

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

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IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The talks between the government delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic have come to a successful conclusion in Moscow. They were marked by an atmosphere of mutual understanding and by an extensive and frank exchange of views. As a result of these talks it has been decided to establish diplomatic relations between the two states, to set up Embassies for this purpose in Bonn and Moscow and to exchange diplomatic representatives of the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. The two parties also agreed to hold trade talks in the nearest future.

The announcement of the successful conclusion of the talks between the government delegations of the USSR and the German Federal Republic has been welcomed with deep gratification by all peace-loving peoples. Progressive opinion assesses the positive results of the talks as a fresh victory for the peaceable foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as a great success for the forces of peace and a new step towards the relaxation of international tension, the establishment of confidence and the development of business-like co-operation between all countries.

The establishment of normal relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic accords both with the interests of the Soviet and German peoples, and with those of all other peoples too. It is no secret that certain circles in the West sought to hamper the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and Western Germany and to take advantage of the absence of normal relations between them to sow enmity between the Soviet and German peoples. The establishment of normal relations between the USSR and the GFR, founded on confidence and respect for each other's interests, removes the obstacles to peaceful co-operation between these two countries and helps to strengthen the security of the peoples of Europe.

Another reason why the positive results of the talks have great international significance is that the whole world was once more able to see that the method of business-like co-operation, the method of frank discussion of pressing problems with due respect for the interests of the parties involved,

As long as ten years ago, immediately after the second world war, the Soviet Union established good, friendly relations and co-operation with a part of the German people. These relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are based on the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Progressive democratic development, increasing international production, the rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production, the flourishing of national culture, steadily rising living standards—these are the indisputable achievements of this young Republic, to which the extensive and disinterested assistance of the USSR contributed in no small measure.

Now the results of the Moscow talks have laid a firm foundation for the development of good relations and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the other part of the German people—the German Federal Republic. Normal, good relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic will promote the development of economic and cultural relations, the settlement of the German issue as a whole, and the restoration of unity to a German democratic state.

The Soviet Union has consistently advocated Germany's reunification as a single, peace-loving, independent, democratic state. But with the coming into force of the Paris agreements serious obstacles were created. The Soviet Government has always stressed the fact that the settlement of the question of the reunification of Germany is, above all, a matter for the Germans themselves, both in the East and the West. This important problem must be settled in conformity with appropriate international agreements on safeguarding peace and security in Europe.

Broad sections of the German people, all their progressive forces, are making unremitting efforts for the democratic reunification of their country. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Germany, which are working consistently for Germany's rebirth as a united, peace-loving and democratic state, united with the working class and

FINAL COMMUNIQUE On the Results of the Talks Between the Government Delegations of the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic

The final communique on the results of the talks between the government delegations of the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic reads:

The government delegation of the Soviet Union and the government delegation of the German Federal Republic held talks in Moscow from September 9 to 13.

Participating in the talks from the Soviet side were N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (head of the delegation); N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; V. M. Molotov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. G. Pervukhin, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; I. G. Kabanov, Minister of Foreign Trade; V. S. Semionov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Participating in the talks from the German Federal Republic were: Dr. K. Adenauer, Federal Chancellor (head of the delegation); Dr. H. von Brentano, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr. W. Hallstein, Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dr. H. Globke, Secretary of State at the Federal Chancellor's Office; K. Arnold, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, Chairman of the Bundesrat Foreign Affairs Commission; K. G. Kiesinger, Chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission; Ambassador C. Schmid, Vice-Chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission; Ambassador H. Blankenhorn; Ambassador F. von Eckardt; Dr. W. Grewe, Ministerialdirektor.

In the course of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, there was an extensive and frank exchange of views on relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic.

Talks Between the Government Delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic

The government delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic held talks in Moscow from September 9 to 13.

The talks were opened on September 9 by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and head of the Soviet delegation.

Our talks, which begin today, said Bulganin, were preceded by an exchange of notes between the governments of the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. As you know, the Soviet Government proposed to the Government of the GFR that the establishment of direct diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between our countries should be discussed.

The Soviet Government proceeded from the premise that the establishment of normal

relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic is in the interests of the Soviet and German peoples, and that it is in the interests of all peoples of Europe. Here it is necessary to take into consideration the actual conditions of the existence of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic and the fact that a solution of this important problem must fit into the framework of appropriate international agreements on peace and security in Europe. For its part, the Soviet Union has invariably supported the restoration of the unity of Germany as a peace-loving and democratic state.

