

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

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RESULTS OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE FOUR POWERS

Report by Comrade N. A. BULGANIN, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,
at the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 4, 1955

Comrade Deputies,

The Council of Ministers of the USSR has instructed me to report to the Supreme Soviet on the results of the work of the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and France—which took place in Geneva between July 18 and 23.

Going to the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Government Delegation intended frankly to discuss with the heads of government of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France the major international problems, by joint efforts to achieve relaxation of international tension and pave the way for the establishment of confidence between states. The Soviet Government has long ago declared itself in favour of such talks, holding that a meeting of the heads of government can provide favourable conditions for seeking concerted decisions aimed at strengthening peace.

We went to Geneva, guided by the basic principles of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state—the policy of peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems, the policy of struggle for peace among nations. We proceeded as we have always done, from the fact that the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government is in the interests of the Soviet people. We

do not doubt that such a policy also corresponds to the aspirations of all peoples, who are vitally interested in lessening international tension and ensuring peace and security. The movement of the peoples for peace is exerting a growing influence on policy, and cannot be ignored by statesmen.

Thus, the convening of the conference of the heads of government of the U.S.A., Britain, France and the USSR should be regarded as a definite success for the forces of peace.

Of great significance is the very fact that for the first time since the Potsdam Conference of 1945 the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A., Britain and France met together to discuss pressing problems of international life.

In Geneva the leaders of the Four Great Powers established personal contact and exchanged opinions on some questions relating to the international situation. Both the official sittings and the informal meetings took place in a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding; all participants in the Conference, and this should be noted with satisfaction, showed a desire to reach positive results.

The Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers can be rated among the major historic events, for it signified a turn in the relations between the USSR, the United States, Britain and France.

I. International Situation Preceding the Geneva Conference

Before reviewing the work of the participants in the Geneva Conference and its results, it is necessary to characterise the international situation preceding this Conference.

The decade since the end of the second world war has been characterised by an aggravation of relations between states which were previously allies in the struggle against their common enemy—fascism.

Throughout this period, and especially in the last one-and-a-half to two years, the Soviet Union has taken steps to ease the tension which developed in international relations and sought to end the "cold war" and re-establish co-operation in the struggle for peace and the security of the nations. Together with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all countries of people's democracy have worked energetically for the strengthening of peace.

One cannot fail to see that in recent times the efforts of the peace-loving countries aimed at

following figures, taken from the official sources of the states concerned.

In the 1948-49 fiscal year the direct military expenditure of the U.S.A. constituted 12,900 million dollars, or 32.6% of all expenditure in its Federal Budget; in the 1953-54 fiscal year this expenditure had gone up to 46,500 million dollars, or 68.6% of the entire Federal expenditure. Thus since 1948 U.S.A. military expenditure has increased by more than 250% and its proportion in the total Federal expenditure has risen more than 100%.

The direct military expenditure of Britain in the 1948-49 fiscal year totalled £768 million, that is 24.2% of all budget expenditure; in the 1953-54 fiscal year this expenditure rose to £1,637 million or 38.3% of all budget outlay.

The direct military expenditure of France in 1949 was 289,000 million francs, or 23.8% of all budget expenditure; last year this expenditure reached 1,192,000 million francs, or 32.5% of her total expenditure.

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and hydrogen weapons and the removal of the threat of another war. These proposals were approved by broad international circles and were everywhere regarded as a big contribution to the cause of peace. The achievement of the necessary agreement based on these proposals would undoubtedly play a major part in securing durable peace.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of such an event as the conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria, achieved at the initiative of the Soviet Union.

The settlement of the Austrian question, according to which Austria, having become an independent and sovereign state, has pledged to adhere to a policy of permanent neutrality, corresponds to the national interests of the Austrian people and of the maintenance of peace in Europe. The successful settlement of the Austrian question showed at the same time that the powers bearing the main responsibility for maintaining peace have not by far exhausted all the existing possibilities of settling outstanding international problems. Naturally, the settlement of this question has also stepped up the movement towards solving other urgent problems.

Special mention should be made of the significance to the cause of peace of the change in relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which resulted from the visit to Yugoslavia by the Government Delegation of the Soviet Union.

The Belgrade talks have put an end to the abnormal and inadmissible situation which arose between the two countries after 1948, when relations of fraternal friendship and close co-operation between the Yugoslav and Soviet peoples were artificially disrupted. The abnormal situation then obtaining in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, which existed until recently, only played into the hands of the enemies of peace. It seriously damaged the vital interests of both countries and of maintaining peace among nations. Such a situation could no longer be allowed to continue and the Governments of both countries agreed that Soviet-Yugoslav relations must be radically improved.

Relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia are now and will continue to be built on the basis of recognition of the principles of the indivisibility of peace; respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and equality; recognition and promotion of peaceful co-existence between nations; mutual respect and non-interference in each others' internal affairs.

The results which have already been achieved in improving Soviet-Yugoslav relations give us every reason to believe that both

countries have chosen the only correct path and that their Governments are seriously concerned with further developing and strengthening the relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. From this rostrum we greet our Yugoslav friends and the President of Yugoslavia, Comrade Tito, (stormy applause) and consider it necessary to declare that the Central Committee of our Party, the Soviet Government and the whole Soviet people will continue to exert efforts so as to march with the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia along the common path of our choice, the path of friendship and sincere co-operation. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Further it is necessary to note the great importance of such an event as the visit to the Soviet Union of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. The exchange of opinions which took place between Mr. Nehru and the leaders of the Soviet Government, and the joint Soviet-Indian statement, showed that both countries are fully determined to develop and consolidate the friendly relations which developed between the Soviet Union and India. The stand of the two countries on the urgent problems of the struggle for peace coincide, and this is of vital importance for solving pressing problems in Asia and the Far East and for lessening international tension.

Highly appreciating the import of Soviet-Indian co-operation as a significant factor in the struggle for peace in Asia, and not only in Asia, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to continue to maintain this co-operation on the basis of the principles laid down in the Soviet-Indian statement, which met with wide support from peace-loving countries. The further development of personal contacts between leaders in the Governments of the two countries will undoubtedly promote the strengthening of this co-operation.

Guided by solicitude for preserving and strengthening peace, the Soviet Government has taken a number of other important steps which can produce essential constructive results. Specifically, these are the proposals of the Soviet Government to the Government of the German Federal Republic on the establishment of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations and the Soviet-Japanese talks now in progress in London.

Such was, in the main, the international situation on the eve of the Geneva Conference and such were the factors which brought about a certain détente in international tension and thereby created conditions favourable for holding that Conference.

II.

The Geneva Conference

International Situation Preceding the Geneva Conference

I.

Before reviewing the work of the participants in the Geneva Conference and its results, it is necessary to characterise the international situation preceding this Conference.

The decade since the end of the second world war has been characterised by an aggravation of relations between states which were previously allies in the struggle against their common enemy—fascism.

Throughout this period, and especially in the last one-and-a-half to two years, the Soviet Union has taken steps to ease the tension which developed in international relations and to end the "cold war" and re-establish co-operation in the struggle for peace and the security of the nations. Together with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the countries of people's democracy have worked energetically for the strengthening of peace.

One cannot fail to see that in recent times the efforts of the Soviet Union and all the peace-loving countries aimed at strengthening peace have yielded positive results.

It is worth mentioning, above all, that the easing of tension facilitated by the termination of the war in Korea, achieved as a result of the initiative of the Chinese People's Republic, Soviet Union and other peace-loving states. Thus the dangerous centre of war in the Far East was eliminated. And this centre was fraught with the threat of extension of war with the disastrous consequences arising therefrom for the cause of universal peace.

The ending of the hostilities in Indo-China resulting from the agreement reached last year at the Geneva Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Five Powers—the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, the U.S.A., Britain and France—with the participation of the other states concerned, was another major event which had great significance not only for strengthening peace in South-East Asia, but also for improving the international situation as a whole. The 1954 Geneva Agreement, which ended the bloodshed in Indo-China, is of all the greater importance for being based on recognition of the legitimate national rights of the peoples of Indo-China, who long for complete national independence and freedom.

However, notwithstanding the great significance of the ending of the wars in Korea and Indo-China, the international situation continued to remain tense. As before, there was mistrust and suspicion between groups of states and the "cold war" atmosphere continued.

This situation placed serious obstacles in the way of further improving the international situation and establishing confidence in the relations between states without which lasting and durable peace cannot be guaranteed.

In this connection it is necessary to mention the so-called Paris agreements, which came into force in May of this year. It is known that the main object of these agreements is to remilitarise Western Germany and to incorporate her into the military alignments of the Western countries—the North Atlantic bloc and the West European Union. These agreements paved the way for the resurgence of militarism in Western Germany; besides this, they turn Western Germany, which is being remilitarised, into a military ally of certain Western countries—participants in the above-mentioned groupings. Taken as a whole, the Paris agreements are directed against the Soviet Union and the people's-democratic countries, against the interests of maintaining peace in Europe.

The Soviet Government has more than once drawn the attention of the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, as well as those of other countries that are parties to the Paris agreements—to the fact that these agreements lead to an aggravation of the entire situation in Europe and create conditions under which it will be impossible to solve the German problem on the basis of the reunification of Germany on peaceful lines. We pointed out that under such conditions the German Democratic Republic cannot be unified with a remilitarised Western Germany, which is a party to military blocs with other countries.

Unfortunately these warnings from the Soviet Union were ignored. As a result there arose in Europe a situation which became and may remain a serious hindrance to further lessening international tension and solving outstanding international problems, and a reason for complications in the relations between the countries of Europe, and not only of Europe.

The arms drive, increasing in scale from year to year, especially in respect to the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons, was also arousing the legitimate alarm of the peoples. In recent years the military expenditure of states has been systematically rising; this particularly applies to the countries which are participants in the North Atlantic Treaty. The scale of the growth of armaments expenditures can be gauged from the

following figures, taken from the official sources of the states concerned.

In the 1948-49 fiscal year the direct military expenditure of the U.S.A. constituted 12,900 million dollars, or 32.6% of all expenditure in its Federal Budget; in the 1953-54 fiscal year this expenditure had gone up to 46,500 million dollars, or 68.6% of the entire Federal expenditure. Thus since 1948 U.S.A. military expenditure has increased by more than 250% and its proportion in the total Federal expenditure has risen more than 100%.

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It goes without saying that in such a situation the Soviet Union could not but be concerned to strengthen its own armed forces. The military expenditure of the Soviet Union for 1955 has been planned at the level of 112,122,710 thousand roubles, which amounts to about 20% of the total budget expenditure. In connection with the conclusion of the Paris agreements the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries of Europe were compelled on May 14 to conclude the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, which provides for the pooling of their efforts to safeguard their security and in the interests of maintaining peace in Europe.

With every day that passed it became more and more evident that the continued increase in armaments led to greater mistrust in the relations between states, growing mutual suspicion and intensified propaganda for a new war. All this continued the "cold war", which violated normal economic and other links between states; the "cold war" resulted in various kinds of bans and restrictions on international trade, and restricted intercourse between people prominent in industry, agriculture, science and culture in various countries. The "cold war" hampers the relaxation of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence between states.

The situation in the Far East has aroused the special concern of the peoples. Even since the end of the war in Korea, the situation in that area has remained tense, this tension at times assuming a dangerous character. This is explained by the fact that territories—the island of Taiwan and a number of other islands—which have been Chinese from time immemorial, are in fact occupied by foreign troops, to which the Chinese people naturally cannot reconcile themselves.

The Soviet Government took the initiative in the convening of a conference of the interested states to settle the Taiwan question. Unfortunately, this initiative has not yet yielded positive results. The Soviet Government has also supported the proposal made by the Government of the People's Republic of China for direct negotiations between the Chinese People's Republic and the United States on the outstanding questions of Chinese-American relations. Now, as is known, both sides have begun such negotiations, which have opened in favourable conditions. The decision to release the eleven American airmen, convicted for espionage, before the expiration of their sentences is an act of good will on the part of the Chinese People's Republic, which cannot but favourably affect the negotiations.

Of great importance is the question of restoring to the Chinese People's Republic her legitimate rights in the United Nations. Indeed, a great power which is, moreover, a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council—the People's Republic of China—cannot be artificially barred from the United Nations and from participation in the examination of a number of international problems.

The Soviet Government realised that the longer tension between individual states continues, the more will the international situation, fraught with the danger of another war, be aggravated. Radical measures in the field of foreign policy were necessary to improve the situation and restore confidence between states. That is why the Soviet Government, guided by the interests of preserving and strengthening peace, took the initiative in this respect and during the past year undertook a number of important steps in this field which have been universally approved by the peace-loving peoples.

And no one can but admit that the peaceful moves by the Soviet Government have led to a relaxation of tension in international relations.

Of cardinal significance in lessening international tension are the proposals made by the Soviet Government on May 10 regarding the reduction of armaments, prohibition of atomic

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of vital importance for solving pressing problems in Asia and the Far East and for lessening international tension.

Highly appreciating the import of Soviet-Indian co-operation as a significant factor in the struggle for peace in Asia, and not only in Asia, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to continue to maintain this co-operation on the basis of the principles laid down in the Soviet-Indian statement, which met with wide support from peace-loving countries. The further development of personal contacts between leaders in the Governments of the two countries will undoubtedly promote the strengthening of this co-operation.

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II.

The Geneva Conference and the Proposals of the Soviet Government

The Soviet Government proceeded from the premise that the chief task of the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers must be further to ease international tension and facilitate the establishment of the necessary confidence in the relations between states. Only if this was the case could there be serious talk about settling outstanding international issues.

Guided by this the Soviet Delegation stated at the very beginning of the Conference that in the opinion of the Soviet Government the task of the Conference did not consist in the participants accusing each other of one thing or another but in seeking new ways and means for further easing international tension and establishing an atmosphere of confidence in the relations between states. We stated plainly that we had come to Geneva with the desire to find solutions for outstanding issues through joint efforts and expressed our own readiness to examine attentively the proposals of the other participants in the Conference.

The Soviet Delegation also drew the attention of the statesmen of the United States, Great Britain and France to the fact that it was not inclined to underestimate the difficulties standing in the way of a settlement of outstanding problems, including the problems of Europe and Asia, but that if all the participants had come to Geneva with the desire to find ways to surmount those difficulties, that was a sure guarantee that the Conference would yield positive results.

In the introductory statements they made at the first meeting on July 18 the heads of government of the United States, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union set forth their views on the major international problems and the tasks of the Conference, at the same time giving their considered opinions as to the problems to be discussed.

All the participants were in favour of discussing the following problems: the German question, disarmament, European security, the development of East-West contacts.

Unfortunately, our proposal to discuss the Asian and Far Eastern problems was not accepted, although the pressing nature of those problems is evident when one faces the facts squarely.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Delegation could not give its consent to any discussion of the situation in the East European countries or of "international communism". We pointed out that to raise the question of the situation in the East European countries at the Conference meant compelling us to intervene in the internal affairs of those countries.

Meanwhile, it is a well-known fact that the people's-democratic regime in those countries was established by the peoples themselves on the basis of a free expression of their will. Besides, nobody authorised us to examine the situation in those countries. As for the question of "international communism" which is customarily used in some places to intimidate naive souls, we said that the Geneva Conference had been convened to discuss relations between states rather than the activity of particular political parties in various countries or the relations between those parties. In view of this, it was inappropriate to raise this question at the Conference.

In going into the proposals the Soviet Government submitted to the Geneva Conference for consideration, we must dwell first of all on those concerning the assurance of security in Europe.

The immense importance of this question is easy to understand. The experience of history shows that the most sanguinary and destructive wars have occurred in Europe. It was in Europe that both the first and the second world wars began, spreading from there to other countries and continents and bringing untold losses and material damage to mankind. All this shows the great value the establishment of a system of lasting security in Europe would have for world peace.

The Soviet Government has always held that the surest means of ensuring European security would be to conclude a general European treaty or, as we say, to create a collective security system with the participation of all the European countries and the United States. The establishment of such a security system in place of military groupings of some European countries opposed to others would accord with the interests of all the peoples of Europe, who have already more than once been plunged into the abyss of war by the policy of forming military groupings.

When we put this proposal forward last year some of the Western countries told us that it did not suit them because it destroyed the system of military blocs they had established, allegedly in the interests of defence. They were particularly concerned for the fate of the North Atlantic grouping, asserting that NATO's aims were solely defensive. In view of these assertions the Soviet Government decided at the time to join this organisation, for participation in an organisation pursuing defensive aims fully accords with our interests. The Soviet Union took concrete steps to join NATO, sending a corresponding note to the NATO member-countries. The official note we received in reply, however, refused us admission. This could not but cause justified alarm to the Soviet Union and set it on its guard. It was obvious that the aims of NATO were far from corresponding to the assurances that it was of a defensive nature.

