 400,000 votes in 1947, polled more than a million.)

The strengthening of the positions of the Socialist Party and the consolidation of the positions of the Communist Party, the failure of the right-wing parties—the monarchists and fascists—the almost complete disappearance of Scelba's coalition parties (Social Democrats, Republicans and Liberals) and the comparatively trifling increase in votes gained by the Christian Democratic Party as compared with the elections of June 7, 1953, are all clear indications of the Sicilian people's hostility to the formula of the four-party Rome government and that of the Palermo government based on an alliance between the Christian Democratic and right-wing parties.

The great significance of the success won by the left forces in Sicily are seen to be still more striking when one bears in mind the pressure brought to bear upon the electors, the intimidations, the bribery resorted to by the national and regional machinery of state, the intolerable interference of the church authorities, the many hundreds of million of lire spent on bribes for the voters by shipbuilder Achille Lauro—leader of one of the monarchist parties—and by the Sicilian ruling classes, which were supported by the national agrarian and industrialist organisations, and also, though in a masked form, the pressure and interference of foreign imperialists and the international oil cartel.

All this bears witness that the election

quarters of Sicily's towns, villages and settlements. In some cases farm hands were presented with a left shoe and promised that if the reactionary candidate got in they would receive the right shoe as well. Poor voters were also given half of a torn 1,000 lire banknote; they were to receive the other half after the elections if the reactionary candidate won.

The success won by the Italian Socialist Party—the most revealing phenomenon of the elections—is directly bound up with the general situation in the country and with the stand the Socialist Party has taken on the question of co-operating with the Christian Democratic Party (it will co-operate if the latter, obeying the demand for social regeneration made by the rank and file at its June 1954 Congress in Naples, selects its allies among the left forces).

The working masses of Sicily and their vanguard—the Communist and Socialist Parties—are striving for still stronger unity. In the struggle they have waged all these years for land, for work, for freedom and peace, the working masses, united in their trade union and mass organisations, have put up an unparalleled resistance against discrimination, splitting activities, and the terror let loose by the employers and their agents, and have strengthened their unity. From the political point of view this struggle in Sicily has also been a struggle in defence of and for the full enforcement of the statute on autonomy.

By saying "no" to the Christian Democratic Party monopoly, the Sicilian working people and a section of the middle classes at the same time reaffirmed their faith in the Communist and Socialist Parties. Precisely because these two parties—the Communist and the Socialist—put forward independent tickets in the recent elections they further united and strengthened the front of freedom, progress and the unity of all left forces.

Sicily's voters have realised that on a regional scale too, there is quite a chance of a radical shift to the left in the government policy of the Christian Democratic Party—in accordance with the hopes of the entire country—if there is an Italian Communist Party that is steadily growing stronger and that constantly strengthens its ties with the masses and steadily follows a policy of unity of all national and progressive forces, of unity of the Sicilian people on the basis of working-class unity and ties with the Socialist Party.

In Sicily today the Christian Democratic Party cannot justify its alliance with the right-wing forces in the regional government, inasmuch as the 37 Christian Democratic and the 10 Socialist deputies in the Regional Assembly constitute a majority.

But whether in Rome or in Palermo the Christian Democratic Party, headed by Fanfani, has no intention of satisfying the desires and hopes of the people for the country's regeneration, desires and hopes which found expression in the address of the President of the Republic and were confirmed by the Sicilian election returns.

The obstacles the reactionary classes set in the way of any effective improvement of the country's political situation are immense. In Sicily as throughout Italy the Communist Party realises this and knows that for these obstacles to be removed it is necessary to work and fight for the satisfaction of the demands noted in the Presidential address and those brought to light

Intensification of Signature Campaign in France

French peace supporters are becoming increasingly active in collecting signatures to the Vienna Appeal. According to available data the total collected so far is 1,355,199.

In response to the appeal of the National Council of the Peace Movement, the peace councils in many departments have decided to hold a World Peace Assembly Week from June 22, when hundreds of thousands of new signatures will be obtained.