The Soviet Government hopes that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the GFR will help to settle unresolved questions which concern both parties. One cannot but see that the absence of normal relations between our countries raises additional difficulties in the way of solving the major national problem of the German people—the restoration of the unity of a German democratic

state. The question of establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic was discussed during the talks. An agreement—which found expression in the appropriate letters exchanged by the parties—was reached (subject to the consent of the Federal Government and the Bundestag and of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR), to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries, to set up Embassies towards this end in Bonn and Moscow and to exchange diplomatic representatives of the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

The two delegations agreed that the establishment of diplomatic relations would promote the development of mutual understanding and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic in the interests of peace and security in Europe.

In this the parties proceed from the premise that the establishment and development of normal relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic will facilitate the settlement of outstanding issues concerning the whole of Germany and should thereby help to settle the major national problem of the entire German people—restoration of the unity of a German democratic state.

Further the communique states that in confirmation of the agreement reached, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Federal Chancellor of the German Federal Republic exchanged letters.

The parties likewise agreed that talks on the development of trade would be held between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic in the nearest future.

of the Soviet and German peoples, there can be no doubt that in this respect their thoughts and feelings probably have much in common. In any case, I assume, they do not want to allow another war and it is our belief that there should be a rapprochement between them in order to ensure peace and security, which is something that all the peoples of Europe, and not of Europe alone, want and are interested in.

Whoever strives for peace and to strengthen peace, and really remembers the sacrifices and devastation war brings with it, Bulganin continued, will agree on the necessity of normalising relations between our states.

He then set forth the Soviet Government's viewpoint on two questions particularly stressed in Adenauer's speech.

On the first question—that of war prison-

ers, and despite this, we are seeking for ways to surmount the difficulties that have arisen and to find means to put an end, even if gradually, to all military groupings in Europe. The Soviet proposal to establish an all-European system of collective security is in accord with these aims. Through the establishment of a system of European collective security which would bring about the elimination of military groupings in Europe, a more correct way of solving the present German problem, including the task of restoring Germany's unity, can be found.

It has been said here that the Four Powers have obligations with regard to the solution of the German problem. One cannot but agree with this. The Soviet Union, however, always recognised that the settlement of the German question, including the task of reunifying Germany, is above all the affair of the Germans themselves, and it

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic

The Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic accords both with the interests of the Soviet and German peoples, and with those of all other peoples too. It is no secret that certain circles in the West sought to hamper the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and Western Germany and to take advantage of the absence of normal relations between them to sow enmity between the Soviet and German peoples. The establishment of normal relations between the USSR and the GFR, founded on confidence and respect for each other's interests, removes the obstacles to peaceful co-operation between these two countries and helps to strengthen the security of the peoples of Europe.

Another reason why the positive results of the talks have great international significance is that the whole world was once more able to see that the method of business-like co-operation, the method of frank discussion of pressing problems with due regard for the interests of the parties involved, which has already borne fruit in Geneva, can successfully be applied in the future as well, however difficult and complicated the problems concerned may be. Again and again it has been confirmed that the "positions of strength" policy, the "cold war" methods, the misinformation and blackmail that some Western politicians still refuse to relinquish are doomed to suffer defeat.

The positive results of the negotiations, writes *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the C.C. of the SUPG, signify a "victory for the policy of agreement over the 'positions of strength' policy". "The Moscow talks", it continues, "concluded with a big success for Soviet policy."

The positive results of the talks were made possible, says the West German newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel*, by the fact that the "Federal Chancellor adopted the viewpoint of the Soviet Government that diplomatic relations must mark the beginning, not the end, of the process of normalisation".

There can be no doubt that, as stated in the final communique, "the establishment and development of normal relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic will facilitate the settlement of outstanding issues concerning the whole of Germany and should thereby help to settle the major national problem of the entire German people—restoration of the unity of a German democratic state".

History teaches us that the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany always benefited from good relations and co-operation with each other. And, on the other hand, periods of enmity and estrangement only brought them hardships and misfortunes. In view of this, it is easy to understand the sincere desire of the Soviet and German peoples to live in peace and friendship.