Taking into account the fact that some governments do not want to part, at least for the present, with the military blocs they have set up, and wishing to facilitate agreement between the interested states, we put forward at the Geneva Conference a new proposal for the establishment of a collective security system in Europe. We suggested that this system be established in two stages.

In the course of the first stage the North Atlantic Treaty, the Paris agreements and the Warsaw Treaty were to remain in force. At the same time, all the countries entering into these groupings were, we proposed, to be bound by pledges to refrain from employing armed force against each other and to settle all disputes that might arise between them only by peaceful means.

Our proposals further provided that until agreement was reached on armaments reduction and the prohibition of atomic weapons and also on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of European countries, the states participating in the European collective security were to pledge not to take any measures to increase the size of their armed forces on the territories of other European states.

(Continued on page 2)

objective of strengthening European security, as the Soviet Delegation announced at the Geneva Conference.

The Soviet Delegation declared, in particular, that the considerations put forward by Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of Great Britain, regarding the possibility of concluding a security pact with the participation of a smaller number of states was deserving of attention. The conclusion of such a pact with the participation, at first, of the Four Powers—the USSR, the U.S.A., Great Britain and France—and also of some other European states would be of positive value. At the same time such a pact must take into account the real situation in Germany, where in the course of the past ten years two German states have emerged. We consider it quite possible to find a way of combining the interests of general European security with those of the development of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic that would also serve the interests of the German people and of world peace.

It is to be assumed that at the Foreign Ministers' conference in October new possibilities of agreement on this important question will be examined. It cannot be considered that the possibilities in this regard have been exhausted.

In this connection mention should be made of another proposal of ours concerning European security, which was handed over for the consideration of the Foreign Ministers' conference in October. I refer to the Soviet Government proposal that, pending the establishment of a general European security system, the member-countries of the groupings now existing in Europe undertake not to use armed force against one another. It is self-evident, and we said so in Geneva, that such an undertaking should not operate to the detriment of any country's right to individual or collective self-defence in the event of an armed attack, as provided by Article 51 of the UN Charter.

In our opinion it is hard to object to such a proposal. Indeed, let us assume that agreement on the conclusion of a treaty for assuring security in Europe—whether with the participation of all European states or, to begin with, only some of the European states—may be delayed. In that case, we said in Geneva, why cannot we agree that the members of the existing Western and Warsaw military groupings undertake a commitment—which though simple, accords with the most vital interests of the peoples—not to resort to the use of armed force against one another? The conclusion of an agreement between the member-countries of the existing groupings on this score would unquestionably be a step towards the establishment of a system of effective security in Europe.

No final agreement on security in Europe was reached, not even on the basis of this last Soviet proposal. However, as a result of the exchange of views between the heads of government of the Four Powers all agreed that examination of this important question must be continued. And the representatives of the three Western powers also favoured examination of the Soviet proposal that an agreement be concluded between the West and the Warsaw groupings.

We raised a question in Geneva that is becoming more and more important—that of the Four Powers giving their support to the countries that might wish to pursue a policy of neutrality and non-participation in military blocs and coalitions. We know that in some countries of Europe and of the Near and Middle East there is a mounting movement for a policy of neutrality. This can readily be understood, for it is known from past experience that countries that followed a neutral policy assured security to their peoples and played a positive part. We said in Geneva that if any state that chose a policy of neutrality asked for guarantees of its security and territorial integrity, the Soviet Union would be willing to take part in such guarantees, together with the other powers.

The USSR, as is known, has already made such a proposal in respect to Austria, and at the Four-Power Foreign Ministers' conference in Vienna agreement was reached in principle on respect for Austrian neutrality by the Governments of the USSR, the U.S.A., Britain and France.

In our opinion this question still remains urgent even after the Geneva Conference and deserves serious attention.

There was an exchange of views in Geneva on the German problem. It should be said that various approaches were revealed in Geneva to the solution of this problem, to the question of the direction which Germany's development should follow. Whether Germany will develop in a direction in accordance with the interests of safeguarding peace in Europe or, as previously, in the direction of reviving militarism and creating a hotbed of war in the centre of Europe, is of the greatest import to the security of the peoples of Europe.

The representatives of the three powers upheld the Paris agreements providing for the remilitarisation of Western Germany and its inclusion in the military alignment of the Western powers. Nor did they conceal the fact that they do not conceive of a unified Germany otherwise than as a part of that Western alignment. Obviously, the Soviet Union could not and cannot agree with this point of view, for it runs counter to the interests of European security, including the security of the Soviet Union—a fact that we cannot and have no right to lose sight of.

On this we were informed that the three Western powers would agree to a pact of five states (with the USSR, U.S.A., Great Britain, France and a united Germany taking part) and

ago, the Germany of the period immediately after the end of the Hitler regime. During the ten years that have elapsed since then two independent German states have emerged on German territory—the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, and both these Republics have been recognised by other countries as sovereign states. They both maintain diplomatic and trade relations with other countries and are parties to appropriate agreements and treaties in Europe.

One cannot disregard the fact that in both these states social and economic formations have been established which by their very nature are different. In the German Democratic Republic, power is held by the workers and their allies, the working peasants and intellectuals, who have taken the path of socialist construction and are fully confident that their chosen path is the correct one. It is quite understandable when the working people in the German Democratic Republic declare that they cannot endanger the gains they achieved during this period.

In settling the question of the unification of Germany, one must take into consideration the views of both the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. In other words, this problem cannot be solved without the participation of the Germans themselves.

All this means that in the international and internal conditions of Germany that have taken shape, Germany cannot be united by a mechanical merger of its two parts, and that all such attempts and plans will be unsuccessful as they do not reckon with the real situation. Settlement of the German problem in the present conditions can only be effected gradually, by co-operation between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, and by such rapprochement between them as would be in accord with the interests of peace and progress.

In Geneva we did not find a common language on the German question. However, it is to be assumed that the exchange of views that took place, in the course of which the Soviet Delegation clearly stated its position, will be of importance in October, when the Ministers of the Four Powers resume their talks on the problems discussed at Geneva.

The Soviet Government fully appreciates that the Foreign Ministers will encounter quite a number of difficulties, quite a number of hidden obstacles on the way to solving the German problem. This is to be understood, as at Geneva two different approaches emerged as to how this problem should be settled.

Such difficulties, however, should not obstruct the successful work of the Foreign Ministers' conference and, in particular, they cannot be an impediment to the settlement of the basic, the main question to be studied by them—that of creating a system of all-European security.

At the Geneva Conference a great deal of attention was given to the question of disarmament. This is explained by the importance of the problem. The development of the armed forces and the unprecedented growth and perfection of armaments is assuming larger proportions year by year and evokes the peoples' legitimate alarm for their future. It is particularly essential to emphasize this in connection with the manufacture and stockpiling of atomic, hydrogen and other types of weapons of mass annihilation.

Negotiations on the reduction of armaments and the banning of atomic weapons, which have been taking place for nearly ten years, have, as we know, not furnished the desired results. The "cold war" and the existing mistrust in relations between the states, and first and foremost between the Great Powers, have resulted in these talks entering a virtual blind alley during the last few years. It is the view of the Soviet Government that in examining the problem of disarmament, the main task of the present time is to find ways and means for a rapprochement of the positions taken by the powers on this question and to reach the necessary understanding both on the question of reducing conventional armaments and on that of prohibiting atomic weapons.

It is precisely this aim that is served by the well-known Soviet proposals of May 10 on the general reduction of armaments, prohibition of atomic arms, and the removal of the threat of another war. It is not out of place to recall the positive attitude displayed to these proposals by wide public circles in the world and by a number of states in Europe and Asia, who properly appraised them as constituting an important step by the Soviet Union in the fight for peace and the security of the peoples.

Taking into consideration the fact that these new proposals that the Soviet Government submitted to Uno have actually not yet been examined, while the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France have not yet expressed their views on them, our delegation at Geneva, quite naturally, was interested above all in ascertaining the attitudes of these Governments to the proposals. We drew attention to the fact that the Soviet Union had agreed to the proposal advanced by the Western powers on the levels of armed forces for the Five Great Powers, namely, of from one to one-and-a-half million men for the U.S.A., the USSR and the CPR, and 650,000 for France and Great Britain. In this connection we have reason

to believe the Soviet proposals of May 10 on establishing international control, proposals which were worked out in detail, to be more practicable and effective.

These proposals enable measures for reducing armaments and banning atomic weapons to be carried through at the very first stage, and give far-reaching rights and powers to the International Control Agency.

In its proposals of May 10, the Soviet Government was in favour of an extremely radical method of control, namely, for the International Control Agency to set up immediately control posts on the territory of all the countries concerned, on a basis of reciprocity, with the object of preventing a surprise attack by one state on another. We propose that these posts should be established at the big ports, railway junctions, motor roads and airfields. It shall be the function of these posts to see that no dangerous concentrations and movement of land, air or naval forces are effected.

The Soviet delegation expressed the wish at Geneva that reduction of armed forces and armaments should begin without further delay. We proposed that the Four Powers should set the example in this respect, by reducing their military contingents by the number of troops to be withdrawn from Austria. Acting in the spirit of this proposal the Soviet Government has quite recently decided to withdraw to Soviet territory by October 1 all Soviet troops stationed in Austria, and to reduce the total number of the armed forces of the USSR by the number of troops being withdrawn from Austria. The implementation of similar measures by the remaining three powers would promote the establishment of an atmosphere of international confidence and would be in accord with the interests of reducing armaments.

All our proposals pursued one simple, clear aim—to secure further alleviation of international tension, free peoples from the fear of war and imbue them with the confidence that they could live and work in tranquillity for the good and happiness of the generations to come. (Prolonged applause.)

This is urgently demanded by hundreds of millions of people. The fact that while in Geneva the Soviet Government Delegation received many letters from most diverse organisations and individuals of many countries is characteristic in this respect. During those days hundreds of delegations arrived in Geneva from France, both parts of Germany and other countries. All of them pressed for an end to the "cold war" and for the necessary conditions to be provided for people to live peacefully and tranquilly.

Of course, we did not expect to reach agreement in five or six days at Geneva on all the proposals put forward by the Soviet Delegation. Experience has shown that it requires time

Undoubtedly, progress in relations between the Four Powers, being adequate, would contribute to the strengthening of international confidence between states and the development of international co-operation.

The Soviet Government, as I have already mentioned, suggested that the Conference also discuss the pressing problems of Asia and the Far East. Although agreement on the need to discuss these questions officially was not reached at the Conference, we held unofficial exchanges of opinions on them with the leaders of the delegations of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France. In the course of these unofficial talks, in between official sittings, we touched on the question of Indo-China, on the question of relations between the U.S.A. and the People's Republic of China. It is natural that we gave our main attention to the question of Taiwan and the rights of the Chinese People's Republic in Uno. The Soviet Government hopes that these exchanges of opinion will promote the settlement of these questions in conformity with the legitimate rights of the Chinese and other Asian peoples, and in the interests of maintaining peace in the Far East.

It is essential to stress here the immense significance of the latest important proposals of the Government of the People's Republic of China, which are directed towards achieving settlement of outstanding international problems and creating favourable prospects for establishing international confidence in the Asian area and in the Pacific. The Soviet Government fully supports these proposals, which are set forth in the statement of Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council and Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Republic, on the Present International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China, made on July 30 at the second session of the National People's Congress.

At the end of its work the Geneva Conference adopted a directive agreed by the heads of government to the four Foreign Ministers on all the four questions which had been discussed at the Conference: European security and the German question, disarmament, and the development of contacts between East and West. This directive is important because it expresses the desire of all participants in the Conference to discover, by means of a more detailed examination of the above-mentioned problems, the possibility of reaching the necessary agreement between the powers. Precisely in this lies the great significance of the directive adopted in Geneva.

III. Results of the Geneva Conference. Our Conclusions

While summing up the results of the Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers, it is necessary to recall that before leaving for Geneva we declared that it would be naive to count on the settlement of all complex international problems in a matter of days. Only people who believe in miracles could expect this. At the same time, we decisively rejected unfounded pessimism.

Life has confirmed the correctness of such an evaluation of the situation. At present nobody can deny that the Geneva Conference achieved considerable positive results, which may have even greater effect in future. It played an important part in the cause of easing tension in the relations between states and above all in the relations between the Great Powers and in the cause of restoring the necessary confidence between them.

The meeting of the heads of government of the Four Powers, which took place in an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding, will undoubtedly have a profound effect on international relations and favourably influence their future development. Of great importance is the establishment of personal contact between the leaders of the Four Great Powers.

A gratifying factor was the spirit of co-operation and desire for mutual understanding which prevailed at the Conference. It was particularly noticeable during the unofficial meetings, which made it possible frankly to exchange opinions on all questions. Special note should be taken of the fact that we did not witness any other attitude at the Geneva Conference. On the contrary, everybody sought possibilities of reconciling their points of view on the practical questions discussed at the Conference, despite their different standpoints on the essence of the problems under discussion.

Together with the leaders of the United States of America, Britain and France, we revealed the points on which our attitudes on the questions under discussion approximated to each other's, understood our differences more clearly and decided to continue searching for ways of achieving the necessary agreements. We do not doubt that by means of further negotiation it will be possible to overcome existing difficulties and to find a settle-

ment of the questions under dispute in the interests of the cause of peace. (Applause.)

The directive to the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers is the result of searching for mutually acceptable decisions, in the course of which the interests of all parties in the negotiations were taken into account. Only in this way can important international problems be solved. The "positions of strength" policy was laid aside in Geneva. This fact can only be welcomed, especially since the constructive spirit of the Geneva talks continues at present to exert a fruitful influence upon international relations. We cannot pass over the fact, for instance, that in the past few days considerations of no small importance to the forthcoming diplomatic meetings have been expressed in the United States and in Britain to the effect that relations between states should be based on the principle of "negotiation, not force".

We believed that the Geneva Conference would yield positive results and we were not mistaken. We now believe that, given good will and consideration for the interests of all parties concerned, the Four Powers will in future achieve new positive results in the examination and settlement of vital international problems.

The Geneva Conference has met with the most widespread approval of world public opinion. The peoples welcome its outcome as an important result of their efforts to preserve and consolidate peace. At the same time, they voice their determination to continue their efforts and complete the work they have begun. On the whole, the results of the Conference are justly regarded as a big step towards peace and the end of the "cold war".

Leading circles of different countries also note the success of the Geneva Conference with satisfaction.

Those who participated—President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Eden and Prime Minister Faure—have all commented on its results. It should be noted that in all their statements there is

(Continued on page 3)

RESULTS OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE FOUR POWERS

Report by Comrade N. A. BULGANIN, Chairman
of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, at the Third Session
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 4, 1955

(Continued from page 2)

preserved the spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding that helped to make the Conference a success and opened up prospects for the further strengthening of confidence in relations between states. We welcome, in particular, President Eisenhower's statement that "there is great pressure to advance constructively, not merely to re-enact the dreary performances, the negative performances of the past".

It should be said in this connection that a desire is being shown of late in U.S.A. official quarters to draw appropriate conclusions and facilitate normalisation of international relations. It is gratifying to state that forces have appeared in the U.S.A. that are working in this direction. It is in place to mention, for instance, that Mr. Walter F. George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, insists upon the convocation in the nearest future of a Foreign Ministers' conference with the participation of the Chinese People's Republic. Mr. George, justly maintains that normalisation of American-Chinese relations would go far towards easing tension in the Far East.

It is interesting that most of the world press favourably estimates the results of the Conference.

The influential American newspaper, *New York Times*, for instance, writes that the possibility of a conflict in the West disappeared even before the top-level Conference, but that as a result of the relations now established between the Big Four it might be assumed that every effort would be made to avoid serious troubles in Asia.

The most widely circulated British newspaper, the *News of the World*, published an article by Robert Boothby, Conservative M.P., describing the Geneva Conference as a big victory for the moral forces of the world, which will now exert increasing pressure for peace on all the governments.

The following pronouncement by the French newspaper *Populaire* is characteristic: "Of course, the directive given to the Ministers does not solve the problems raised. But the very fact that it was formulated is proof of the will for peace shown by the Four Great Powers. Let us not have any illusions. There are still difficulties ahead. But a new atmosphere has been created in Geneva and that gives grounds for hope... In Geneva, where the cold war was ended, prospects of a lasting peace emerged."

In the course of the Conference Prime Minister Eden and the Soviet Delegation discussed the possibility of strengthening relations between their countries. You know from the press that Comrade N. S. Khrushchev and I were invited by Sir Anthony Eden to visit England and that we accepted the invitation. The following announcement, agreed upon with the British Government, was published in this connection: "During the Geneva Conference the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union discussed the importance of strengthening relations between their two countries by maintaining the personal contact which they had established at Geneva. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Bulganin, and member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, have accepted the invitation of Sir Anthony Eden to visit the United Kingdom in the spring of next year."