In different departments, localities, streets and at enterprises, well-known politicians and working people of varied political views are setting up numerous campaign committees, displaying placards and circulating leaflets popularising the Vienna Appeal and urging people to sign it. Such committees have been set up in the Somme Department, in the towns of Clermont-Ferrand, Angoulême, Montélimar and others.

In Savigny-sur-Orge (Seine-et-Oise Department) the peace committee organised a collection of signatures, going from block to block, having previously distributed leaflets containing the text of the Vienna Appeal.

On a recent market day six signature collectors in the town of Dinard (Ille-et-Vilaine Department) displayed two posters from the trailer of a car driven through the streets. One of these showed the atom bomb explosion in Hiroshima and its consequences. The other featured statements by different politicians and scientists all over the world on the danger of atomic war. Within two hours these collectors obtained 1,600 signatures.

Belgian Public Support Vienna Appeal

The campaign for signatures to the Vienna Appeal, begun in Belgium a month ago, is gaining momentum.

The Belgian Peace Union has issued a pamphlet containing statements by 324 prominent political and public personalities who have expressed their approval of the Vienna Appeal. The signature campaign is also supported by the leaders of many communes. In the Modave Commune (Liège Province) the Appeal was signed by the Socialist Burgomaster Bodson, the municipal councillors Beaujean and Ruchenne, Senator Mérenne and others.

At a number of enterprises the Appeal was signed by nearly all the employees. Out of the 49 workers at the Atelier Moussiaux, in Huy, for example, 45 signed the Appeal. The participants in the Congress of the National Federation of War Veterans and the Congress of Tram Workers in the Province of Hainaut opposed the use of weapons of mass annihilation.

Most instructive is the experience gained during the preparations for and the carrying out of the signature campaign in the town of Dampremy. A week prior to the collectors making their house-to-house calls, leaflets carrying the text of the Vienna Appeal and announcing the day signatures would be collected were distributed among the people. On collection day cars, provided with loudspeakers urging the population to sign the Appeal, toured the streets. For more than three hours signatures were being collected by 50 collectors. They visited more than 1,500 families and in 1,426 of them all the

POLITICAL NOTES

Under the Wail of the Sirens

Three Million "Killed" in Hydrogen Bomb Attack, Ike's Cabinet Flees from Capital, screamed the headline of the New York Daily News to its readers last week. Other U.S. papers have carried similar headlines during the past few days. Photographs are published to hammer home the fact that these things actually occurred. One shows prominent political leaders "fleeing" the capital, another New York's citizens wearing weird defence suits in the streets, a third—school children lying with their faces pressed to the floor, or crouched under their desks.

Reports under sensational headlines and captions to startling photographs contain such sentences as: It is considered that the sham attack killed millions of Americans and reduced many cities to blazing radio-active ruins; New York and Chicago have been destroyed by super-super bombs; 59 American towns have been reduced to debris and powder.

What can these reports mean? A nightmare, the grotesque fantasia of some madman? Not at all, simply "atom drill" in Washington and 60 other big U.S. cities with the official title "Operation Alert 1955". The "operation" began between 2 and 3 p.m. on June 15 with the blood-curdling wail of the sirens, whereupon 15,000 government officials hurried to their cars and betook themselves to a "huge artificial cave" located in a wooded, mountainous area. The departure of the War Department personnel was more impressive—they rose into the air in helicopters. The common citizens, however, played a less romantic part in this colossal performance. Upon hearing the plaintive note of the sirens, their duty was to drop everything and scurry off either to the shelters or the first suitable hole that presented itself—or, if the worst came to the worst, to crouch like the school children, bottoms up...

Indeed this pompous show staged by Washington strategists could be dismissed as a first-rate comedy. We cannot fail to be amused by the spectacle of majestic state and military figures, more fully aware than anyone that no attack threatens the United States, ostentatiously vanishing to an "unknown destination", like characters in a poor detective novel, concealing themselves in some "secret mountain hideaway" and from thence gravely announcing a nation-wide atomic "catastrophe" and an ever-growing list of "casualties".