The Soviet Union has consistently advocated Germany's reunification as a single, peace-loving, independent, democratic state. But with the coming into force of the Paris agreements serious obstacles were created. The Soviet Government has always stressed the fact that the settlement of the question of the reunification of Germany is, above all, a matter for the Germans themselves, both in the East and the West. This important problem must be settled in conformity with appropriate international agreements on safeguarding peace and security in Europe.

Broad sections of the German people, all their progressive forces, are making unremitting efforts for the democratic reunification of their country. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Germany, which are working consistently for Germany's rebirth as a united, peace-loving and democratic state, voice the will of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the German people. The Social Democratic Party of Germany opposes the implementation of the Paris agreements, the remilitarisation of Western Germany and its inclusion in NATO. On September 9, at the Third All-German Workers' Conference in Leipzig, 4,200 German workers, including 3,700 working-class representatives from the GFR, called for unity of action in the fight for peace, collective security and democratic reunification.

The results of the Moscow talks provide the prerequisites for successful trade negotiations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic in the near future. The USSR is an old and natural trading partner of Germany. The Soviet Union is a rich and powerful country. It has, and can have, no trade interests that would conflict with those of the GFR. Trade between them can develop on the basis of mutual advantage. It is quite clear that the decision to hold trade talks between the USSR and the GFR is a serious blow to those who seek to hamper East-West trade.

The Soviet Union, on whose initiative the talks between the government delegations of the USSR and the GFR took place, has scored another triumph in its unwearying efforts for peace and the security of the peoples, for the further relaxation of international tension, for the expansion of business-like co-operation between countries, irrespective of their social system. It is with deep gratification that the Soviet people, and, with them, all peace-loving mankind, whose interests are served by the results of the talks, welcome this victory for peace.

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The talks were opened on September 9 by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and head of the Soviet delegation.

Our talks, which begin today, said Bulganin, were preceded by an exchange of notes between the governments of the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. As you know, the Soviet Government proposed to the Government of the GFR that the establishment of direct diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between our countries should be discussed.

The Soviet Government proceeded from the premise that the establishment of normal relations between our countries is in the interests of both the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. Such normalisation of relations is in accordance with the aim of strengthening peace in Europe and of continued relaxation of tension in international relations, and this is a matter in which both our countries cannot but be vitally interested.

Bulganin went on to say that the establishment of normal relations based on confidence and respect for mutual interests would remove the obstacles standing in the way of peaceful co-operation between our countries and would thus help to strengthen the security of the peoples of Europe.

Despite the heavy losses and devastation suffered in the last war, the Soviet people harbour no ill-feeling towards the German people. This is proved, in particular, by the fact that the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have good, friendly relations which are developing and growing stronger and are based on the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

As far as the Soviet Government is concerned, it would also like to have good relations with the German Federal Republic. We believe that there should be no obstacles to the establishment of such relations if those concerned proceed from the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany and also from the interests of maintaining peace in Europe.

It is generally known that the Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers promoted the relaxation of world tension. Now the possibilities for a rapprochement between states and the establishment of the necessary confidence among them are better. This has naturally found wide public support and sympathy in our countries. This makes it all the more imperative to normalise relations between our states through the establishment of direct diplomatic relations.

As is known, the Soviet Government expressed a readiness to exchange views on the restoration of Germany's unity at these talks, but one cannot fail to take into account the serious obstacles that have arisen on this path since the coming into force of the Paris agreements under which the German Federal Republic joined certain military groupings and the remilitarisation of Western Germany is now proceeding. Apart from this, it is necessary to emphasize that the Soviet Government has always recognised that a solution of the question of German reunification is a

matter above all for the Germans themselves. Here it is necessary to take into consideration the actual conditions of the existence of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic and the fact that a solution of this important problem must fit into the framework of appropriate international agreements on peace and security in Europe. For its part, the Soviet Union has invariably supported the restoration of the unity of Germany as a peace-loving and democratic state.

The Soviet Government hopes that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the GFR will help to settle unresolved questions which concern both parties. One cannot but see that the absence of normal relations between our countries raises additional difficulties in the way of solving the major national problem of the German people—the restoration of the unity of a German democratic state.

In view of this the Soviet Government proposes that diplomatic relations be established between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic and agreement reached on the opening of a Soviet Embassy in Bonn and an Embassy of the GFR in Moscow, and also on an exchange of Ambassadors.