The Soviet Government responded favourably to the initiative of the British Government, certain that the development of personal contacts at top level will be of great value for preserving the atmosphere of business-like co-operation that was established at the Geneva Conference. The British Parliament unanimously approved the announcement made by Sir Anthony Eden, Britain's Prime Minister, of the forthcoming visit of the Soviet leaders to Britain. It is to be hoped that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will likewise unanimously approve our decision to visit Great Britain. (Applause.)

Being believers in personal contacts between leading statesmen, and striving to strengthen relations between the Soviet Union and France, the Soviet Government has decided to invite M. Faure, France's Prime Minister, and M. Pinay, her Foreign Minister, to visit the Soviet Union at any time convenient. (Applause.)

We hope that the French Government will accept our invitation. A visit to the Soviet Union by French Government leaders and personal contact with them will further serve to favourably develop relations between the Soviet Union and France. Comrade Deputies, Conference vividly confirm the

The Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and France has laid a good foundation for the resumption of co-operation between our four countries, which successfully developed during the second world war in the common struggle against the aggressor, but was disturbed in the past few years. The task now is to develop such co-operation on the basis of the sincere, business-like contact and mutual respect established in Geneva.

The concerted efforts of the Four Powers participating in the Geneva Conference to end the "cold war" and achieve agreed solutions of urgent international problems constitute one of the most important conditions for securing lasting world peace.

The results of the Geneva Conference showed that:

Firstly, the Conference definitely contributed to continued relaxation of tension in the international situation and, we hope, will promote the achievement of that noble aim—a lasting and durable peace. The Soviet Government will do all in its power to this end.

Secondly, personal contact between the statesmen of the Four Powers during the Conference was most fruitful and was no less important than the official talks.

The Soviet Government is prepared to continue to promote the development and strengthening of contacts between statesmen.

Thirdly, the Geneva Conference laid the beginning of an important turning point in improving relations between the Four Powers, and not only between these Powers. This, we hope, will end the "cold war", if each side will display good will and a sincere striving for co-operation.

The Soviet Government has taken and will continue to take measures to end the "cold war", to remove tension in international relations, to ensure lasting peace the world over. (Thunderous applause.)

The results of the Geneva Conference show that it was fruitful for the cause of peace.

We have still, however, to seek for the ways and means to solve unsettled international problems, and from this point of view the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers to be held in October is of great significance.

In accordance with the directive endorsed by the heads of government, the Foreign Ministers will have to continue examining and to propose effective measures for solving the question of European security, the German problem, the question of disarmament and the development of contacts between the East and West. They will inevitably meet with difficulties in their efforts to solve these complicated international problems. But these difficulties are surmountable.

We hope that, provided the Foreign Ministers who will take part in the forthcoming conference show the same desire for co-operation and reaching agreement which characterised the meeting of the heads of government, they will achieve progress in settling outstanding international problems.

The Soviet Government, on its part, will make every effort so that the Foreign Ministers may successfully solve all the tasks before them at their meeting.

The first successes in creating a healthier international climate and establishing confidence and co-operation between states have been attained. We do not, however, close our eyes to the difficulties ahead. We know that the talks in Geneva were simply the beginning of great and difficult work, the object of which is to establish real confidence between the states and to strengthen peace. It should not be forgotten that there will be forces trying to prevent this goal being reached. Therefore the struggle for peace among peoples will call for resoluteness and tenacity. This will compel us to continue to work to strengthen the might of our homeland, to develop our socialist economy and manifest due vigilance and concern for the defence power of the Soviet state.

The Soviet Government made every effort to create favourable conditions for the successful work of the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers. Nor will it spare any effort to ensure that the decisions of the Geneva Conference are translated into reality in the interests of general peace and security. Relying on the powerful support of the Soviet people and all peace-loving peoples, the Soviet Government will continue

The Present International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China

Speech by Chou En-lai
at the Session of the National People's Congress

The Hsinhua News Agency reports that on July 30 Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Republic, delivered a speech at the second session of the National People's Congress on the present international situation and the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China.

The Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Republic of France, the first of its kind in the ten years since the war, said Chou En-lai, has concluded with positive results. This Conference was held at a time when international tensions had relaxed to a certain degree and more favourable conditions had been created for the solution of outstanding international issues, thanks to the series of efforts made by the peace-loving peoples and countries of the whole world.

The achievements of this Conference will in turn represent a positive contribution to the further easing of world tensions and restoration of the necessary confidence between nations, and will inspire the peace-loving peoples and countries of the world to exert greater efforts for a firm and lasting peace.

Stressing the fact that peace is the burning desire of the peoples of all countries, and that the leaders of the governments cannot ignore this desire, Chou En-lai continued:

Naturally, we could not expect all outstanding international problems to be solved at one meeting. But the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers has paved the way for further examination and settlement of pressing international issues.

At the Conference the Soviet Union displayed a sincere and frank attitude and put forward realistic proposals on the various questions. The Western powers also showed their willingness to co-operate, and this is in keeping with the desire of the peoples of the world. But what the peoples of the world desire is not only to maintain this willingness to co-operate but also to take concrete actions along the way which has been opened, in order to make a real contribution to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. The Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers proves once again, as did the Korean armistice negotiations, the Geneva Conference last year and the Asian-African Conference this year, that to settle international disputes through negotiation is the correct and effective way of dealing with relations between nations. If all countries concerned will work together in the spirit of sincere negotiation, all pending international issues can be settled step by step and in relation to one another.

In international affairs the Chinese Government and people firmly carry out their policy as laid down in the Constitution, namely, to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity. This policy of ours is unalterable. Our big first Five-Year Plan vividly shows our determination to carry on prolonged peaceful construction. In the field of international affairs, we never spare our efforts in working for the reduction of international tensions and the promotion of peaceful co-existence between nations. We consistently

However, a concrete solution to the question of general disarmament has not yet been achieved, the threat of an atomic war is not yet eliminated, the chain of military bases and military blocs encircling our country, is not yet removed. We cannot but take into account the possibility of sudden attack. In these circumstances, we must remain vigilant and must strengthen our necessary national defence.

We have taken note of the important decision of the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers on the development of contacts between East and West. We hope this will mark the beginning of extensive development of international intercourse and co-operation.

Chou En-lai then commented on the abnormality of the fact that the state of war between China and Japan had not yet ended. A joint declaration had been made by China and the Soviet Union in October 1954 concerning their relations with Japan, and since then many further steps had been taken by the Chinese Government to promote the normalisation of Sino-Japanese relations. But the reaction of the Japanese Government was not entirely in the same direction. He noted that whereas the question of the repatriation of Japanese nationals in China had been settled satisfactorily, the whereabouts of the large numbers of Chinese who were taken to Japan by force during the war still remained unknown. The Chinese nationals in Japan were prevented from maintaining contact with their motherland. The Chinese Government held that artificial barriers should be removed in order to increase trade between China and Japan. But up to the present, trade between the two countries was still subjected to unwarranted restrictions.

The United Nations, the Premier went on to say, bears a serious responsibility in connection with the relaxation of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence between nations. But the United Nations has not been able to play the part which it should have played in maintaining world peace and security, the lawful status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has not been restored to it and membership of the United Nations is not yet universal. More and more countries realise that the time has now come to improve the present state of affairs in the United Nations.

Although Asian and Far Eastern problems were not discussed at the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers, this does not mean that the lessening of tensions in Asia and the Far East has become less urgent. On the contrary, the situation in the Far East is explosive, as Prime Minister Nehru pointed out to correspondents in New Delhi on July 19, 1955. The peaceful unification of Korea has not been achieved, the Geneva Agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China are in jeopardy and a tense situation still prevails in the Taiwan area.

In Viet Nam, the most urgent task at present arises in connection with the fact that the responsible authorities of the two zones, should, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreements, have begun consultations on July 20, 1955 on the question of free general elections, so that

favour of a Far Eastern conference, so that the countries concerned might enter into negotiations to settle the question of easing tensions in the Far East.

Since the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, he said, the situation in the Taiwan area has become the most tense in the Far East. It must be pointed out that this tension has been caused by the United States' occupation of China's territory, Taiwan, and its interference with the liberation of China's coastal islands. This is an international issue between China and the United States. The exercise by the Chinese people of their sovereign rights in liberating Taiwan is a matter of China's internal affairs. These two questions cannot be confused. At the time of the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Government proposed that China and the United States should enter into negotiations to discuss the question of easing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. There is no war between China and the United States; the peoples of China and the United States are friendly towards each other; the Chinese people want no war with the United States. And so the question of a ceasefire between China and the United States does not arise.

After the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Government has stated that there are two possible ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, namely, by war or by peaceful means. Conditions permitting, the Chinese people are ready to seek the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means. In the course of the liberation by the Chinese people of the mainland and the coastal islands, there was no lack of precedents for peaceful liberation. Provided that the United States does not interfere with China's internal affairs, the possibility of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan will continue to strengthen. If possible, the Chinese Government is willing to enter into negotiations with the responsible local authorities of Taiwan to work out concrete steps for Taiwan's peaceful liberation. It should be made clear that these would be negotiations between the Central Government and local authorities. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to any theories or schemes in regard to the so-called "two Chinas".

In conformity with the principle of easing international tensions and settling international disputes through negotiation, the Chinese Government has taken a series of steps to relax the tension between China and the United States. These efforts of the Chinese Government have been warmly welcomed and supported by world public opinion. Many countries have expressed their willingness to offer their good offices to China and the United States. The Chinese Government welcomes the efforts of these countries and expresses its thanks.

On August 1 China and the United States will start talks in Geneva at ambassadorial level. The purpose of these talks will be to help settle the matter of the repatriation of civilians of both sides and to facilitate further discussion and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between the two sides.

In the past year, Chou En-lai continued, Sino-American talks at consular level have been going on in Geneva, during which there was an exchange of data concerning

...of the USSR, Mr. Bulganin, and member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, have accepted the invitation of Sir Anthony Eden to visit the United Kingdom in the spring of next year."

The Soviet Government responded favourably to the initiative of the British Government, certain that the development of personal contacts at top level will be of great value for preserving the atmosphere of business-like co-operation that was established at the Geneva Conference. The British Parliament unanimously approved the announcement made by Sir Anthony Eden, Britain's Prime Minister, of the forthcoming visit of the Soviet leaders to Britain. It is to be hoped that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will likewise unanimously approve our decision to visit Great Britain. (Applause.)

Being believers in personal contacts between leading statesmen, and striving to strengthen relations between the Soviet Union and France, the Soviet Government has decided to invite M. Faure, France's Prime Minister, and M. Pinay, her Foreign Minister, to visit the Soviet Union at any time convenient. (Applause.)

We hope that the French Government will accept our invitation. A visit to the Soviet Union by French Government leaders and personal contact with them will further serve to favourably develop relations between the Soviet Union and France.

Comrade Deputies, The results of the Geneva Conference vividly confirm the correctness of the Soviet Government's foreign policy, which is aimed at promoting the peaceful coexistence of states. Relying on the support of the entire Soviet people, the Soviet Government will continue to advance along this path. (Prolonged applause.)

Opening of the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

The third session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the fourth convocation began its work on August 4 in the Grand Kremlin Palace, Moscow.

Representatives of all the peoples of the USSR, welded together by great friendship and closely rallied around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, are taking part in the session.

Numerous guests were present in the meeting hall of the Supreme Soviet—foremost workers in factories and plants, Party functionaries and business executives, workers in the fields of science and culture. Members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of the Soviet and foreign press were in the boxes.

A. P. Volkov, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, V. T. Laeis, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and their deputy chairmen took their seats at the presidium table.

At 3 p.m., Comrades N. A. Bulganin, K. E. Voroshilov, L. M. Kaganovich, A. I. Kirichenko, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, M. G. Pervukhin,

M. A. Suslov, N. S. Khrushchev and Secretaries of the C.C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union A. B. Aristov, N. I. Belyayev, P. N. Pospelov and D. T. Shepilov appeared in the government boxes. The deputies and guests greeted them with thunderous, prolonged applause. All rose.

The joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was opened by Deputy A. P. Volkov, who announced that the Delegation of the Union People's Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia headed by V. Bakaric, Chairman of the Assembly of the People's Republic of Croatia, who were visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, were present at the session. This announcement was received with prolonged applause. On behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, A. P. Volkov cordially welcomed the guests from Yugoslavia.

He went on to say that the Council of Ministers of the USSR had submitted

take part in the forthcoming conference show the same desire for co-operation and reaching agreement which characterised the meeting of the heads of government, they will achieve progress in settling outstanding international problems.

The Soviet Government, on its part, will make every effort so that the Foreign Ministers may successfully solve all the tasks before them at their meeting.

The first successes in creating a healthier international climate and establishing confidence and co-operation between states have been attained. We do not, however, close our eyes to the difficulties ahead. We know that the talks in Geneva were simply the beginning of great and difficult work, the object of which is to establish real confidence between the states and to strengthen peace. It should not be forgotten that there will be forces trying to prevent this goal being reached. Therefore the struggle for peace among peoples will call for resoluteness and tenacity. This will compel us to continue to work to strengthen the might of our homeland, to develop our socialist economy and manifest due vigilance and concern for the defence power of the Soviet state.

The Soviet Government made every effort to create favourable conditions for the successful work of the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers. Nor will it spare any effort to ensure that the decisions of the Geneva Conference are translated into reality in the interests of general peace and security. Relying on the powerful support of the Soviet people and all peace-loving peoples, the Soviet Government will continue unswervingly to conduct a policy of further relaxing international tension, to fight for lasting peace throughout the world. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

to the Supreme Soviet a report by the Government Delegation of the Soviet Union on the results of the Geneva Conference of heads of government of the Four Powers and proposed that this report be heard and discussed at the session.

Deputy K. T. Mazurov seconded this proposal on behalf of the Councils of Elders of the Soviet of the Union, and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The following agenda was unanimously adopted:

Report by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the results of the Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers.

The floor was given to Comrade N. A. Bulganin, who was greeted with lengthy applause. He spoke for more than one-and-a-half hours and was followed with keen attention.

(Comrade Bulganin's report is published in this issue.)

The Session is continuing its work.

Second Session of National People's Congress of China Ends

The second session of the National People's Congress took place in Peking between July 5 and 30. During the first days of its work it heard reports on the first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the Chinese People's Republic, on the fulfilment of the 1954 budget and on the draft state budget for 1955.

Peng Teh-huai, Deputy Premier of the State Council and Minister of Defence, made a report on the draft Military Service Law. Peng Teh-huai pointed out that the promulgation of the draft of this law had been enthusiastically approved by the Chinese people.

Teng Tsu-huai, Deputy Premier of the State Council, put before the deputies a general plan for hydro-technical works on the Yellow River.

Describing the large-scale industrial construction which is in progress in the basin of this river, he noted the great assistance

rendered by the Soviet Union in the preparations for this hydro-technical work in China. Teng Tsu-huai said amidst stormy applause that the Soviet Government had already agreed to assist China in conquering the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers.

The deputies discussed in detail the reports heard at the plenary meetings. In their speeches they wholeheartedly approved the measures worked out by the Communist Party and the People's Government for the development of domestic heavy industry and strengthening the defence capacity of the country.

At the concluding meeting Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, spoke on the present international situation and the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic. (An abridged version of Comrade Chou En-lai's speech is printed in this issue.)

The deputies unanimously adopted a decision on the amended Five-Year Plan.

The resolution on the first Five-Year Plan states that it is a programme of decisive significance in the Chinese people's struggle to carry out the main tasks of the transition period, a plan of peaceful economic and cultural construction, and that its implementation will lay the basis of socialist construction and transformation in China.

The session approved the report of Li Hsien-nien, Deputy Premier of the State Council, on the fulfilment of the 1954 budget and on the 1955 draft state budget and endorsed the fulfilment of last year's state budget. It also took a decision on the plan for the complex construction of hydro-technical schemes on the Yellow River, and endorsed the final text of the Military Service Law.

The delegates unanimously approved the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress between the first and second sessions.

tribution to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. The Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers proves once again, as did the Korean armistice negotiations, the Geneva Conference last year and the Asian-African Conference this year, that to settle international disputes through negotiation is the correct and effective way of dealing with relations between nations. If all countries concerned will work together in the spirit of sincere negotiation, all pending international issues can be settled step by step and in relation to one another.

In international affairs the Chinese Government and people firmly carry out their policy as laid down in the Constitution, namely, to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity. This policy of ours is unalterable. Our big first Five-Year Plan vividly shows our determination to carry on prolonged peaceful construction. In the field of international affairs, we never spare our efforts in working for the reduction of international tensions and the promotion of peaceful co-existence between nations. We consistently stand for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. We welcome peaceful competition among nations with different social systems. It must be pointed out that our foreign policy of peace has already achieved successes.