This ludicrous side of the Pentagon's stage activity which is, putting it mildly, not altogether wise, has also been pinpointed by some American papers. The New York Post, for instance, having noted that the flight from Washington was accompanied by the

danger, is being exploited to an increasing extent by U.S. "cold war" strategists for their base political aims. The wails of the siren are not conducive to profound thinking. This, presumably, is why Washington politicians are so fond of them. With the help of air-raid warnings, mock evacuations and atom drills the U.S. ruling circles are trying to condition the ordinary American into believing that atomic war is inevitable and a frenzied arms race necessary.

The time chosen to put on this grandiose and costly performance leaves no doubt as to its purpose. At the very moment when it is possible to record definite achievements by the peace-loving forces, when the peoples are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Organisation, when the champions of peace are taking new steps to prevent war, the Washington politicians decide to add fresh fuel to the fire of atomic hysteria.

The fact that the moan of the sirens in 60 U.S. cities was accompanied by an equally dismal one of another kind—that of the U.S. newspapers—is proof of this. For instance, Lippmann of the New York Herald Tribune proposes to stop basing any hope on Uno but to depend rather on an "armed alliance", i.e., on the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. He is echoed by Roberts in the Washington Post, who asserts that absolute control over all fissile materials, including all types of nuclear weapons, is

impossible at present, that it is impossible under any disarmament plan. The third voice, that of General Alfred Gruenther, moans that the strategy of the North Atlantic pact rests on two main elements: Germany's military contribution and the use of atomic weapons. And of course the U.S. Senate, following hotfoot on the air-raid warnings, adopts a bill to increase the Government's war programme, already inflated to incredible dimensions.

It is clearly easy to establish that both these sirens—the one that wails in U.S. cities and the one that echoes its dismal note in the U.S. newspapers—are manipulated by the same hand, that of the profit-greedy armament monopolies.

It is gratifying to note that many ordinary Americans understand all this. The enthusiasm expected by the organisers, furthermore it stimulated in many people feelings of protest against such dangerous provocations. In New York, for instance, members of various pacifist organisations went to the town hall during the drill with posters bearing the words: The only defence from atomic weapons is to stop war.



financial assistance from the state, which would make amends for the injustice done to Sicily throughout nearly a century, i.e., since the foundation of a unified national state.

The strategic location of the island, the presence on it of an international oil cartel that has taken possession of a great part of its rich deposits of oil and combustible gases and is at present able to exploit several oil wells in the Province of Ragusa, and the pressure exerted on the regional government by foreign monopolies, all lend international significance to events on the island.

All this gives a national character to the political life of Sicily and the struggle waged there to remove the grave danger of its being reduced to the level of a colonial country.

The foreign imperialists, Italian monopolies and church authorities find natural support in the Sicilian feudal castes and in the Christian Democratic Party which rules in Rome and Palermo, the party which unites and consolidates these forces at top level for conservative and reactionary purposes.

The recent elections, consequently, were bound to be of great moment and give expression to the present nation-wide process of political "clarification". They were bound to and really did confirm the deep-rooted movement of the masses towards progress and peace despite the barefaced efforts of the ruling classes to alter the direction of this movement and check it.

Liberals) and the comparatively trifling increase in votes gained by the Christian Democratic Party as compared with the elections of June 7, 1953, are all clear indications of the Sicilian people's hostility to the formula of the four-party Rome government and that of the Palermo government based on an alliance between the Christian Democratic and right-wing parties.

The great significance of the success won by the left forces in Sicily are seen to be still more striking when one bears in mind the pressure brought to bear upon the electors, the intimidations, the bribery resorted to by the national and regional machinery of state, the intolerable interference of the church authorities, the many hundreds of million of lire spent on bribes for the voters by shipbuilder Achille Lauro—leader of one of the monarchist parties—and by the Sicilian ruling classes, which were supported by the national agrarian and industrialist organisations, and also, though in a masked form, the pressure and interference of foreign imperialists and the international oil cartel.