If the necessary agreement were reached on this score, it would promote, in large measure, the development of trade between our countries.

The Soviet Government, Bulganin said, also believes that the establishment and development of scientific, cultural and technical co-operation between the USSR and the GFR would be in the interests of our peoples.

A statement was then made by the head of the delegation of the GFR Chancellor K. Adenauer, in which he spoke of the great importance of the talks that had begun and also of the difficulties arising in connection with them. He expressed his desire that the talks be held in a spirit of complete frankness. He set forth the Federal Government's point of view on the question of normalising relations between the USSR and the GFR and advanced two questions as being of primary importance: the release of those Germans who are still under confinement in the Soviet Union, and the reunification of Germany.

A second meeting of the government delegations was held on September 10.

A statement was made by N. A. Bulganin. The Soviet people, he said, know very well what war is like under present-day conditions. They experienced it not so very long ago, despite the fact that they threatened no one, encroached on no foreign lands and wanted to live in peace with all peoples. In the four years of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people experienced such terrible disasters, such suffering at the hands of the invaders and war criminals that even now no Soviet family can think of it without anguish and natural protest.

War brought severe losses and desolation to the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, to the peoples of France and Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands. The peoples throughout Europe cannot and will not forget the crimes perpetrated by German militarism and fascism, which unleashed the second world war.

The German people were in a different position. But the war ultimately brought them nothing but enormous sacrifices and disaster. It must be assumed that the German people now hate war just as much as the Soviet people do. If one is to speak

of the Soviet and German peoples, there can be no doubt that in this respect their thoughts and feelings probably have much in common. In any case, I assume, they do not want to allow another war and it is our belief that there should be a rapprochement between them in order to ensure peace and security, which is something that all the peoples of Europe, and not of Europe alone, want and are interested in.

Whoever strives for peace and to strengthen peace, and really remembers the sacrifices and devastation war brings with it, Bulganin continued, will agree on the necessity of normalising relations between our states.

He then set forth the Soviet Government's viewpoint on two questions particularly stressed in Adenauer's speech.

On the first question—that of war prisoners—Bulganin said: There are no prisoners-of-war in the Soviet Union: All German war prisoners were released and sent home. In the Soviet Union there are only war criminals from the former Hitler army—criminals who were sentenced by the Soviet court for particularly heinous crimes against the Soviet people, against peace and humanity. And as at September 1 there were 9,626 of them still in the country. But these are individuals who, even according to the most humane standards and regulations must be kept in confinement as criminals. They are people who have lost all semblance of humanity, they are ravishers, incendiaries of war, murderers of women, children and the aged. They have been sentenced by the Soviet court according to their deserts and cannot be regarded as war prisoners.

I should also like to mention, went on Bulganin, that if the question of these criminals is to be examined here, then we should have to arrange for representatives of both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic to take part. This is a question of concern to both parts of Germany. Inasmuch as we do not think that under the given circumstances the government delegation of the GFR would desire an examination of this question with the participation of representatives of the GFR and of the GDR, it is obviously not expedient to put it forward as a subject for the present talks.

N. A. Bulganin then dwelt on the question of the reunification of Germany.

We, he declared, fully share the view that the problem of reunifying Germany is an important national task of the German people. The Soviet Government has unfailingly stood for the reunification of Germany as a united, peace-loving, democratic state.

We would not be being altogether frank, continued Bulganin, if we did not state that since the Paris agreements were ratified obstacles that might have been avoided have arisen on the path of the national reunification of Germany. You are well aware that the Soviet Union gave repeated warnings of this when the Paris agreements were being discussed, agreements under which the German Federal Republic has joined such military groupings as the North Atlantic bloc and the military West European Union and the remilitarisation of Western Germany is now in progress. It is a secret for no one that these military groupings are directed against the Soviet Union and certain other peace-loving European states. This fact cannot be refuted by words alleging the defensive nature of these groupings.

The Soviet Union is compelled to take into account the situation that has emerged.

And, despite this, we are seeking for ways to surmount the difficulties that have arisen and to find means to put an end, even if gradually, to all military groupings in Europe. The Soviet proposal to establish an all-European system of collective security is in accord with these aims. Through the establishment of a system of European collective security which would bring about the elimination of military groupings in Europe, a more correct way of solving the present German problem, including the task of restoring Germany's unity, can be found.