The five principles of peaceful coexistence put forward by China together with India and Burma, Chou En-lai continued, are winning the approval of more and more countries.

Recently, the Premier went on, the idea of remaining neutral and not participating in military blocs or coalitions has been gaining ground in certain countries. This is an important development in current international life. We are in agreement with the proposal put forward by the Soviet Union at the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers that should any of these nations raise the question of having their security and territorial integrity guaranteed, the Great Powers should meet their wishes. The Chinese Government respects the neutral position taken by certain countries of the Asian, African and other areas and is ready to establish normal and friendly relations with these countries on the basis of the five principles.

Touching on the German question, the Premier stressed that the unification of Germany should be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. This is a principle laid down in the directive of the heads of government of the Four Powers to their Foreign Ministers. We trust that the four Foreign Ministers will, at their meeting next October, work out effective solutions to the question of European security and the German question in accordance with this principle.

The reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, continued Chou En-lai, present a problem whose solution is urgently demanded by the people of the whole world. The Chinese Government supports the Soviet proposals of May 10. If a world conference on general disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons, as proposed by the Soviet Union, is successfully convened, China will be ready at that conference to undertake obligations along with other countries. As a matter of fact, since the founding of the People's Republic of China we have already demobilised more than 4,510,000 men, and in our 1955 budget defence accounts for only 24.19% of the total expenditure, a much smaller percentage than the colossal military appropriations of the Western powers.

security, the revival of the Republic of China in the United Nations has not been restored to it and membership of the United Nations is not yet universal. More and more countries realise that the time has now come to improve the present state of affairs in the United Nations.

Although Asian and Far Eastern problems were not discussed at the Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers, this does not mean that the lessening of tensions in Asia and the Far East has become less urgent. On the contrary, the situation in the Far East is explosive, as Prime Minister Nehru pointed out to correspondents in New Delhi on July 19, 1955. The peaceful unification of Korea has not been achieved, the Geneva Agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China are in jeopardy and a tense situation still prevails in the Taiwan area.

In Viet Nam, the most urgent task at present arises in connection with the fact that the responsible authorities of the two zones, should, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreements, have begun consultations on July 20, 1955 on the question of free general elections, so that such elections might be held in July 1956 under the supervision of the international commission with a view to unifying Viet Nam. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has repeatedly expressed its determination to continue to carry out the Geneva Agreements faithfully and has declared its readiness to consult with the responsible authorities of the southern zone of Viet Nam on the general elections. However, the authorities of South Viet Nam have not only refused consultations, but have gone so far as to resort to violence, as when they attacked the living quarters of the personnel of the International Commission on July 20. This act of open defiance of the Geneva Agreements signifies that the South Viet Nam authorities refuse to seek the unification of Viet Nam through free general elections and that they are attempting to make it impossible for the International Commission to carry on its work so that they can receive foreign military assistance without hindrance.

Nor is the application of the Geneva Agreements in Cambodia and Laos a cause for optimism. The Military Assistance Agreement signed between the Royal Government of Cambodia and the United States' Government on May 16, 1955, is incompatible with the neutrality of Cambodia under the Geneva Agreements. In Laos, there is the danger of a similar development. Moreover, the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, which is totally incompatible with the Geneva Agreements, is attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of Laos by exploiting the armed attacks by the Royal Government of Laos against the regrouping areas of the Pathet Lao combat units.

The countries which participated in the 1954 Geneva Conference have the responsibility of ensuring the strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements. We consider that the countries concerned should consult each other in connection with the present threats to break the Geneva Agreements.

The 1954 Geneva Conference failed to reach an agreement on the question of the peaceful unification of Korea. Thereafter, the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea made a number of efforts to establish contacts between North and South Korea in the interest of peaceful unification. However, none of these efforts has met with due response. Furthermore, the state of armistice in Korea is still unstable. The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, responsible for supervising the Korean armistice, is still faced with the danger of being wrecked. We consider that the countries concerned should not sit idly by and allow this state of affairs to develop further. Chou En-lai further expressed himself in

in regard to the so-called "two Chinas".

In conformity with the principle of easing international tensions and settling international disputes through negotiation, the Chinese Government has taken a series of steps to relax the tension between China and the United States. These efforts of the Chinese Government have been warmly welcomed and supported by world public opinion. Many countries have expressed their willingness to offer their good offices to China and the United States. The Chinese Government welcomes the efforts of these countries and expresses its thanks.

On August 1 China and the United States will start talks in Geneva at ambassadorial level. The purpose of these talks will be to help settle the matter of the repatriation of civilians of both sides and to facilitate further discussion and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between the two sides.

In the past year, Chou En-lai continued, Sino-American talks at consular level have been going on in Geneva, during which there was an exchange of data concerning civilians of each country who are residing in the country of the other party. So far as our side is concerned, we promptly supplied to the United States concrete data concerning American civilians in China. We are of the opinion that if both sides are sincerely desirous of negotiation and conciliation, it should be possible in the forthcoming talks at ambassadorial level to reach, first of all, a reasonable settlement of the question of the return of civilians to their respective countries.

The number of American civilians in China is small, and this question can easily be settled. There are a great many overseas Chinese in the United States, among whom students alone number several thousands. Most of them have relatives on the Chinese mainland. The situation of the Chinese students is particularly inconsistent with humanitarian principles, as they are prevented from returning home while their relatives have no way of aiding them financially. We are of the opinion that since there are no diplomatic relations between China and the United States at the present time, each of them can entrust to a third country the task of looking after the affairs of its civilians in the other country, and, above all, matters connected with the return of these civilians to their own country.

As stated in the press statement agreed between both sides, the forthcoming Sino-American talks at ambassadorial level should also "facilitate further discussion and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between both sides", so as to contribute to the relaxation of the tension between China and the United States. Mr. Dulles, quoting President Eisenhower, said at a press conference on July 26 that the United States would follow the principle of working co-operatively with all peoples in the ambassadorial level talks in Geneva. If these words signify that the United States is prepared to co-operate with China, the Sino-American talks at ambassadorial level should be able to prepare the ground for negotiations between China and the United States for relaxing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area.

The Chinese people are also concerned about the extremely unjust policy of blockade and embargo which obstructs trade between countries. It should be possible to remove such barriers so that there is no hindrance to peaceful trade between all countries.

The Chinese people would like to see the United States withdraw its armed

(Continued on page 4)

The Present International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China

Speech by Chou En-lai
at the Session of the National People's Congress

(Continued from page 3)

forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits, leaving Chinese air space free from further intrusions and China free from the threat of demonstrative war manoeuvres, so as to put into effect the provision in the United Nations Charter that "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations", and to vindicate Mr. Dulles' statement at the press conference of July 26 that "the United States believes that whatever may be the differences which now divide countries, these differences should not be settled by recourse to force where this would be apt to provoke international war".

As Chou En-lai further emphasized, the Chinese people demand that the foreign countries concerned put an end to the subversive activities against China and to the sending of saboteurs into China.

The Chinese people, he continued, hope that the countries of Asia and the Pacific area, including the United States, will sign a pact of collective peace to replace the antagonistic military blocs now existing in this part of the world, so that the collective peace first advocated by the Indian Government may be realised.

We recognise that for the above wishes to be fulfilled, it is necessary first of all that China and the United States should display sincerity in negotiations, that the two sides establish contact to increase mutual understanding and trust. Only by the efforts of both sides and the reciprocal

demonstration of good will can the tension in the Taiwan area be relaxed and ultimately eliminated.

China, for her part, in accordance with her consistent stand of striving for the relaxation of tension, will endeavour to make the forthcoming Sino-American talks at ambassadorial level pave the way for further negotiations between China and the United States.

The Chinese Government and people will continue to strive indefatigably, as in the past, for a universal and lasting peace. However, if anybody should take our efforts as a sign of weakness or imagine that pressure or threats will have an effect on us, he will not only meet with the opposition of the peoples of the world, but quickly find out that his calculations are wholly erroneous.

Youth Under the Banner of Peace and Friendship

On July 31 Warsaw, the capital of People's Poland, saw the opening of the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students. This outstanding festival of youth is an event of immense international significance, a noteworthy landmark in the development of the democratic youth movement.

Its aim is clear and understandable to all who strive for promoting international co-operation and easing world tension. It is expressed in two simple words: **peace and friendship!** Young people from various nations have gone to Warsaw, prompted by one noble feeling, one sacred aspiration—to uphold and strengthen world peace and consolidate fraternal bonds between the youth of all countries in the struggle for their rights and a better future.

It is significant that the Festival is taking place in Warsaw. Where, if not in this city, still bearing traces of the ravages of war, can one become convinced of the criminal and monstrous nature of war? Where, if not in Warsaw, this beautiful rehabilitated city, can one behold the strength of the creative work of the people and the miraculous power of peaceful labour? Where, if not in Warsaw, above which towers the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science, a generous gift from the Soviet Union, can one find such splendid examples of friendship and fraternity among peoples?

The youth, who are inherently imbued with the greatest love of life and an ineradicable hatred of destruction and death, realise more and more deeply the need to act in defence of peace. Young people want to look ahead without fear or anxiety; they desire to study, work and spend their leisure in tranquillity. All this can only be achieved under conditions of lasting peace and security. That is why new detachments of young people are for ever joining the great army of peace supporters.

Youth stands in the forefront of the peace-loving forces. There is not a measure for lessening tension in international relations which youth would not support and in the implementation of which they would not take a most active part.

Together with all peace-loving mankind young people are voicing their protest against the danger of atomic war and

The opening of the Festival coincided with the beginning of a new stage in international relations. The Geneva Four-Power Conference was a first step in establishing confidence among states, regardless of their political and social systems, on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The successful outcome of the Conference convinces the youth that the "cold war" can and must be ended. The Warsaw Festival is another proof of the possibility of achieving lasting and peaceful co-operation among peoples.

The youth are the future of their nations. In the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the state cares for the growing generation like a mother, and surrounds them with every attention. The young people in these countries enjoy full rights and are active builders of a new, happy life. The right to education, leisure and work is guaranteed to them. They have ample opportunities for an all-round exercise of their capabilities and talents.

It is said that youth is the best period in the life of man. However, it is not happy everywhere. In capitalist and colonial and semi-colonial countries, the children of working people become acquainted with poverty, hunger and lack of rights early in life. In these countries, millions of young people have no opportunity of education or employment. The arms drive places an unbearable burden on the shoulders of the younger generation in such countries and still further worsens their living conditions. The Festival will have a powerful impact on strengthening the movement of youth in defence of their political and economic rights, and for freedom and national independence.

The strength of the youth fighting for peace and their rights lies in their unity. Only united can the younger generation achieve success in their struggle for peace and happiness. The ideas of unity and friendship are becoming more deeply rooted in the minds of broad masses of youth. Those who try to erect barriers to prevent the unity of the youth of various countries and continents suffer one defeat after another. The influence of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which consistently

scale with other international and national youth organisations.

The preparations for the Festival provided inspiring examples of the fraternal solidarity of youth. Swedish and Norwegian youth collected funds so that representatives of the Sudanese youth could be at the Festival. Young Britons collected money for the youth of Kenya, and the young people of Iceland helped their friends in the Gold Coast. The Festival is a shining demonstration of the indestructible will of the forces of youth to achieve unity on a national and international scale.

No international youth gathering has ever had such a widely representative character as the Warsaw Festival. Eight years ago the First Festival of Youth and Students in Prague represented 71 countries, while today, in Warsaw, envoys of the younger generation of 115 countries are meeting.

Those participating in the Festival are people of various races and nationalities, different trades and diverse political, social and religious convictions and views. Today you can meet in the streets of Warsaw French Socialists and Catholics, Italian Christian Democrats and members of the Saragat Party, English Labourites and Social Democrats from Western Germany. The idea of the Festival is for ever winning new millions of young hearts in all continents. It is supported by all the youth organisations in Japan, Indonesia, Egypt and other countries.

The Festival will become a powerful stimulus towards strengthening the friendship of young people in all corners of the world. Its rich and varied programme serves this purpose. Discussing the international problems which concern them, speaking of life in their countries, exchanging the treasures of their national cultures and displaying their skill in sports and art, the participants in the Festival find new ways into the hearts of their contemporaries and reach mutual understanding and trust. And where there is mutual understanding and trust there is no ground for enmity and hatred, no room for war.

COMMENDABLE UNDERTAKING OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY FEDERATION

With the idea of improving propaganda work and raising the ideological and political level of Party members, the West Seine Federation of the French Communist Party has since last October been issuing an "Information Bulletin on Propaganda Questions" for federation committee members, section secretaries and comrades in charge of propaganda work in the sections.

The Bulletin provides considerable assistance for leading cadres in the federations and sections, as is borne out by its contents. The first was mainly devoted to a critical analysis of branch newspapers. The second examined the question of oral propaganda (meetings, small open gatherings and speeches) and emphasized the great importance of meetings in the factories and localities for spreading Party ideas among the masses. On the basis of concrete examples taken from the life of the federation, the third issue, published soon after the January meeting of the C.C. of the Party, showed the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class and the growth of monopoly profits.

In the fourth issue prominence was given to the 85th anniversary of Lenin's birth; the Bulletin called upon Party organisations to improve the propaganda of the ideas of Leninism.

The fifth issue featured the federation's plan of work up to the time of its conference. This plan is based, in particular, on the experience of the branches that have organised educational discussions and also of the section at the Renault plant where 6 lectures were read.

The Bulletin helps to strengthen and improve the work of Party organisations. However, it is not without shortcomings. It would be better in content, for instance, if it were not of such a narrow practical character. The Bulletin gives insufficient attention to Party schools, and branch and section activists do not yet make a big enough contribution to the improvement of the content of the Bulletin. The federation leadership is now making efforts to remedy these weaknesses.

Communist Party of Austria Increases its Membership

According to incomplete figures over 400 people joined the Communist Party of Austria between May 15 and the end of June. In the Vienna districts of Favoriten and Stadlau, 44 and 23 people respectively were accepted into the Party. In the town of Sankt Pölten 32 joined. The Party organisations are also growing in other towns. "When the State Treaty was concluded", said Alois Stoces, a new Party member from Stadlau, "I became fully convinced as to where I should be—in the Communist Party. The State Treaty proved to me that the policy of the Communist Party is the correct one."

Many of those coming into the Party are young people. In view of this the resolution recently passed by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Austria on co-operation with the Free Austrian Youth Union and on work with young Communists, becomes especially significant. This resolution stresses that, in addition to functionaries and activists from mass organisations, young Communists working in the Free Austrian Youth Union should also be approached to take part in Party meetings and conferences.

The resolution points to the highly favour-

Sixth National Conference of Japanese Communist Party

Held in Tokyo, the Sixth National Conference of the Japanese Communist Party completed its work at the end of July, having discussed the Party's tasks and adopted an appropriate resolution. New Rules were also discussed. The Conference paid particular attention to the strengthening of unity and to the struggle against splitting activities.

It was decided to abolish the Central Leading Bureau and elect a Central Committee which will collectively lead the work of the Party. Fifteen comrades were elected as C.C. members and five as alternate members. The Conference also elected a Party Control Commission of four members.

The decision to expel Ritsu Ito from the Party was endorsed by the Conference.

REPORT ON THE DEATH OF KYUICHI TOKUDA

After the Conference the leadership of the Party arranged a press conference at which Comrade Yoshio Shiga made it known that Kyuichi Tokuda, General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, had died in

October 1953 after a serious illness. "With the whole of the Japanese people", said Comrade Yoshio Shiga, "we deeply mourn the death of our General Secretary Kyuichi Tokuda."

Message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union deeply condole with you and shares your grief at the death of Comrade Kyuichi Tokuda, General Secretary of the C.C. of the Japanese Communist Party, who devoted his life to the struggle for the cause of the working class, for freedom and for the national independence of the Japanese people.

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

In Memory of Comrade Kyuichi Tokuda

On July 29, 1955, the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party released a statement on the death of Comrade Kyuichi Tokuda, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

Comrade Tokuda went to Peking for treatment and died there of cerebral haemorrhage on October 14, 1953, after a long illness.

In Comrade Tokuda, a loyal son of the Japanese people, the Communist Party and the working people of Japan, together with the international working-class movement, lost a staunch fighter for the cause of the proletariat, for peace and democracy.

Kyuichi Tokuda was born on Okinawa in 1894, of a working-class family. From an early age he linked his life with the revolutionary struggle to free the working people from poverty and oppression.

The active political work of Comrade Tokuda began in 1918,

when he took part in the nation-wide "rice riots" which were the first repercussion of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Japan. Later Comrade Tokuda wrote that his initial experience of participation in the mass movement of the people in protest against the policy of hunger and war, was his first schooling in hatred of social injustice.