All this bears witness that the election campaign in Sicily was conducted under conditions that were extremely difficult for the democratic forces. According to press reports the Christian Democratic Party, for instance, spent no less than 1,000 million lire of state funds on the elections.

Taking into account the fact that the vast majority of the Sicilian population lives in dire poverty, the Christian Democratic and right-wing parties went in for bribery on a wide scale. Packages of macaroni were distributed free of charge in the poorest

steadily follows a policy of unity of all national and progressive forces, of unity of the Sicilian people on the basis of working-class unity and lies with the Socialist Party.

In Sicily today the Christian Democratic Party cannot justify its alliance with the right-wing forces in the regional government, inasmuch as the 37 Christian Democratic and the 10 Socialist deputies in the Regional Assembly constitute a majority.

But whether in Rome or in Palermo the Christian Democratic Party, headed by Fanfani, has no intention of satisfying the desires and hopes of the people for the country's regeneration, desires and hopes which found expression in the address of the President of the Republic and were confirmed by the Sicilian election returns.

The obstacles the reactionary classes set in the way of any effective improvement of the country's political situation are immense. In Sicily as throughout Italy the Communist Party realises this and knows that for these obstacles to be removed it is necessary to work and fight for the satisfaction of the demands noted in the Presidential address and those brought to light by the Socialist and Communist Parties in the course of the Sicilian election campaign.

The primary condition for removing all the obstacles the enemy puts in the way of the people's forces is a united struggle by all the working people. This condition was underlined by Comrade Togliatti in his address to the Communists of Sicily, in which he urged them to unflinchingly continue "the struggle for the unity of all the popular forces—the genuine, reliable keystone of the defence of autonomy, and of Sicily's political and social progress".

Strengthening and Extending Party Ranks— Vital Task of British Communists

(Continued from page 3)

Party depends on our branches. They are the key organisations of the Party. This is above all true regarding the factory branches. The factory workers are the key workers. The factory branch is the most important unit of Communist organisation. No matter how effective Communist work outside the factory gate is, however, it is the work inside by our factory comrades and organisations which is decisive. We have several hundred factory branches with 15% of our membership organised on a factory basis. There are some hundreds of other factories where we have three or more members.

There are factory branches in Scotland, London, Yorkshire, Lancashire and West Middlesex where the work is first rate, and we have got to use this experience in the country as a whole. One thing must be clear to all of us, we cannot decisively change the Party membership position this year without changing the position in the factories.

Progress has been made in this respect. The Districts have chosen the factories for setting up branches and several new factory branches have been established.

The strengthening of the branches are the key to our whole development. Yet we have a great number of comrades who work in all kinds of spheres and in fact never play any part in branch life and are divorced from the branch. If we staff with our best people every organisation

except our own, how can we have anything but problems in the Party?

★

Our general political line, the decisions of the 23rd National Congress, are correct. Our policy on German rearmament, the A and H-bomb, against rent increases, for higher wages and social advance is a broad popular mass policy in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the British people.

Throughout Britain at this moment there are thousands of workers ready for membership of our Party if we can only go all out to get them. There are many thousands more who are interested and are thinking seriously about the whole political position, who could be brought in by patient, consistent explanation.

And there are huge numbers who work with us and discuss issues. The latter is by far the largest group, for it includes tens of thousands of the best members of the working class. We are winning people on many kinds of issues. Our task is to win them to Communism and the Party.

There are faults in our propaganda. We tend mainly to argue around immediate issues and throw in the issue of the Party at the end of our speeches. The great capitalist propaganda machine, assisted by the Labour leaders, daily grinds out its doctrine of hate against Communism. This is the be-all and end-all of the right-wing attitude. We are doing completely insufficient to expose this propaganda; we let too much

of it go by default. Far from being on the defensive we must now take the offensive on these issues.

We have called on the Party to go out not only to win supporters because we are good fighters in the immediate struggle, but to make Communists by winning tens of thousands of workers to our political views.