It has been said here that the Four Powers have obligations with regard to the solution of the German problem. One cannot but agree with this. The Soviet Union, however, always recognised that the settlement of the German question, including the task of reunifying Germany, is above all the affair of the Germans themselves, and in present conditions, consequently, one that calls for joint efforts by the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

Chancellor Adenauer then took the floor. He touched on certain points raised in the statement of the head of the Soviet delegation and referred to the question of "war prisoners", or, as he put it, "detained" persons, and also to some aspects of the foreign policy of the German Federal Republic.

Dr. Adenauer was followed by Dr. H. von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the German Federal Republic, who again stressed that the delegation of the German Federal Republic considered the questions of "detained" persons and of Germany's unification to be of prime importance. He went on to declare that the GFR delegation thought it very difficult to normalise relations between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union without settling the question of "detained" persons.

N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, then spoke in connection with the statements made by Chancellor Adenauer and Dr. von Brentano.

He said: In his statement the Chancellor said that when the Soviet troops were advancing on German territory they also committed atrocities. We categorically deny this. The Soviet troops, who drove the invaders off their territory, pursued them because they did not surrender. Had our troops not continued the pursuit, the enemy would have recovered and launched a fresh invasion. The Soviet troops could not therefore stop halfway, they had to accomplish their purpose—to rout the enemy. The Soviet troops, carrying on the war imposed by the German fascists and destroying the enemy, shed their blood in fulfilling a sacred duty to their people. Is this a crime? If any troops attacked Germany and the German troops went over from the defensive to the offensive, could this be called a crime? It is the sacred duty of the people. That is why I consider that an offensive remark has been made about Soviet troops.

Khrushchev then stated the Soviet Government's point of view on Germany's reunification and the establishment of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic.

The Soviet Government, said Khrushchev, has one aim—to ensure peace throughout

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President Paasikivi Arrives in Moscow

On September 15, J. K. Paasikivi, President of the Finnish Republic, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He is accompanied by Prime Minister Kekkonen, Minister of Defence E. Skog, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs R. Svento and others.

The President and his companions were met at Moscow's Central Airfield, which was decorated with the state flags of the Finnish Republic and the Soviet Union, by K. E. Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; V. M. Molotov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; M. A. Suslov, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; ministers; high officials of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Min-

istry of Foreign Affairs; representatives of the press of the Soviet Union and other countries, and also by the heads of a number of embassies and legations in Moscow.

A guard of honour was lined up on the airfield and the national anthems of the Finnish Republic and the Soviet Union were played.

In connection with President Paasikivi's visit, *Pravda* writes in an editorial entitled "For the Further Development of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and Finland":

"Welcoming the arrival of the President of the Finnish Republic in Moscow, the Soviet people express their confidence that the exchange of views that is to take place between Soviet and Finnish statesmen will further strengthen the friendship and co-operation between our countries."

Talks Between the Government Delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic

(Continued from page 1)

the world. We seek no other path than that of the establishment of friendly relations, and we do not want these relations to be directed against other countries—Britain, France, the United States or any other country. We do not consider this to be our policy. The Soviet Union wants to establish normal, friendly relations with the German Federal Republic; we want to establish the same kind of relations between our state and Great Britain, between our state and France, between our state and the United States of America and with all the other countries in the world.

The next to take the floor was V. M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the USSR, who spoke of the great role played by the Soviet Army, which liberated the German people from fascism, from Hitlerism. He stressed the fact that the Soviet people made many sacrifices for the liberation of other European peoples as well.

Molotov then turned to the questions discussed at the conference.

Speaking for a second time, Chancellor Adenauer set forth the viewpoint of the GFR delegation on a number of questions. With regard to the Soviet delegation's suggestion that the Germans should themselves take the initiative in order to meet, he asserted that the Government of the German Democratic Republic could not claim to represent the 17 or 18 million Germans in the Soviet zone because the people of the Soviet zone did not recognise it as representing them.

In reply to this statement N. A. Bulganin declared: I can only call what you said about the Government of the German Democratic Republic an offensive remark. In refutation of what you said it suffices to cite the following facts.