Comrade Tokuda's consistent struggle for the victory of Marxist ideology in the Japanese working-class movement placed him among the outstanding leaders of this movement. In 1922 he was an active supporter of the idea of holding a congress of the Marxist groups in the country; such a congress was held, and at it the Japanese Communist Party was formed.

patriot and staunch fighter for the interests of the people, for democracy and national independence and for the speedy liberation of Japan from foreign occupation.

The tasks set by Comrade Tokuda to extend the Party's activities in the mass

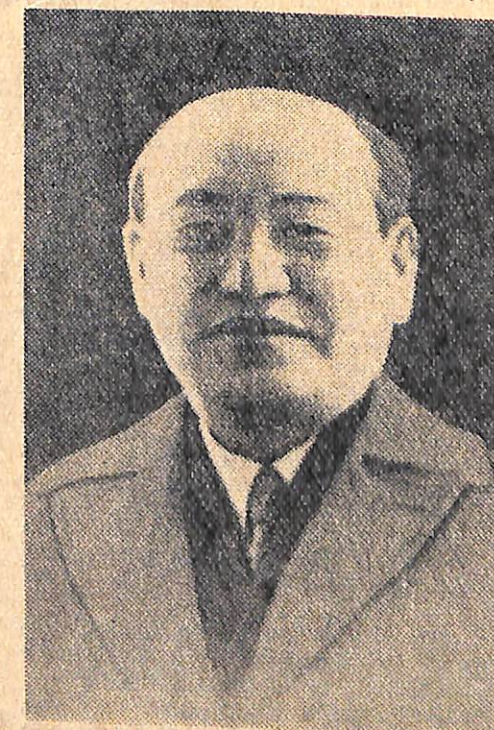
organisations of the workers and peasants, in the mills, factories and villages helped considerably to strengthen the Party and enhance its prestige among the masses.

Comrade Tokuda vigorously fought sectarian tendencies and leftist deviations which lead to the isolation of the Party from the masses. He actively popularised the slogan: "To fight with the people behind you", which became one of the leading principles of the Japanese Communist Party.

An ardent advocate of proletarian internationalism, Comrade Tokuda displayed constant concern for strengthening the links

of the Party and the Japanese working people with the international democratic and working-class movement. In his message of greetings to the 19th Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Tokuda wrote: "The teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is our Party's guiding star. Our Party and the working class see in the CPSU a loyal friend and teacher."

The unremitting activity of Comrade Tokuda as leader of the Communist Party of Japan, parliamentary deputy and organiser of the working people aroused the hatred of his enemies. In 1948 the hirelings of revenge-seeking and anti-national elements



if not in Warsaw, above which towers the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science, a generous gift from the Soviet Union, can one find such splendid examples of friendship and fraternity among peoples?

The youth, who are inherently imbued with the greatest love of life and an ineradicable hatred of destruction and death, realise more and more deeply the need to act in defence of peace. Young people want to look ahead without fear or anxiety; they desire to study, work and spend their leisure in tranquillity. All this can only be achieved under conditions of lasting peace and security. That is why new detachments of young people are for ever joining the great army of peace supporters.

Youth stands in the forefront of the peace-loving forces. There is not a measure for lessening tension in international relations which youth would not support and in the implementation of which they would not take a most active part.

Together with all peace-loving mankind young people are voicing their protest against the menace of atomic war and demanding the prohibition and destruction of thermo-nuclear weapons. In many countries preparations for the Festival accompanied the collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal. Millions of signatures have been collected by thousands of young champions of peace in Italy, France, Austria, Finland, India and other countries, and the best canvassers are among the most honoured people at the Warsaw gathering.

FESTIVAL OF YOUTH

Now and again in the course of events there occur stirring moments that impress themselves on our memories forever. This happens not only to individual people; the Youth Festival has brought just such a moment to Warsaw.

The sun shone warmly over the Tenth Anniversary Stadium, built on the eve of the Festival, bestowing a heat unusual in Warsaw's capricious climate. The stately lines of the stadium and its green bowl merged into a pleasant harmony with the many colours worn by the spectators. Pink, white, red, blue and yellow kerchiefs transformed its sloping stands into a vast terraced garden.

However, all this was completely eclipsed when the delegations marched in. Here met East and West, North and South; young men and women from more than a hundred countries: African Negroes and Scandinavians, South Americans and Australians, Chinese and Japanese, Indians and Burmese, Russians and Americans, British and French, Poles and Germans; the youth of the world met in the stadium. In all the languages there resounded the words "peace and friendship". Irrespective of the language they spoke, whatever their political views, race or religion, in the name of friendship boys and girls came here from every corner of the world.

Some moments during the demonstration were especially moving: when the Americans dashed over and embraced the Russians marching past the grandstand, and later, when they shook hands with the Chinese; when the French warmly cheered the Vietnamese; when the young Poles applauded the Germans. It was all a splendid manifestation of the nobility of that younger generation which will one day shoulder the task of solving the problems troubling the world, the world's care for the very future of mankind.

As Josef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, said in his opening speech:

"It is you who in future will decide what path man will follow: the path of war or of the peace he has long dreamt of. Let

everywhere, in capitalist and colonial and semi-colonial countries, the children of working people become acquainted with poverty, hunger and lack of rights early in life. In these countries, millions of young people have no opportunity of education or employment. The arms drive places an unbearable burden on the shoulders of the younger generation in such countries and still further worsens their living conditions. The Festival will have a powerful impact on strengthening the movement of youth in defence of their political and economic rights, and for freedom and national independence.

The strength of the youth fighting for peace and their rights lies in their unity. Only united can the younger generation achieve success in their struggle for peace and happiness. The ideas of unity and friendship are becoming more deeply rooted in the minds of broad masses of youth. Those who try to erect barriers to prevent the unity of the youth of various countries and continents suffer one defeat after another. The influence of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which consistently fights for the rights of youth, is growing year by year. At the time of the Bucharest Festival in 1953 the WFDY united 75 million young people of 88 countries. Only two years have passed since then, yet the ranks of the Federation have grown by more than 10 million. Today youths and girls from 97 countries have rallied under the glorious banner of the WFDY. The Federation and its organisations are now co-operating on an ever-greater

Warsaw French Socialists and Catholics, Italian Christian Democrats and members of the Saragat Party, English Labourites and Social Democrats from Western Germany. The idea of the Festival is for ever winning new millions of young hearts in all continents. It is supported by all the youth organisations in Japan, Indonesia, Egypt and other countries.

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All progressive mankind cherishes the lofty ideals of the Festival—the ideals of peace and friendship. That is why the peace-loving, democratic forces in all countries warmly greet the participants at the Warsaw gathering and express firm confidence that the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students will be a big contribution to the cause of lessening international tension and towards a rapprochement among peoples and states.

us, then, do everything we can to make this decision worthy of twentieth century civilisation, worthy of the dreams of humanity's finest sons, dreams of hundreds of millions all over the world, of our fathers and mothers, the dreams of joyous youth."

A ripple of movement stirred the stands and the whole vast assembly burst into song. In many languages, the powerful, flowing strains rose high, brimming over the edge of the stadium, like a huge lake lapping against its banks, spilling over into the world—the wide world from which these young folk had come in the name of friendship.

On Marszalkowska Street, opposite the Palace of Culture and Science, there still stands a partly destroyed building. Its skeleton of reinforced concrete withstood dynamite, wind and storm. It now bears a poster by the late Tadeusz Trepcowski, distinguished Polish artist. Against a blue background he traced the black outline of a bomb and beneath it the ruins of gutted houses with gaping windows through which fire glows. Below is one word: "No!" The impression the poster makes is all the stronger for being placed on a ruined building.

What city can offer more convincing proof of the horror and destruction of war than Warsaw, which drained the bitter cup to the dregs? Young people—from countries where war raged, and from those which only knew the horrors of Nazi attacks from the descriptions of reporters—stop before the unusual poster. Silently they gaze at the ruins—mute witnesses of the death that visited Warsaw only fifteen years ago.

A group of Japanese, the same who yesterday bore across the stadium a streamer with the slogan: "No more Hiroshima!" stop before the ruins. They know only too well the meaning of a city destroyed—not merely within several days but in a few fractions of a second. The Japanese were the first victims of the atom bomb. Many years later, when the hydrogen bomb exploded in the vicinity of Bikini on March 1, 1954, the first victim

was, again, Japanese, the fisherman Kuboyama.

One of the delegates explains in English to a Swedish girl, who had no experience of the war, that young people bear as much responsibility as anybody for seeing to it that there are no more ruins; he says that there has been enough suffering and that now, in the atomic age, the possible devastation passes the bounds of the imagination.

"Just think", he adds, "what could be done if these forces were used in science and engineering."

Warsaw, festival city, has simultaneously become a reminder and a warning of the forces that plunged the world into the abyss of the second world war, a warning of the forces which subsequently, in the years of hope, disturbed the peace of the common people.

But Warsaw has also become a symbol of the triumph of life, the triumph of youth. Opposite the poster is Stalin Square and the gleaming white Palace of Culture and Science. Its stately spire soars above, glittering in the sun. On the 32nd storey delegates jump on to the parapet of the terrace and admiringly gaze at Warsaw spread below them. On the South their eyes are attracted by the bright houses of the Marszalkowska residential area, beyond which lies the remote vista of Mokotow. From this height they can see Muranow and Mirow, the old and the new parts of the city. They see the banks of the Vistula and the red brick houses of the new settlement in Praga. They see the smoke of the heating and power station and the automobile works in the Zeran district. They see the beautiful new Warsaw, graced by green parks—a city of youth, the capital of a country that is building Socialism.

On a platform in front of the Palace amateur art groups are performing. The square is thronged. Everywhere—on the squares and in the theatres—the young people render the dances of their people, and sing their songs. On all the sports grounds they are competing with each other. The city buzzes happily like a giant

was accepted into the Party. In the town of Sanki Pölsen 32 joined. The Party organisations are also growing in other towns. "When the State Treaty was concluded", said Alois Stoces, a new Party member from Stadlau, "I became fully convinced as to where I should be—in the Communist Party. The State Treaty proved to me that the policy of the Communist Party is the correct one."

Many of those coming into the Party are young people. In view of this the resolution recently passed by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Austria on co-operation with the Free Austrian Youth Union and on work with young Communists, becomes especially significant. This resolution stresses that, in addition to functionaries and activists from mass organisations, young Communists working in the Free Austrian Youth Union should also be approached to take part in Party meetings and conferences.

The resolution points to the highly favourable results of the lectures given by leading members of the Party to the Free Austrian Youth Union functionaries in the course of their studies. The Political Bureau draws the attention of Party activists to the necessity, in the future too, to render all-round assistance to the Free Austrian Youth Union in its educational work. The resolution emphasizes that particular attention must be given to winning the youth into the ranks of the Party.

beehive, and this too is a symbol of the new life, a life in which no barriers divide people of good will.

In 1947—Prague, in 1949—Budapest, in 1951—Berlin, in 1953—Bucharest. Today—Warsaw. Eight years separate us from the first Festival in Prague. Much has changed since then. Not only are the most diverse trends and groups now more widely represented; much has also changed in the world, which has, since the first Festival, experienced many grave and perilous moments. That these young folk are singing and dancing so merrily in Warsaw today is due in part to the fact that Geneva has given the world new hope of peace and the end of the cold war. Although this is only a beginning, although there is still a long, hard road ahead, friends of peace, old and young, look to the future with greater joy and faith. The young people gathered in Warsaw are not only enjoying themselves. Lively discussions and exchanges of views are going on. Many boys and girls compare the "iron curtain" stories with the actual reality of our life, with the true People's Poland. To our Festival too there has penetrated the spirit of Geneva, enabling everyone to listen more attentively to each other's words, to better understand one another for the sake of the common cause.

From morning to night the streets belong to the youth: to the Polish youth, who have come to the Festival from all parts of the country and have the honour of being the hosts, and to the 30,000 boys and girls from other countries, who feel quite at home in Warsaw.

Bonds of friendship are being forged here, that noble friendship which lives on down the years, in letters and postcards bearing varicoloured stamps but, primarily, in young hearts brimming with enthusiasm and lofty feelings. This friendship is a great force. So, too, is youth. If these two join together much, very much, will be accomplished. For if, in the future, it is this generation which chooses the road mankind is to follow, we shall have no qualms about its choice.

Zofia ARTYMOWSKA
Warsaw, August

free the working people from poverty and oppression.

The active political work of Comrade Tokuda began in 1918, when he took part in the nation-wide "rice riots" which were the first repercussion of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Japan. Later Comrade Tokuda wrote that this initial experience of participation in the mass movement of the people in protest against the policy of hunger and war, was his first schooling in hatred of social injustice.

Comrade Tokuda's consistent struggle for the victory of Marxist ideology in the Japanese working-class movement placed him among the outstanding leaders of this movement. In 1922 he was an active supporter of the idea of holding a congress of the Marxist groups in the country; such a congress was held, and at it the Japanese Communist Party was formed.

One of the founders of the Communist Party, Comrade Tokuda at all stages of his activities waged irreconcilable and persevering struggle for Marxist-Leninist principles, for the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks. Between 1924 and 1927 he led the struggle against the anti-Marxist elements that attempted to destroy the Party. During that period a number of Party policy documents were drafted under his leadership, which formed the basis of the organisational and political strengthening of the Party and the broadening of its activities among the masses.

Comrade Tokuda was repeatedly arrested for his revolutionary work. After his arrest in 1928 he was in prison for 18 years, up to the end of the second world war. His speeches at the trial of the Communist Party in 1931 were a severe indictment of war and fascism.

Many years of imprisonment undermined Comrade Tokuda's health, but did not break his inflexible will and determination to struggle to the end for the cause of his Party and the working class.

After his release in October 1945, Comrade Tokuda immediately set about rebuilding the Party and led its struggle to wipe out fascism and militarism and build a peace-loving, democratic and independent Japan. At the Fourth Party Congress in 1945 he was elected a member of the Political Bureau and General Secretary of the Central Committee and held this position until the end of his life. In 1946 he was elected a deputy to the Japanese Diet.

Comrade Tokuda enjoyed great influence and was loved by the working class and working people of Japan as an ardent

ANNUAL PARTY MEETINGS IN POLAND

Branch annual general meetings and county, city and district conferences are now being held by the Polish United Workers' Party.

They are taking place in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, with an average of 40% of those attending taking part in the discussions. Party members boldly criticise the errors and shortcomings in the work of Party organisations as well as in that of leading Party bodies. They strongly criticise existing shortcomings in enterprises and offices, and also cases of a bureaucratic approach to people. Many of those members who previously preferred to remain silent are now speaking at the meetings.

At the meeting in the foundry shop of the "Rafamel" mill (Opole Region) the Party members sharply criticised their manager for his conciliatory attitude towards those who turned out spoilt work. Since the meeting the quality of production in the shop has been substantially improved and labour productivity increased.

of the Party and the international working people with the international democratic and working-class movement. His message of greetings to the 19th Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Tokuda wrote: "The teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is our Party's guiding star. Our Party and the working class see in the CPSU a loyal friend and teacher."

The unremitting activity of Comrade Tokuda as leader of the Communist Party of Japan, parliamentary deputy and organiser of the working people aroused the hatred of his enemies. In 1948 the hirelings of revenge-seeking and national elements attempted to assassinate him; this attempt evoked the indignation of the working people throughout the world.

In June 1950, at the time of wide repressive measures against the Communist Party in connection with the war in Korea, the Japanese government, on the instructions of the occupation authorities, placed a ban on the social and political activity of Communist Party leaders, with Comrade Tokuda at their head. Under threat of arrest Comrade Tokuda and other Party leaders were once again forced to go underground.

In spite of the difficult conditions of illegality, Comrade Tokuda did not cease his day-to-day work of leading the Party. In 1951 the Central Committee worked out under his guidance a new Party programme "The Immediate Demands of the Communist Party of Japan", which was adopted at the Fifth National Conference of the Party in August 1951. The new programme contained a correct Marxist evaluation of the situation in Japan and outlined the immediate tasks of the Party for rallying all democratic and patriotic forces of the Japanese people in the struggle to achieve national independence and in defence of peace and the democratic rights of the working people.

The entire life and activity of Comrade Tokuda serve as a vivid example of the courage and fearlessness of a proletarian revolutionary, selflessly devoted to the cause of the emancipation of the working class and the great ideas of Communism.

The memory of Comrade Tokuda will live on in the hearts of the Japanese working people and the working masses throughout the world forever.

At a technical equipment plant in Warsaw certain workers were criticised at the meeting because, having fulfilled last year's plan, they had rested on their laurels, which had adversely affected the fulfilment of their plan for this year. At the city conference in Szczecin, Party members working at the shipyard showed how, on the initiative of their Party organisation, the cost of the transport of machines had been cut by five-sixths.