Our Party has important reserves around it which can provide the recruits—the great bulk of the regular readers and week-end readers of the *Daily Worker*; the supporters of the Party in the factories, the pits and the trade union branches; those who vote for the Party in the municipal and Parliamentary elections, and those who would vote for us if we were contesting everywhere. Our aim is not only to recruit from them but at the same time to extend these reserves by winning ever-wider circles of supporters.

Our aim is that every single branch and group of the Party will record a substantial increase in its membership.

The Political Committee have been charged with the responsibility of making a monthly check on the progress of this work and to report the results to every meeting of the Executive between now and the next Party Congress.

To overcome the stagnation in Party membership will be a difficult battle. But we are confident that it can be done and that our analysis of our weaknesses will release new strength among the Party members for changing the situation. Our aim is to make the first change before our next Party Congress. We are determined to display the consistency of effort necessary to achieve this.

cillors Beaujean and Ruchenne, Senator Mérenne and others.

At a number of enterprises the Appeal was signed by nearly all the employees. Out of the 49 workers at the Atelier Moussiaux, in Huy, for example, 45 signed the Appeal. The participants in the Congress of the National Federation of War Veterans and the Congress of Tram Workers in the Province of Hainaut opposed the use of weapons of mass annihilation.

Most instructive is the experience gained during the preparations for and the carrying out of the signature campaign in the town of Dampremy. A week prior to the collectors making their house-to-house calls, leaflets carrying the text of the Vienna Appeal and announcing the day signatures would be collected were distributed among the people. On collection day cars, provided with loudspeakers urging the population to sign the Appeal, toured the streets. For more than three hours signatures were being collected by 50 collectors. They visited more than 1,500 families and in 1,426 of them all the adult members signed the Appeal.

Development of Cultural Life in Yugoslavia

In prewar Yugoslavia there were 24 theatres which in 1938 and 1939 were attended by less than 1,500,000 people. By the end of 1953 the number of theatres had almost trebled and in one season alone the attendance mounted to more than 5 million.

There are now 1,313 cinemas as against 413 in 1939. They are to be found even in the most remote districts, so that now peasants are also able to see films. In former times only one in every 100 people had a wireless set, now the proportion is one in 41. There are altogether 18 broadcasting stations in the six republics.

Publishing is developing apace and the working people are reading an increasing number of books. In addition to publications in Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian, books are also published in the minority languages. The country possesses 6,300 public libraries, with reading rooms in 2,000 of them.

The people's and workers' universities founded in Yugoslavia during the past ten years are extremely popular. Various problems of science, culture, the arts and political and public life are studied in them. In 1953 the people's universities admitted over two million students while more than 100,000 workers took advantage of the workers' universities which have been established in big industrial centres.

PEACE MOVEMENT IN JORDAN

Despite the lack of democratic freedoms and the repressions carried out by the authorities, the campaign for signatures to the Vienna Appeal is successfully developing in Jordan, more than 25,000 signatures having been collected.

Peace supporters display great courage and initiative in order to bring the Appeal to the attention of all sections of the population. In many towns and villages they visit houses and organise small meetings. A student from Irbid has collected 1,016 signatures, and a number of canvassers have secured 500 to 800 each.

first suitable note that presents a picture or, if the worst came to the worst, to crouch like the school children, bottoms up...

Indeed this pompous show staged by Washington strategists could be dismissed as a first-rate comedy. We cannot fail to be amused by the spectacle of majestic state and military figures, more fully aware than anyone that no attack threatens the United States, ostentatiously vanishing to an "unknown destination", like characters in a poor detective novel, concealing themselves in some "secret mountain hideaway" and from thence gravely announcing a nation-wide atomic "catastrophe" and an ever-growing list of "casualties".