N. S. Khrushchev and I were recently in the German Democratic Republic. We covered about 500 kilometres there, we visited industrial and agricultural enterprises and many towns and localities. We saw the real, true attitude of the German people towards their Government, the Government of the German Democratic Republic. And the attitude of the German citizens proves that the population recognises and respects the Government of the German Democratic Republic and considers it its own.

Finally, the Government of the German Democratic Republic is a sovereign government, recognised by a number of European countries and by two great powers—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese People's Republic. In my opinion this is quite enough to refute your statement.

A statement on economic relations between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union was made by Dr. W. Hallstein, Secretary of State at the GFR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who said, in substance, that it was necessary to have special talks with the Soviet Government concerning type and volume of trade.

N. S. Khrushchev, who spoke next, said: Of course, we are faced with quite a few difficulties. These difficulties lie in the fact that we hold different ideological positions.

ples of those countries are deciding which road of development to follow in future. Communism has become a great force.

Some of the "blame" for the emergence of Communism lies with you Germans. After all, Marx and Engels were born in Germany. It's you who started the thing, you'll have to bear the consequences.

Adenauer: You have probably heard of Pferdmenges? He's related to Engels.

Khrushchev: So that's where the roots go back to.

Circumstances are such that two systems—the socialist and the capitalist—exist side by side. This is the fact we have to start from, because it's the main thing. So let us come to an understanding.

I understand Herr Adenauer. You do not want to recognise the German Democratic Republic. We find this quite understandable. Look at all the years many people in the capitalist countries kept saying that Lenin was a dreamer. They said that the Soviet system established by the great Lenin and the Communist Party which he founded would never be able to last long in Russia. It was said in the West that the Soviet land was a big state with feet of clay. A lot of other nonsense was said to the same effect. How many years passed before a single European state recognised us, the Soviet Republic!

Bulganin: The United States of America refused to recognise us for 16 years.

Khrushchev: Yes, the United States did not recognise the Soviet Union for 16 years. But we did not stop existing for all that.

The Chinese People's Republic is developing and getting stronger. Some of the capitalist states refuse to recognise it, too, but the Chinese People's Republic does not therefore cease to exist. The new is always born in travail and goes unrecognised by the old for a long time. That is the position the German Democratic Republic is in now, too.

Why should we be against the German Democratic Republic? Because its people have taken power into their own hands and because the national economy of the German Democratic Republic is being built up on the basis of the interests of the German people? Is that a bad thing? How can one say that the Government of the German Democratic Republic does not express the opinion of the German people if it upholds and defends the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia of its country? You put private enterprise in the forefront. Why should the workers acclaim and support you more readily than the Government that takes the positions of the working class and defends these positions?

Your position in regard to the German Democratic Republic is clear to us, but it is impossible to agree with this position. Your point of view is not the absolute truth. We realise that this is the point of view of particular circles, circles which, moreover, are small in relation to the entire population of the country.

I do not insist that you agree with me. I know definitely that you will not agree with this. But the German Democratic Republic is the future—and not of the German people alone. Marx and Engels spoke of this future. We gave our support

During the past war many hundreds of thousands of Soviet civilians from the temporarily occupied territories of the Soviet Union were forcibly sent to Germany by the Nazi army. Very many of these Soviet people perished in camps or while doing forced labour in Germany. After the defeat of the Nazi army the majority of Soviet displaced persons who had survived returned to their homeland. Quite a number were, however, detained, mainly in Western Germany.

According to information at our disposal, there are still more than 100,000 of these Soviet citizens on the territory of the German Federal Republic; in many cases they are termed "stateless persons". The majority of these unfortunate people, who have been forcibly torn from their homeland and their families, have no regular work, living quarters or means of subsistence; they suffer privation and want. They are in alien hands, their status being that of dependent people without rights. We also know of many cases where Soviet displaced citizens, dissatisfied with their difficult situation, are imprisoned on the territory of the German Federal Republic.

Certain organisations hostile to the Soviet Union, with the backing of the authorities concerned, are conducting malicious propaganda which hinders repatriation and are intimidating and terrorising those wishing to return to their country. At the same time inadmissible attempts are still being made to utilise these people for criminal political ends.

We regard the situation that has taken shape in the German Federal Republic in relation to Soviet displaced citizens as abnormal and contrary to the principles of humanity and freedom of the individual. The Soviet Government also deems it its duty to come out in defence of those Soviet citizens who, under certain conditions, acted badly towards their homeland. We hope they will amend their ways and we shall not hold them strictly responsible for their misdemeanours.