Working peasants display great interest in the annual Party meetings. In many localities of the Szczecin Region, for instance, non-party peasants asked the Party organisations who had been elected, and what tasks had been decided upon.

The annual general meetings show that the majority of Party organisations have made a big stride forward in the struggle for consistent observance of Leninist standards of Party life and for strengthening their ties with the masses of working people in both town and countryside.

The Role of Agrotechnical Councils in Harvesting Higher Yields

The Rumanian Workers' Party and the People's Government have set before the working people of the countryside the task of advancing agricultural production in every way possible. Already this year our country has planned to harvest 10 million tons of maize and wheat. In view of this the Bacău Regional Party Committee has taken measures to ensure that local reserves are investigated and made use of for raising the yields. Meetings of foremost workers in agriculture, held in villages and rural districts on the initiative of the committee, revealed that the introduction of advanced agrotechnical methods in this region will make it possible to harvest per hectare an average of 2,000 kg. of maize, 1,500 kg. of wheat, 1,100 kg. of sunflower seeds, 14,000 kg. of potatoes and 17,000 kg. of sugar beet.

To this end, persistent propaganda on Soviet agrotechnical methods had to be carried on among the masses of the peasants, since agrotechnical study in groups and courses, which draws in only limited numbers of peasants, is no longer adequate.

Taking the peasants' opinion into account, the Regional Party Committee decided to conduct regular weekly agrotechnical conferences of peasants in the electoral districts. These conferences have become known as "agrotechnical councils". The leadership of these is assigned to agronomists or workers who are foremost in production and have a knowledge of agrotechnique. At the meetings peasants, under the guidance of specialists, collectively decide on the agricultural methods to be used in the week ahead.

At present there are some 2,300 agrotechnical councils embracing between 40,000 and 45,000 peasants.

To help the agrotechnical councils, **Steagul Roșu**, the Regional Party Committee newspaper, publishes articles in which the peasants are advised of the best way to utilise natural fertilisers, organise sowing, retention, sow inter-row crops by the square-cluster method, to tend the crops and so on.

The creative activity of agrotechnical councils in popularising advanced Soviet agrotechnical methods has had a prompt effect. This year the collective farms used 25% more natural fertilisers in the fields than in 1954, and over 1,200 hectares were sown by the square-cluster method. For example, the Tibucani collective farm in the Tîrgu Neamț district has sown by the square-cluster

method 82% of the area earmarked for inter-row crops.

The individual peasants take an active part in the work of the agrotechnical councils and use the methods worked out by them. For example, last year peasant Gheorghe Stan, from Urecheni village, Tîrgu Neamț district, sowed only 0.5 hectares by the square-cluster method. In 1955, having become convinced of the advantages of this advanced Soviet method, he used it for sowing the whole of his land to maize. This is not an isolated case; this year individual peasants have sown 53% more of their land by the square-cluster method.

Party branches, as well as executive committees and deputies to the rural people's councils, play an important part in the work of the agrotechnical councils. They constantly direct their activities and persuade individual peasants to take an active part in their work. Especially good results in this respect have been attained by the Party organisations in Sirbi village, Răucești commune and Vinătorul village, in the Tîrgu Neamț district, and also by the executive committees of the rural people's councils of the villages Urecheni and Pastrăreni, as well as in Tîrgu Neamț, in Girov and Dochia villages, Piatra Neamț district, and many others.

Owing to the peasants having taken part in the work of the agrotechnical councils, they carried through ploughing and spring sowing this year with improved organisation and better work. At the same time they became convinced of the advantages of cultivating land by machines, which added impetus to their movement towards collective forms of labour. As a result, in the first quarter of this year alone 11 new agricultural associations and 41 associations for joint cultivation of land were set up.

However, not all villages pay sufficient attention to developing the work of agrotechnical councils. There are some villages which have not yet fully understood the positive role of these councils.

The Bacău Regional Committee of the Party is working to further improve the activity of agrotechnical councils in order to ensure an advance in agricultural production in the region and an average yield of not less than 2,000 kg. of maize per hectare.

Aurel CALIMANDRIC
Secretary, Bacău Regional
Committee of the Rumanian
Workers' Party.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS FOR FREEDOM, PEACE AND A MOVE TO THE LEFT*

The present meeting of the Central Committee follows close upon two important events: on the internal plane—the fall of the Scelba government, on the international plane—the Geneva Conference.

It should not seem strange for us to be speaking of the fall of the Scelba government instead of the formation of the Segni Government. Scelba's fall put an end not only to a government, but also to a system and a policy, whereas the formation of the Segni Government has not marked the beginning of a new course, even though it does not represent a continuation of the old and opens up some new prospects. One thing is clear—Scelba's fall, as Comrade Togliatti has stated, is the good fortune of Italian democracy. But the new policy is still something we must fight for.

The Geneva Conference is indicative of the intention to place relations between states on a new footing and this alone is a positive factor making for the relaxation of tension, and is a sign of the movement towards the elimination of differences. But the goal—peaceful coexistence and international co-operation—is still remote and it too remains something we must fight for.

Apart from these two important facts, glaring political and social contrasts still remain in the country. Anti-communism and the division of the nation have not yet been done away with even though it is expected that the new Government, according to its promises, will not violate the law so crudely. Nor has the social policy of preserving and defending privileges, upon which the government compromise in favour of the industrialist and big landlord organisations rests, been done away with. Despite growing pressure from the people, embracing the rank and file of the government parties, despite the mass struggle involving not only workers and peasants but new sections and categories of the people, despite the widespread unrest, the employers are not giving up their offensive against the freedoms of the workers and the lying conditions of the working people. The more reactionary social and political groups oppose every manifestation of internal and international détente. The fall of Scelba and the Geneva Conference were a blow to these forces, but we are still far from seeing them placed in a position in which they would be powerless to do any more harm.

On the whole, therefore, the present state of affairs is characterised by an intensification of the political and social struggle, by some development, although uncertain, of the internal and international situation and by the possibility of achieving concrete results through political activity. Some of the events of these past months, such as Gronchi's election to the presidency, the fall of Scelba, the new orientation of the political groups, the united struggle and the fact that the move to the left is becoming a matter of current concern, show the possibility of obtaining concrete results and successes which, naturally, should not be overestimated, but should nevertheless not be underestimated. In the situation which is slowly and painfully developing, every step, however slight, is of great importance. This makes it necessary to be able to perceive the positive elements in any situation, to be able to make use of the opportunities for concrete and direct political action: propaganda and agitation of a general character are no longer sufficient; what is needed is political action closely connected with each peculiarity of the situation, with each moment of it.

order not to leave the field clear for the government and its friends to do as they like undisturbed, and moreover in order to force them to change their course. And on this plane political activity and the struggle for the demands of the broad masses should supplement and support each other.

Our struggle is based on the demand for a move to the left. It may appear that this formula is a recent one, but its essence has been the basis of our activity ever since the problem arose of recreating the people's unity destroyed by the Christian Democratic Party. Back in 1948 Comrade Togliatti set the task of "rousing all the forces in Italian society that are capable of uniting", in order to "prevent Italy's conversion into a reactionary police state", in order to form "a government of mutual understanding and common action" capable of developing "energetic activity for introducing the social reforms that no longer brook delay". In January 1954 Togliatti declared: "We are prepared for meetings, discussions, mutual understanding, for common action. Let people capable of doing the same come forward in other parties as well."

This line of policy has never been changed; on the contrary, it has steadily been enriched and made more definite. In their turn, the Socialists made a substantial contribution to the development of this line with their slogan of "the socialist alternative".

Now, however, with the fall of the Scelba government, there has arisen the possibility of accomplishing at least a move to the left if not quite a "socialist alternative". The question we are posing is not one of participating in the government and not even one of certain government formulas, but one of a new policy that would be based upon respect for the Constitution, that would put an end to every form of discrimination on the part of the government and the employers, would contribute to a détente and would be guided by the President's Address and the people's desire for the regeneration of the country, so that such a political change would lead to a corresponding social shift benefiting the people. A government of this kind is both necessary and possible.

But the move to the left remains a goal to be fought for. Not always has the Party mobilised its forces on the necessary scale and with the required enthusiasm, even though there have been exceptions such as the mobilisation of broad sections of working people for struggle (farmhands, sharecroppers, schoolteachers). The slogan of a move to the left has not always been taken outside the sterile parliamentary game, and made something to fight for. The mass organisations have not always taken account of the fact that the political crisis was developing around the fundamental problems of the workers' struggle and the structure of the national economy, thus favouring the development of action by the masses for their demands.

To win the fight for a move to the left, it is necessary to get rid of any vestiges of political uncertainty in regard to it. On this question there definitely cannot be and are no differences between Communists and Socialists. Political agreement between the Communist and Socialist Parties does not and must not arise on the basis of the unity of action pact, understood as something abstract, springing from the "contractual obligations" of the two parties; it arises and is renewed on

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Luigi Longo
Deputy General Secretary,
Italian Communist Party

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alternative, nor is the Communist Party working only for the participation of Communists and Socialists in the Government, as two diametrically opposed lines of action. In these past weeks Communists and Socialists have both been working simply for a move to the left, which in the course of its development comprises both lines of action. For the time being, however, the move to the left signifies something much less. It merely means creating opportunities for rapprochement and co-operation between all the social and political forces of the people and does not take the form of a demand for any particular government combination, it merely means that the agents of the industrialist and big landlord organisations should be excluded from the Government, to enable it to follow a policy different from the present one. As the situation develops it will be possible to fight for a socialist alternative and for the participation of Socialists and Communists in the government. The important thing is not to determine abstractly which demand is the most advanced, but to select that which in the given circumstances can be most effective in advancing the entire movement and providing new possibilities for development.

The move to the left cannot today be the aim of the struggle of the Socialists or Communists alone, or even of the Socialists and Communists together. It is the aim of all the forces of the people: Communist and Socialist, Social Democrat and Republican, Christian Democrat and Catholic, each of which must work in its own sphere and all of them together in the general situation.

It is certainly not the intention of the Socialist Party to disrupt its solidarity and unity of action with Communist working people. And this is not because a united action pact stands in the way—that would be but a very frail barrier—but because the Socialist Party is indeed socialist and is tied up with the broad masses of the working people and therefore cannot renounce its political origins, its very nature and its social bonds; it cannot commit suicide. Failure to see this means understanding nothing of political dialectics.

The formation of the Segni Government did not resolve the political crisis caused by the divorce between the actions of the Government and the desires of the broad working masses. The new Government came into being with the support of the industrialist and big landlord organisations, at the will of Fanfani and Saragat. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that there is nothing new about this. Not only did Scelba fall, but his successor, if he has not rejected the whole of the past, has nevertheless not declared that he means to carry on with the same policy and in the same spirit. It is likewise a fact that the Segni Government cannot do everything it likes or that its friends would like.

The crisis is continuing and makes itself felt. If the Government should want to carry through the compromise it agreed to in the interests of the monopolies, it will not have an easy time of it. If, on the other hand, it should want to satisfy some social demands certain of its representatives talk about, it will definitely have to look for support not to its allies but to its opponents. And in this too, we shall urge it on, making each elected representative face his

showed that the time had come for Italy too to rid herself of the bonds and the military burden imposed upon it by foreigners. But our Foreign Minister at first supported the strange thesis that Italy is neither sufficiently small nor sufficiently big to follow a policy independent of the military blocs and then drew from the two events in question a conclusion completely at variance with logic. Our rulers asserted that the détente at our frontiers does not lessen but increases the threat to our security and even went so far as to offer hospitality on Italian territory to the American troops that will be withdrawn from Austria. This is one more proof of extreme subordination. The new Government has changed neither the old Foreign Minister nor the old policy.

At a time when all the leaders of the capitalist countries are re-examining their views, when the heads of the Four Great Powers have been meeting in Geneva and manifesting their good will, when Einstein's message and the appeal of prominent scientists of world repute are focusing the attention of all people on the necessity of removing forever the danger of atomic war, when in Italy itself influential people of all trends are giving their support to this idea and Italian peace supporters have added millions of signatures to the hundreds of millions collected throughout the world—at a time when all this is taking place our rulers look on indifferently and go right on as though nothing had happened.

From Helsinki to Geneva there was only one question on the agenda: to establish, at long last, a regime of international coexistence based on atomic and general disarmament and on collective security. From this orientation of the peoples and the statesmen Italy only stands to gain. But our rulers, it seems, are likely to lose all.

If, thanks to the Geneva Conference, there has now emerged in the world a move towards the relaxation of tension and a political course designed to effect this relaxation and achieve coexistence, then nobody can deny that the credit for this belongs to the Soviet Union.

The Geneva Conference therefore signifies a great triumph for the peace policy of the USSR and at the same time for the champions of peace all over the world who since 1951, first in Berlin and then in Helsinki, Vienna and Budapest, have, with the support of hundreds of millions of people, been demanding such a meeting.

As for Italy and her foreign policy, it is a fact that on June 7, 1953, the Italian electorate responded to the appeal of Comrade Togliatti to vote "in such a way as to enable Italy to have a government which would actively unite its own efforts with those of all who work for the relaxation of international tension and for peace". But the most reactionary groups which head the Christian Democratic Party do not yet allow the formation of such a government. In this respect the Segni Government offers no better guarantees than did that of Scelba.

Hence, in defence of peace, too, it is necessary to struggle against this government—for a change in foreign policy, for a move to the left in all matters concerning international relations.

In the new conditions the peace initiative can and must be made part of the national policy, developing on both the parliamentary and the government planes and oriented towards all political sections, especially towards the Catholic masses and their cadres, who are in ferment and among whom various trends are developing that cannot be allowed to peter out. It is not by chance that the Appeal of the recent World Peace Assembly in Helsinki concludes with the statement that "the work of peace can at last be achieved if the forces of peace which set themselves the same objectives—in particular, the movements for peace and



the square-cluster method. For example, the Tibucani collective farm in the Tîrgu Neamţ district has sown by the square-cluster

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The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam displays much concern for raising the population's cultural level. Photo: A people's bookshop, recently opened in Hanoi. Customers are looking at the latest publications.

struggle, by some development, although uncertain, of the internal and international situation and by the possibility of achieving concrete results through political activity. Some of the events of these past months, such as Gronchi's election to the presidency, the fall of Scelba, the new orientation of the political groups, the united struggle and the fact that the move to the left is becoming a matter of current concern, show the possibility of obtaining concrete results and successes which, naturally, should not be overestimated, but should nevertheless not be underestimated. In the situation which is slowly and painfully developing, every step, however slight, is of great importance. This makes it necessary to be able to perceive the positive elements in any situation, to be able to make use of the opportunities for concrete and direct political action: propaganda and agitation of a general character are no longer sufficient; what is needed is political action closely connected with each peculiarity of the situation, with each moment of it.

We, the Party, are faced with the task of taking action, of influencing the unrest and the new elements through our political activity, in order to give them greater strength and stability, in

* From Comrade Luigi Longo's report to the meeting of the C.C. of the Italian Communist Party on July 23, 1955.

Party mobilised its forces on the necessary scale and with the required enthusiasm, even though there have been exceptions such as the mobilisation of broad sections of working people for struggle (farmhands, sharecroppers, schoolteachers). The slogan of a move to the left has not always been taken outside the sterile parliamentary game, and made something to fight for. The mass organisations have not always taken account of the fact that the political crisis was developing around the fundamental problems of the workers' struggle and the structure of the national economy, thus favouring the development of action by the masses for their demands.

To win the fight for a move to the left, it is necessary to get rid of any vestiges of political uncertainty in regard to it. On this question there definitely cannot be and are no differences between Communists and Socialists. Political agreement between the Communist and Socialist Parties does not and must not arise on the basis of the unity of action pact, understood as something abstract, springing from the "contractual obligations" of the two parties; it arises and is renewed on the basis of and through political action.

The Socialist Party has its characteristics, its specific features in action, its policy; the questions which arise as the situation develops are solved by the two working-class parties by means of political action. Today the Socialist Party is not taking action only for a socialist

The formation of the Segni Government did not resolve the political crisis caused by the divorce between the actions of the Government and the desires of the broad working masses. The new Government came into being with the support of the industrialist and big landlord organisations, at the will of Fanfani and Saragat. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that there is nothing new about this. Not only did Scelba fall, but his successor, if he has not rejected the whole of the past, has nevertheless not declared that he means to carry on with the same policy and in the same spirit. It is likewise a fact that the Segni Government cannot do everything it likes or that its friends would like.