This ludicrous side of the Pentagon's stage activity which is, putting it mildly, not altogether wise, has also been pinpointed by some American papers. The *New York Post*, for instance, having noted that the flight from Washington was accompanied by the super-publicity which in their Government so frequently took the place of clear thinking, wrote that some juveniles may have got some pleasure out of this game, the children probably enjoyed watching the grown-ups play hide-and-seek on a world scale. They themselves, the paper added, believed, however, that this escapade was shameful and unworthy, and would become an international anecdote sadly to the detriment of the U.S.A.

Yes, the whole affair could be dismissed as an anecdote were it not for the tragic element it contained.

The siren, originally a simple device specially invented to give warning of

U.S. Government, adopts a "raid warnings" war programme, already inflated to incredible dimensions.

It is clearly easy to establish that both these sirens—the one that wails in U.S. cities and the one that echoes its dismal note in the U.S. newspapers—are manipulated by the same hand, that of the profit-greedy armament monopolies.

It is gratifying to note that many ordinary Americans understand all this. The many Americans understand all this. The atom alert did not arouse the popular enthusiasm expected by its organisers. Furthermore it stimulated in many people feelings of protest against such dangerous provocations. In New York, for instance, members of various pacifist organisations went to the town hall during the drill with posters bearing the words: The only defence from atomic weapons is to stop war.

Certain papers have been forced to publish some readers' letters during the last few days demanding that the Government pursue a peaceful policy. The only defence against nuclear and atomic bombs is never to allow them to be used by anyone, writes Robert Fassnacht in one of these letters. And don't let's be Pharisees in our negotiations with other countries, he adds reasonably, because history has shown that the first atom bomb was dropped on civilians by the United States.

This is the voice of reason which neither the wail of "civil defence" sirens nor the screech of the U.S. monopoly press will succeed in stifling.

Jan MAREK

"Dangerous" Words

How can one tell a "red"? Eager to provide a universal recipe for the benefit of stool-pigeons and informers, Senator Joseph McCarthy and his coadjutors have racked their brains over this question to no small degree. For all their efforts, however, they do not seem to have quite found the answer to this troublesome problem.

Now it appears that what the McCarthyites in multi have failed to do, their confrères in military uniform have done for them. The penetrating minds in the U.S. First Army have issued a pamphlet with the sensational title "How to Spot a Communist", which may be called a pocket manual of instruction for stool-pigeons and informers. The authors list the words and expressions they take to be typical of Communist usage, for instance: "reactionary", "materialist", "immigration laws", "witch-hunt", "McCarthyism" and, of course, "peace"—the word most detested by U.S. militarists. To all intents and purposes the authors assure stool-pigeons: you may safely accuse of Communism anyone who uses these words. Just haul him to an "investigation committee" and pocket the reward.

The American Civil Liberties Union has protested against the publication of this pamphlet. The President of the Union, writing to U.S. Defence Secretary Wilson, warns that it may encourage citizens to eavesdrop on each other to find out what expressions the other man uses.

Even so reactionary a newspaper as the *New York Times* feels compelled to object to this provocative dodge of the Pentagon

McCarthyites. In an editorial commenting on the pamphlet it writes that it is perfectly obvious that any citizen who opens his mouth in protest against anything of a political or economic nature risks being listed as a possible Communist. There can hardly be any well-informed liberal American, the newspaper continues, who does not use one or more of the quoted expressions or does not discuss the problems which this fantastic pamphlet labels as potentially subversive.

This concoction by the U.S. Army "witch-hunters" (the expression is so apt and true one cannot help using it) graphically illustrates the disgraceful methods of the reactionaries resort to in order to suppress the growing resistance of the people. Having virtually outlawed America's best sons—the Communists—they now want to make it easier to deal with all progressive forces by labelling anyone who dares to call a spade a spade a Communist.

The muzzlers of democratic liberties dislike it when people speak of "violation of civil rights". The words "race discrimination" jar on the Ku Klux Klan murderers. The enslavers of other peoples do not want Americans to include the word "colonialism" in their vocabulary.

But such forthright, hard-hitting words are today on the lips of millions of ordinary Americans, who are putting American reaction in the pillory.

Fred HALL

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