We draw the attention of the government delegation of the GFR to this matter and hope that it will take the necessary measures and help to return Soviet displaced persons to their homeland.

A statement was then made by V. M. Molotov, who drew attention to the danger for air transport arising from large balloons with suspended cargoes making uncontrolled flights in the air.

It is known that these balloons are sent off from the territory of Western Germany with the object of spreading leaflets and other propaganda material hostile to the USSR and a number of other European countries.

In drawing the attention of the Federal Chancellor to this, the Soviet Government, said Molotov, expects the GFR to take the necessary measures to put an end to these activities and eliminate the danger which these balloons represent to aircraft flying along internal routes of the Soviet Union and on international routes passing through the Soviet Union and a number of other European states.

The Political Situation and the Tasks of the French Communist Party

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Marcel Servin

Secretary, French Communist Party

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exploit them at the most arduous work and pay them as little as possible.

The Communists must stand at the head of a broad protest movement that will end this crazy policy of the ruling circles, which can only lead to unprecedented disasters for our people and homeland.

For us, the Communists, things are clear. We are in solidarity with the peoples of Algeria and Morocco who are waging a just struggle to regain their national independence. True to the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and to the traditions of the leading figures of the French socialist movement, who actively fought against colonialism, we expose the imperialist circles of our own country, for whom seizure and oppression of colonies are the source of enormous super-profits. We know that the oppressors of the Algerian and Moroccan peoples are also the exploiters of the working people of France.

Not only must we be motivated by these principles in relation to the present events in Algeria and Morocco, we must also be guided by them in our actions in relation to the North African working people in France—our brothers in poverty and struggle.

More than two months ago a locality in Paris was transformed into a ghetto and cordoned off by the police. The Algerian working people there, subjected to appalling working and housing conditions and separated from their families, are insulted and persecuted.

We must use all means to show our active solidarity with the North African working people in France. In factories and localities the Communists must resolutely support the lawful demands of the North African working people in regard to wages, family allowances and housing. And there is no doubt that the French working people will also show effective solidarity with them in connection with their demands of a national character.

Such a position of principle corresponds not only to the class interests of the French working people, but to those of France herself. It is up to us, the Communists, to take action at the head of the masses to put an end to a policy that blackens France in the eyes of the world. This necessary action is an integral part of our national policy.

Profound hostility is developing in France to the policy of colonial repression in North Africa. The obvious impasse to which this policy is leading and the fact that it is a blow to the real interests of the country, the bitter memories of the war in Viet Nam, the death of young Frenchmen in North Africa, the call-up of 75,000 young men and the retention in the army of 104,000 soldiers due for demobilisation—all this arouses hostility among wide sections of our people.

Not everyone shares the opinion of the Communists and of all the working class that it is necessary to recognise the right of the peoples of Morocco and Algeria

be reduced to 15 months—a reduction rendered possible by the international détente but hindered by the government policy in North Africa—and for the recall of all soldiers sent to North Africa within the past year.

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The internal situation in France is characterised by the development of the working-class struggle for a substantial rise in wages.

In Saint Nazaire and Nantes, in Brest and Le Havre, in Saut-du-Tarn, La Seyne and other places, powerful movements have been and are taking place, especially among the iron and steel workers. In many places appreciable gains have already been won.

This resolute struggle of the working class confirms the analysis by Maurice Thorez and the Central Committee of the impoverishment of the working class and the need for the struggle for higher wages. Super-exploitation, the speed-up and the fabulous profits wrung by the capitalists from increasing labour productivity are exposed during strike actions.

The victorious strike in Saint Nazaire in August showed that the workers can organise powerful actions and win wage increases such as they have not known since 1936. The metal workers have obtained an increase of about 22% in their hourly rates.

The victory in Saint Nazaire is the result of many months of struggle in the workshops, on the construction sites, among various categories of working people and in various enterprises in the towns. On the basis of specific, carefully worked out demands which they upheld till the end, the workers were able, in the course of the struggle, to put forward a slogan which became their banner: a 30% wage increase. But this struggle itself ("harassing" strikes, workshop strikes, strikes of particular categories of workers on all the building sites, one-day strikes, sit-down strikes) is merely the result of the establishment of closely-knit unity at the bottom. Were this not so, the slogans of the struggle would never have been followed so unanimously as they were for several months, whatever building site or whatever category of workers they were addressed to.