The crisis is continuing and makes itself felt. If the Government should want to carry through the compromise it agreed to in the interests of the monopolies, it will not have an easy time of it. If, on the other hand, it should want to satisfy some social demands certain of its representatives talk about, it will definitely have to look for support not to its allies but to its opponents. And in this, too, we shall urge it on, making each elected representative face his conscience and each Catholic voter weigh the promises and actions of his deputy.

Two major events in Europe—the Austrian State Treaty and the successful outcome of the Soviet-Yugoslav talks—showed that even small states can have an independent and autonomous policy. By lessening military tension on our frontiers they also

able Italy to have a government which would actively unite its own efforts with those of all who work for the relaxation of international tension and for peace". But the most reactionary groups which head the Christian Democratic Party do not yet allow the formation of such a government. In this respect the Segni Government offers no better guarantees than did that of Scelba.

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But our work must be conducted not only among the forces which already follow us, so that they become better orientated, but also among all political forces, among the rank and file of other parties,

(Continued on page 6)

ALL-CONQUERING TACTICS OF LENINISM

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Publication of V. I. Lenin's Book
"Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution"

This year progressive people throughout the world commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907, the first people's revolution to take place in the era of imperialism, a revolution which has had an enormous influence on the working-class movement in Western Europe and throughout the world and on the development of the national-liberation struggle waged by oppressed peoples. Lenin's brilliant work **Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution** was published at a moment when the revolution in Russia was developing and deepening.

This book was the political preparation for a Marxist party of a new type. It theoretically substantiated the decisions adopted by the Party's Third Congress, the strategic plan and tactical line of the Bolsheviks in the revolution. Having shattered the anti-Marxist line of the Mensheviks and their supporters—the opportunist leaders in the Second International—on the question of the theory and tactics of the Party in the revolution, Lenin armed the Russian and international proletariat with a powerful ideological weapon in the fight for the revolutionary transformation of society, enriched Marxism with a new theory of revolution and laid the basis of the revolutionary tactics of the Bolshevik Party, with the help of which the proletariat of Russia, in alliance with the working peasants, achieved victory over capitalism in 1917. The ideas expounded in Lenin's work on the tactics of the Marxist party have exercised, and continue to exercise, a most beneficial influence on the entire development of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses the world over.

In **Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution** Lenin, for the first time in the history of Marxism analysed the specific features of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism, of its driving forces and perspectives. As we know, in all preceding bourgeois revolutions in the West it was the bourgeoisie that played the leading role because the working class was then small and unorganised,

and did not have its own party. The situation changed radically at the new, highest and last stage in the development of capitalism—imperialism, into which capitalism entered at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. By this time the proletariat had grown considerably, had become organised and more politically conscious.

Having scientifically analysed the social, economic and political features of social development and basing himself on the experience of the world and Russian revolutionary movement, Lenin came to the conclusion that in the era of imperialism the role of the working class in the entire socio-political life of society had grown considerably, and that by virtue of its very position the working class must become the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, its chief driving force. A particular responsibility devolved on the proletariat of Russia, to which the centre of the revolutionary movement had by then shifted: it was called upon to be the first in the world to head the people's revolution, to become its leader and guide. The Russian proletariat had all the necessary prerequisites for this. It was the most advanced and the only consistently revolutionary class and was more interested than the bourgeoisie in the complete victory of the revolution, as only by such a victory would it acquire political freedom, wide opportunities to organise and the opportunity to develop the struggle for proceeding to a socialist revolution. A great advantage of the proletariat in Russia over that of Western Europe was the fact that it possessed its own Marxist party founded by Lenin and free from reformism and opportunism, a party of social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of such a party the proletariat could weld itself into a united and independent political force, successfully direct the general democratic revolutionary movement, consciously put forward its demands and clearly visualise its tasks and aims in the struggle.

The fact that the proletariat had every possibility of becoming the leader of the revolution was one of immense importance. Lenin taught us, however, that possibility was not yet reality. For the proletariat to become the actual leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it must have a reliable ally interested in a decisive victory over tsardom and prepared to fight under the leadership of the proletariat. Lenin considered that the peasantry was such an ally. In organising and strengthening the alliance with the peasants, the proletariat had to force out of the arena and isolate the liberal bourgeoisie and deprive it of the opportunity of beheading the revolution.

Basing himself on the experience of revolutionary struggle in the countryside, Lenin showed that the times when the peasantry docilely followed the bourgeoisie in revolutions had passed forever. Under the conditions of imperialism the interests of the peasantry in bourgeois-democratic revolutions merge with those of the proletariat and from an ally of the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, as a class, is converted into the natural ally of the proletariat. As for the Russian peasants, being vitally interested in abolishing the landlords' estates and in order, as Lenin put it, to "raise themselves out of the mire of semi-serfdom, out of the gloom of oppression and servitude" they fervently supported the bourgeois-democratic revolution, knowing that only its complete victory could help them achieve these aims. All this radically changed the correlation of forces in the revolution, and created the proper conditions for its victory.

Lenin's ideas on the hegemony of the proletariat and on the worker-peasant alliance were of immense importance. At that time they established a dividing line between the revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks and the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks and the parties of the Second International, who did not wish to reckon with the new historical conditions and reiterated that, inasmuch as the revolution in Russia would be a bourgeois one, its leader must be the bourgeoisie,

and the proletariat should rest content with being its appendage, its assistant.

The ideas of Lenin on the driving forces of the people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism, voiced by him 50 years ago, are of immense importance for the activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist as well as in the colonial and dependent countries. The programmes of the Communist Parties of Japan, Brazil, Spain and other countries point out that in the liberation struggle the main forces are the workers and peasants, who compose the overwhelming majority of the population, and the leadership of this struggle belongs to the proletariat.

In his work **Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution**, Lenin, proceeding from the concrete conditions in Russia, elaborated in a thorough and new way, the question of the means of struggle of the workers and peasants, who are called upon to ensure the victory of the revolution. He showed that an important means for overthrowing tsardom and achieving a democratic republic was an armed uprising of the people, an uprising which should lead not to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as was the case in former bourgeois revolutions, but to the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, whose political organ would be a provisional revolutionary government relying on a revolutionary army consisting of the armed people and of tsarist troops prepared to go over to their side. Proceeding from this premise, Lenin deemed it necessary for the Bolsheviks unflinchingly and persistently to prepare the masses for an armed uprising. To release the revolutionary initiative of the masses, Lenin put forward the following slogans: mass political strikes; immediate realisation, in a revolutionary way, of an 8-hour working day; organisation of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry out democratic changes in the countryside, including confiscation of the landlords' estates, and the arming of the workers. As we know, these slogans played a decisive part in stepping up the revolutionary action of the masses in Russia. Their application ensured the preparation of the armed uprising of December 1905, which was the culminating point in the development of the first Russian Revolution. Despite the defeat of the 1905-1907 Revolution, the experience gained helped the Russian proletariat and the poor peasantry to achieve

victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Lenin's great service consists in his having worked out in **Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution** the Party tactics not only for the bourgeois revolution, but also for the period of transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. He stressed that immediately after the fulfilment of democratic tasks, the proletariat would have to begin the struggle for the socialist revolution. Basing himself on Marx' thesis of permanent revolution and of the necessity of combining the peasant revolutionary movement with the proletarian revolution, and having made a thorough analysis of economic and political development in Russia, Lenin created a new theory of socialist revolution, introducing, as an indispensable factor, the alliance of the proletariat and the semi-proletarian elements of town and countryside. This new theory of socialist revolution did not yet contain any direct conclusion regarding the possibility of a victory of Socialism in one country taken singly, although it did contain all, or nearly all, the fundamental elements necessary for drawing such a conclusion. As we know, Lenin did this somewhat later.

In working out Marxist tactics, Lenin emphasized that the emancipation of the workers could only be effected by the workers themselves. It is therefore the task of a proletarian party constantly to strengthen and extend its ties with the working class, unceasingly to enhance its political consciousness and organisation, to educate the working class in the spirit of the great ideas of proletarian internationalism and confidence in the rightness of the cause for which it is fighting. The Party, Lenin pointed out, must present its tasks in a wider and bolder fashion, must see to it that its slogans are always in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serving them as a beacon illuminating the shortest and most direct path to complete, unconditional and decisive victory.

Of great significance are Lenin's teachings on the necessity of always posing political tasks with due regard for the concrete situation and of being able to unite all the available democratic forces around the

slogans of the party of the working class. In this work Lenin emphatically opposes any dogmatic approach to the solution of problems arising out of the class struggle, and to the organisation of the proletarian and peasant forces. He teaches the Party to draw to its side not only the forces taking the socialist standpoint, but also those who, though differing from the Party's long-term aims, are prepared to fight jointly with it for certain immediate objectives. "The absence of unity on questions of Socialism and in the struggle for Socialism", underlines Lenin, "does not prevent unity of will on questions of democracy and the struggle for a republic."

Today these teachings of the great Lenin are helping the Communist and Workers' Parties in capitalist countries in their fight for the interests of the working class and the entire working people, and for the unity of all progressive forces.

Fifty years have passed since Lenin's brilliant book **Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution** first appeared. Since then, Lenin's ideas on the tactics of the Marxist party, developed further in some of his other works, as well as in the works of his great disciple, Stalin, and in the decisions of the CPSU, were brilliantly confirmed in Russia, where the working masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew capitalism and are now successfully building a communist society. These ideas, tested throughout long years of struggle by the working people against their exploiters, have been embodied in the revolutionary practice of the Communists of great China, of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia. The world-wide historical significance of these ideas is manifested in the developing national-liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries, in the struggle being waged by the proletariat and working masses of the capitalist countries for a lasting peace, democratic freedoms and national independence.

The Communist and Workers' Parties creatively apply and develop Leninist strategy and tactics, adapting them to the specific conditions obtaining in their countries. Lenin's ideas illumine their path of struggle and victory.

K. ZARODOV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS FOR FREEDOM, PEACE AND A MOVE TO THE LEFT

(Continued from page 5)

especially of the Christian Democratic Party. Is there any possibility of this? The answer can only be positive. There are many facts which prove that and which result, in particular, from an analysis of the significance and variety of the left trends in the Christian Democratic Party.

The rank and file and also the cadres of left Catholic trends are levelling well-grounded accusations against the ruling class of industrialists and big monopolies. They are condemning (as was the case at the recent conference in Florence) the fact that "the state and the organs of society are placed at the service of the economic barons". They are demanding nationalisation of the Montecatini chemical monopoly and the monopolist electric power groups. They are protesting against the regime of exploitation instituted in the enterprises, which affects Catholic workers too. And because they are weary of useless protests, they are beginning to raise the question of revolutionising the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party in order to wrest it from the grip of the more reactionary groups. There is also arising the political problem of seeking and establishing new alliances with the forces which give expression to the demands of the proletarian masses and the people. It is to stop this ferment that the Christian Democratic Party's Secretary Fanfani has taken repressive measures.

If we want our dialogue to be fruitful, we must have a deep knowledge of the character and significance of the various forces working within the Christian Democratic Party. The different Christian Democratic and Catholic forces can now be classified as follows: the conservative forces at the head, the popular forces which have faith in the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party, the popular forces which do not have faith in the leadership and think to alter the party's orientation from within despite the existing division of the national democratic forces; the popular forces which believe that new alliances are needed to change the orientation of the Christian Democratic Party.

We rejoice at all signs of democratic progress within the Christian Democratic ranks. But we must see to it that every contradiction between word and deed, between promise and conclusion, is brought out, for it is not enough to level accusations—it is necessary to act; it is not enough to have a good programme—there must be the social forces capable of seeing to it that this programme is carried out, and it is not enough to indicate these forces—they must be united, mobilised and set in action.

At present these questions are being energetically discussed in the branch organisations of the Christian Democratic Party, and this is being done without explicit anti-Communist polemics, without absurd prejudices, and sometimes even with sympathy for the decisions which we suggest.

And it is not only among Catholics, but among Social Democrats and Republicans as well, that voices are rising in support of a move to the left. This confirms the fact that we have a great deal to do in this highly important direction to complete the move to the left and the struggle for a new policy successfully.

In the enterprises, where the employers have not ceased their offensive, the workers have begun to offer more energetic and militant resistance. Numerous examples bear this out. If it is true that there are

even extended and deepened them, while in other cases they have retreated somewhat. In the main the organised forces of the working-class movement and its influence have not diminished but have grown; the number of organised working people has increased and so has the number of votes polled by the democratic forces; its militancy and readiness to sacrifice have been strengthened. This is equally true of the trade unions, despite the heavy blow dealt to the effectiveness of the labour movement by the trade union split benefiting the employers.

If in these ten years the correlation of forces between the labour movement and the employers has changed, it is due not so much to the weakening of the former as to the strengthening of the latter, who are being more and more openly backed by the Government authorities. But it is just this that emphasizes the significance that political struggle has for the labour movement, that is, a general struggle for a government that would force the employers to respect the law, that would itself recognise and compel others to recognise national solidarity as a duty.

We are now faced with a situation of this kind: whereas the struggle of the working people in the factories and other places of work has become more difficult, new prospects of success have opened up in the political sphere. The difficulties in the factories arise from increased exploitation and the arbitrary actions of the employers, but it is just this state of affairs that increases the hostility of the working people, brings greater privations to citizens and enhances the general consciousness that the present situation is unjust and intolerable. Consequently, all this broadens and strengthens the basis for political struggle as a whole. Therein lies the significance of the fresh ferment developing in all the political movements. And since it was the political activities of the Government that enabled the employers to bring increased political pressure to bear, the struggle of the people is developing not only against the employers but also against the Government.

Our task is to encourage and guide the development of this popular reaction in both directions, not in one only. Hence the significance of our political struggle for a move to the left. Hence also the significance of our work in the factories to support the general political actions in the country and in Parliament with actions by the workers.

It is necessary to refute the insinuation—in which our enemies are interested—that we are retreating in the factories. Certainly in certain factories we did retreat, and in some of them even to a serious extent. But those retreats are in no way indicative of the general situation. We retain our positions and in some cases are even improving them. Sometimes the number of votes polled for us increases very markedly—sometimes reaching 80% or more. This is to be seen even in factories where the employers and the splitting organisations are energetically pushing their combined activities.

In recent times we have seen heroic struggles in Italy. There have been those of the building and metal workers of Rome, the miners of Valdarno and Monte Amiata; the unquestionably great and incomparable struggle of the dockers of Genoa, struggles by the textile workers of Lombardy and Piedmont, and others. Some of these sections of working people who fought for various particular and general demands, for higher wages, for work or in defence of trade union rights and freedoms, were successful, some of them very much so. In the countryside hundreds of thousands

overcome, and despite the fact that the employers are still continuing their policy of discrimination, corruption and abasement of the vanguard of the working class. It is therefore essential to continue by every possible means to develop actions in defence of freedom in the enterprises.

But the demands for freedom in the enterprises must be supplemented in the course of the struggle by the "traditional" demands of the trade union organisations, by demands for higher wages by the workers of a particular factory, category or combine.

As is to be seen, both trade union and Party work has of late been activated to some degree. The government crisis has given new breadth to the activity of Party organisations and enabled them to overcome their inertia.

Even so, however, certain difficulties were to be observed in developing the work because of unexpected circumstances. During the government crisis the usual subjects and formulations were repeated, and sometimes repeated mechanically, at meetings and conferences and in the course of other activities. Not always were the political questions that had to be emphasized singled out sufficiently quickly—the questions of putting an end to discrimination, of forming a move-to-the-left government, of putting an end to the four-party coalition, of excluding the liberals from the government, inasmuch as they are agents of the industrialist and big landlord organisations, and of satisfying the social demands which are most popular among the rank and file of the parties that have two-thirds of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Similarly, united action in relation to other trends of public opinion, to the leaders, groups and sections of other parties was not always conducted on the necessary scale and with the required efficacy by all our organisations.

These weak points must be noted alongside the immense work accomplished in conducting thousands of meetings, conferences, rallies and other activities, in order to demand of all Party organisations that they revise and improve their methods of work, in order to make the Party more and more capable of carrying out the ever-new and more intricate tasks with which it is confronted. Our inner-Party life must be enriched and made still more democratic, we must get all our two-and-a-half million members to take part in the life of the Party and in the political life of the country, we must see to it that the branches and sections of the Party become centres of political life and must strengthen the political contacts between the federations and sections and also between the Party centre and the federations.

There are 9,586 sections in Italy (6,651 of them with their own premises) and 1,578 Party groups. This is a powerful network. It is the duty of the federation committees to ascertain how these sections respond to national and local political problems, what initiative they take, which of them are able to cope with the tasks of the Party and which of them require assistance. The Party carries out its political line only if the sections understand it and carry it out.

The political situation at home and on the international plane continues to develop. This is a difficult and serious situation but it offers opportunities for favourable development of every kind. For that reason the actions the Party succeeds in carrying out for achieving unity of the people, effecting a move to the left and introducing a social

Statement by the Communist Party of Syria on the Economic Situation in the Country

The Communist Party of Syria has issued an important statement on the country's economic difficulties. It explains these difficulties mainly by the actions of imperialist elements and the machinations of certain neighbouring countries such as Iran and Turkey, which, while intensifying political pressure on Syria with the object of forcing it to join the Turkey-Iraq pact, also resort to economic measures by closing their markets to Syrian goods.

The other reason for the difficult economic situation, the statement continues, is that Syria's economic relations are restricted by the capitalist countries, which often export to Syria goods already produced in that country to a value which is several times greater than that of imports from Syria. The economic situation in the country has also been aggravated by severe droughts.

The Communist Party calls upon the Syrian Government to overcome its economic difficulties by taking vigorous measures to end the arbitrary actions of foreign banks, to establish trade relations between Syria and all countries, irrespective of their internal systems, to immediately establish firm economic relations and conclude agreements with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other democratic countries on the basis of mutual advantage and equality, and not to resort to foreign loans which lead to "political enslavement and loss of sovereignty and independence for Syria".

Hanoi's Achievements in Education

The education authorities in Hanoi have issued a report on the achievements of state and private primary and secondary schools in the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam since its liberation in October 1954.

Despite the numerous difficulties, however, the education authorities succeeded in re-opening all state and private primary schools ten days after the liberation of the city. By the end of the study year, the state primary and secondary schools had 18,290 pupils, i.e. 25% more for secondary schools and 15% more for primary schools than before the liberation. The number of pupils in private primary and secondary schools has risen by 75% since the liberation and now totals 16,141. There are now 30% more teachers in the state and private schools.

The educational authorities have improved the study curricula, introduced new, democratic methods of teaching and established mutual assistance funds to help poor pupils and children whose parents have been forcibly deported to South Viet Nam.

Cuts in Retail Prices in KPDR

To further raise the material and cultural level of the population, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, on the basis of the pro-



Fujiyama is the sacred mountain of the Japanese people. From time immemorial pilgrimages have been made there from all parts of the country. The U.S. military command, ignoring national sentiments, have set up a firing-ground on the mountainside.

The Japanese people object to the establishment of foreign military bases in their country and as one man demand the removal of the firing-ground from the slopes of Fujiyama. Photo: Sit-down strike of Japanese working people on the firing-ground.

POLITICAL NOTES

In Defiance of Reason

Seoul newspapers have recently been full of reluctant admissions of the fact that ruling quarters in South Korea are plunged in "gloom". The top experts in the Ministry of "National Defence" are racking their brains to find ways and means of raising additional funds for financing ten reserve divisions, but all to no avail.

For two and a half months now South Korea's "National Assembly" has been wrestling with the problem of how to balance its 1955 budget, which estimates expenditure as more than double that of last year. To expand the army and the police force and maintain a top-heavy bureaucratic apparatus takes quite a bit of cash. The Assembly has twice prolonged its present session in the effort to arrive at a decision on this matter.

To remedy its financial affairs in some way, the Government has decided to resort to "extreme measures". They are auctioning school buildings and school property in various parts of South Korea. So schools are being closed down and handed over for use as barracks and military dumps. All kinds of enterprises, structures and pieces of land are being sold. Taxes, already sky-high, are rocketing still higher. Prices are soaring—they are today more than 15 times higher than in 1947. Millions of banknotes are being issued with nothing at all to back them.

Having failed to make ends meet the Finance Minister has resigned.

At one time a great fuss was made about making South Korea the "shopwindow of the free world". This idea has burst like a bubble.

After the war, industry was further contracted and agriculture fell into a still worse decline. Syngman Rhee was recently forced to admit that not a single factory

has been built in South Korea in the past nine years. The newspaper Choson Ilbo reports that in the Seoul area alone 308 medium-sized and small enterprises of various kinds, including textile, chemical and food factories, were closed down last year. Present-day reality in South Korea is ruin, poverty, disease and hunger, the direct result of the unrestrained arms drive spurred on by certain circles in the United States.

No less than 80% of the population, the South Korean press reports, is undernourished and more than 4,400,000 are starving. By February this year there were two million unemployed. One Indian newspaper recently wrote that children were roaming the streets of Seoul and other towns in search of food and shelter. They rummage in the dustbins near messrooms and greedily devour any crusts they happen to find.

The Geneva Conference has resulted in a relaxation of international tension and is bound to foster an atmosphere of confidence among the peoples. This manifestly goes against the grain of the Syngman Rhee clique, which continues to talk about "building up" South Korea's armed forces, not content with the fact that in the two years since the armistice was signed these have increased from 16 to 31 divisions. In defiance of reason, Syngman Rhee again recently announced his intention of beginning a "crusade to the North". Associated Press reports in this connection that Mr. Dulles, U.S. Foreign Secretary, stated at a press conference that the U.S. would not uphold the South Korean Government's intention.

Is it not clear that Syngman Rhee's adventurous policy, a policy ignoring real facts, is inevitably doomed to failure.

to have a good programme—there must be the social forces capable of seeing to it that this programme is carried out, and it is not enough to indicate these forces—they must be united, mobilised and set in action.

At present these questions are being energetically discussed in the branch organisations of the Christian Democratic Party, and this is being done without explicit anti-Communist polemics, without absurd prejudices, and sometimes even with sympathy for the decisions which we suggest.

And it is not only among Catholics, but among Social Democrats and Republicans as well, that voices are rising in support of a move to the left. This confirms the fact that we have a great deal to do in this highly important direction to complete the move to the left and the struggle for a new policy successfully.

In the enterprises, where the employers have not ceased their offensive, the workers have begun to offer more energetic and militant resistance. Numerous examples bear this out. If it is true that there are many difficulties in the present situation, it is likewise true that these difficulties do not make struggle impossible and do not justify the pessimistic and sceptical moods that are manifest here and there.

These moods are seen to be even less justified when the developments of the past ten years are examined from a generally pessimistic point of view. Much has changed since 1945, but it would be utterly erroneous to maintain that the working-class movement has lost ground. On the whole, the Party and the working-class forces have not grown weaker; in general they have maintained their positions and on some sectors

—in which our forces are interested—that we are retreating in the factories. Certainly in certain factories we did retreat, and in some of them even to a serious extent. But those retreats are in no way indicative of the general situation. We retain our positions and in some cases are even improving them. Sometimes the number of votes polled for us increases very markedly—sometimes reaching 80% or more. This is to be seen even in factories where the employers and the splitting organisations are energetically pushing their combined activities.

In recent times we have seen heroic struggles in Italy. There have been those of the building and metal workers of Rome, the miners of Valdarno and Monte Amiata; the unquestionably great and incomparable struggle by the dockers of Genoa, struggles by the textile workers of Lombardy and Piedmont, and others. Some of these sections of working people who fought for various particular and general demands, for higher wages, for work or in defence of trade union rights and freedoms, were successful, some of them very much so. In the countryside hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers carried on a big struggle for "the just cause" (the right not to be driven from the land by their landlords without good reason—Ed.). Stubborn struggle won the women working in the rice fields a great victory—higher wages and recognition of their moral rights.

These and other examples show that advances have been made in the sphere of trade union activity, although these do not give grounds for assuming that the distressing state of passivity that existed in the early months of the year has already been

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The political situation at home and on the international plane continues to develop. This is a difficult and serious situation but it offers opportunities for favourable development of every kind. For that reason the actions the Party succeeds in carrying out for achieving unity of the people, effecting a move to the left and introducing a social policy of regeneration will be decisive. There is no room for pessimism, just as there is no room for light-minded optimism. We must leave room only for political action, for propaganda and agitation work, for the work of explaining, uniting and mobilising, for the work of organising the struggle. And into this work we must draw all our Party members, all our forces. In this manner and in this spirit we will be able to give vigour and breadth to the struggle for freedom in the enterprises, to the struggle for peace and the relaxation of international tension.

to extend 10,000 pupils to primary school buildings and school buildings of South Korea. So schools various parts of South Korea. So schools are being closed down and handed over for use as barracks and military dumps. All kinds of enterprises, structures and pieces of land are being sold. Taxes, already sky-high, are rocketing still higher. Prices are soaring—they are today more than 15 times higher than in 1947. Millions of banknotes are being issued with nothing at all to back them.

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Cuts in Retail Prices in KPDR

To further raise the material and cultural level of the population, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, on the basis of the progress made in the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, decided to reduce state retail prices on a number of manufactured goods as from August 1.

Cuts in the prices of cotton fabrics range from 11% to 31%, silk fabrics from 15% to 46%, underclothing from 10% to 40%, footwear made of mixed materials from 11% to 20%, tobacco products from 17% to 30%, books and periodicals from 25% to 37%, and so on.

Having failed to make ends meet the Finance Minister has resigned. At one time a great fuss was made about making South Korea the "shopwindow of the free world". This idea has burst like a bubble. After the war, industry was further contracted and agriculture fell into a still worse decline. Syngman Rhee was recently forced to admit that not a single factory

bound to prosper among the peoples. This manifestly goes against the grain of the Syngman Rhee clique, which continues to talk about "building up" South Korea's armed forces, not content with the fact that in the two years since the armistice was signed these have increased from 16 to 31 divisions. In defiance of reason, Syngman Rhee again recently announced his intention of beginning a "crusade to the North". Associated Press reports in this connection that Mr. Dulles, U.S. Foreign Secretary, stated at a press conference that the U.S. would not uphold the South Korean Government's intention.

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Jan MAREK

Facts Expose...

In the Field of Education

Radical Socialist Jean Berthoin, French Minister of Public Education, not long ago officially opened the "International High School" at Fontainebleau for the children of parents who are working at NATO headquarters. The building of 20 new classrooms is expected to be completed by the beginning of October—in record-breaking time—be-

cause, as the France Presse agency puts it, "many American pupils will have arrived by then". Bearing in mind the fact that pupils in French primary and preparatory schools need some 27,000 new classrooms, one feels that this zeal of French ruling circles to educate the children of U.S. generals is somewhat misplaced.

the amalgamation of the SIMCA and Ford companies, writes *La Renaissance de Seine-et-Oise*, the management of a works in Poissy decided to make the schedule of work even more difficult and simultaneously to abolish the bonuses previously paid to compensate for the difficulty. It was only by a unanimous strike called by a section of the CGT that the workers succeeded in getting these measures withdrawn.

The French workers are well aware that for effective results in their fight they need growing unity. To be strong in the fight against exploitation, the Communist papers continually stress, the workers must unite. This truth is becoming clear to increasing numbers of working people.

Articles showing the real position of the working class substantially enrich the content of Party newspapers and to a great degree help to step up the work of the worker-correspondents and increase their numbers. The editorial boards of these newspapers receive numerous letters proposing that detailed accounts should be published about the workers' conditions in the factories in which the writers are employed.

The study by Party organisations of the economic conditions of workers in individual factories and districts and the dissemination of the results through the Party press, help French Communists to get a better knowledge of the day-to-day needs and demands of the working people, help them to improve agitation work and to step up the fight of the masses for their rights and national independence, for further relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace.

The papers give some instructive examples of the new sufferings imposed on the workers by cosmopolitan capital. Soon after

matter how they tried, however, the workers could not manage to produce more than 90 per shift and, on the pretext that they had not "fulfilled" the output rate, the management cut down their already low wage. Recently the French bourgeoisie has, through the Government, been "reconverting" industry. The essence of this measure is to promote the concentration of capital, to get factories to manufacture new types of goods in the interests of the monopolies and also to transfer works to other parts of the country where manpower is cheaper. Appealing to the workers of the Manufacture de Tulle, *Le Travailleur de la Corrèze* cites concrete examples to show that such reconversion is leading the country to economic catastrophe. It enables the French trusts to take part in organised plunder of many branches of industry by U.S., British, West German and Italian capital. *Liberté-Dimanche* has published the story of Marchand, an old worker, dealing with another aspect of reconversion—the amalgamation of firms. At first, he said, we thought nothing would change. We didn't understand their juggling with capital. But later everything became clear. The speed-up system began to be applied intensively. Many workers were downgraded and elderly workers over 65 began to get the sack. As the paper justly remarks, the words of Jean Rati, the works' owner, that "only a flourishing company can give prosperity to its workers", mean, in fact, dismissals, low wages and super-exploitation. The workers are becoming convinced from personal experience of the correctness of the Marxist thesis that under capitalism the perfection of machinery makes the position of the worker more and more precarious.

EDITORIAL BOARD

PRESS REVIEW

In Defence of the Working People's Vital Interests

(Newspapers of the French Communist Party—*La Provence nouvelle*, *Liberté*, *La Renaissance de Seine-et-Oise*, *Le Travailleur de la Corrèze*, *Liberté-Dimanche*)

Stagnation in the civil branches of the national economy and continued deterioration of the working people's position—such are the consequences of the anti-national policy pursued by France's ruling elements. Now, as never before, the fight of the French working class for economic demands is linked with the solution of important political problems, with the fight for peace and national independence.

In this connection a study of the proletariat's living and working conditions is of major importance. It enables Party organisations to conduct propaganda and agitation based on concrete facts intelligible to each worker, to reveal how the capitalists appropriate the surplus value created by the workers and the various forms of capitalist exploitation. This, in turn, promotes the fight for working-class unity, for the unity of all national and patriotic forces. That is why the Communist press of France pays so much attention to these questions.

The Communist press points out that it is the duty of Party organisations to take into their hands the defence of all the working people's demands, to explain to them the basic reasons for their difficult position and to expose capitalist demagoguery, which is aimed at deceiving the working people in town and countryside.

Referring to the tasks of the Party branches, the weekly *La Provence nouvelle*, organ of the Federation of the Bouches-du-Rhône Department, emphasizes that Party members must adapt their agitation work to the particular conditions

of the working people in each enterprise; that only agitational work of this kind is comprehensible, effective and capable of opening the workers' eyes to their real position, and of refuting the lies of the capitalists and their henchmen—the Social



Democratic leaders—on the possibility of "class collaboration".

The paper explains that it is the task of activists to help the workers formulate their demands correctly and present them to the employers at the right time, to seek forms for joint action in defence of the rights and interests of the working people.

In response to the calls made by their press, Party organisations and active Party members, with the help of the work-

ers, are collecting facts on the spot about the workers' conditions in factories and plants and are summing them up. At their meetings Party federation committees make a profound analysis of the economic position of the working people in their departments with the object of framing concrete slogans. These facts are then widely featured in the local Party press and this is of great assistance to the workers in the fight against the capitalists and their policy.

The Communist press devotes a great deal of attention to working conditions in the factories. *Liberté* (northern France) recently carried a series of articles based on the facts collected by Party branches at a plant belonging to the Massey-Harris trust in Marquette. This trust is under the control of Anglo-Canadian-U.S. capital. Producing 38% of all the tractors made in France, it occupies a prominent place in the French market. In their chase after maximum profits, the owners of the plant do everything they can to squeeze as much sweat and blood out of the workers as possible. In the basement of this plant's foundry, where the moulding sand is loaded, the air is filled with dense black dust, through which two or three electric lamps emit a dull gleam. A conveyor moves rapidly but the transmission cables, quite unprotected, cannot be seen. His legs sinking in the thick layer of sand that covers the floor, the worker can scarcely keep his footing. He is thinking of his predecessor, whose cries were not even heard by those upstairs when the machine was crushing his body... In the shop above,

work is also proceeding in semi-darkness, as the head of the workshop has turned off a few lamps for "economy".

"No more blood for the sake of dollars!" is the just call of *Liberté*.

Quoting the example of the electric power station under construction in Porcheville, *La Renaissance de Seine-et-Oise* exposes the capitalist "rationalisation" of production, which brings the workers impoverishment, dismissals, injuries and often death. One of the firms working on the job has decided to "economise" by using one crane instead of two. The same workers have to do assembly work by day and unload wagons at night, so that the working day almost sees the clock round. The workers are terribly exhausted and the number of accidents is increasing daily. But this, as the newspaper points out, does not worry the capitalists at all: in the agreements of the companies building the power station accidents are considered to be the normal thing, and their number is "foreseen, estimated and accounted for".

At the S.O.M.E.C.A. Works in Argenteuil the men and women workers only have a breathing space when the machinery, unable to stand the terrible pace, breaks down. The repairs done, however, the management demands that the workers make good the time lost. At the same time it takes steps to speed up the rates of work of some of them so as to free others in order to throw them out of the factory. This makes it possible for the employers to dangle the spectre of unemployment over those who remain and force them to work even more intensively.

Exposing the blackmail and threats of the management, *Liberté* shows what "productivity of labour" under capitalism is. The workers in one of the shops of a works in Marquette turned out 70 crankcases per shift. Promising a wage increase, the management ordered them to produce 96. No