On the advice of the Communists and numerous committees of struggle comprising the best and most militant workers—the binding force ensuring agreement at the top, between the leaders of the different trade unions, especially since in Saint Nazaire the major problems were always put before, and decided at, meetings of the 10,000 metal workers there.

The metal workers of Saint Nazaire were victorious because they held fast to their class positions. The arguments of the employers that higher wages would give rise to difficulties because, for instance, of competition in the foreign markets, had no effect on the workers. They simply replied that they needed higher wages and that it was up to the employers to settle any problems they raised for them, especially since the profits they had amassed allowed them to do so easily. We think there is no other valid position for the workers to adopt in their struggle against their exploiters.

As the capitalists feared, the example of Saint Nazaire was rapidly taken up. In Nantes, where the capitalists are disorganising their signatures to a

the attitude of the German citizens proves that the population recognises and respects the Government of the German Democratic Republic and considers it its own.

Finally, the Government of the German Democratic Republic is a sovereign government, recognised by a number of European countries and by two great powers—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese People's Republic. In my opinion this is quite enough to refute your statement.

A statement on economic relations between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union was made by Dr. W. Hallstein, Secretary of State at the GFR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who said, in substance, that it was necessary to have special talks with the Soviet Government concerning type and volume of trade.

N. S. Khrushchev, who spoke next, said:

Of course, we are faced with quite a few difficulties. These difficulties lie in the fact that we hold different ideological positions. And since this meeting between us is the first, we have certain prejudices about each other.

And so it may take a little time for you and us to realise more fully that we live in the same world, on the same planet. You have a capitalist system, we a socialist one. We do not support your system, you do not support ours. But since both these systems exist, it is necessary to seek some common point of view, some general points of contact for normal coexistence. It is necessary to proceed from the actual state of affairs.

We in our country have created a socialist system of economy, and in yours you have a capitalist system. Let us not argue about which is better—capitalism or socialism. The socialist economy exists and is developing very successfully. In a short space of time the Soviet Union transformed itself from a backward, semi-feudal country into a powerful industrial state—this is an incontrovertible fact. From an illiterate Russia, our country has developed under Soviet rule into a mighty power whose people have a high level of culture and political consciousness. And this is the result of the victory of Socialism, the result of the victory of the people. We had the backing of the majority. You know very well that the peoples of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Chinese Republic and a number of other countries in Europe and Asia have also taken the same road. In many countries an internal struggle is going on and the peo-

express the opinion of the German people if it upholds and defends the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia of its country? You put private enterprise in the forefront. Why should the workers acclaim and support you more readily than the Government that takes the positions of the working class and defends these positions?

Your position in regard to the German Democratic Republic is clear to us, but it is impossible to agree with this position. Your point of view is not the absolute truth. We realise that this is the point of view of particular circles, circles which, moreover, are small in relation to the entire population of the country.

I do not insist that you agree with me. I know definitely that you will not agree with this. But the German Democratic Republic is the future—and not of the German people alone. Marx and Engels spoke of this future. We gave our support to the German working people when they began to build their German Democratic Republic on socialist lines. And they are making a good job of it.

In the course of the remarks that followed Chancellor Adenauer expressed the thought that differences on ideological questions were no obstacle to co-operation between the Soviet Union and the GFR.

At the conclusion of the session it was unanimously agreed, on Khrushchev's suggestion, to terminate the exchange of views on general questions and instruct the Foreign Ministers of both countries to prepare concrete proposals, taking into account the views exchanged.

A third meeting of the government delegations took place on September 12. It heard reports by Molotov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the GFR, on the results of the Foreign Ministers' meeting which was held in accordance with the decision taken at the second meeting of the government delegations.

At 10 a.m., Moscow time, September 13, a restricted meeting of the government delegations was held.

At 3 p.m., after an interval, a fourth and full meeting of the government delegations of the USSR and the GFR was held.

Early in the meeting N. A. Bulganin made the following statement on Soviet displaced citizens who were being detained in Western Germany:

placed persons to their homeland.

A statement was then made by V. M. Molotov, who drew attention to the danger for air transport arising from large balloons with suspended cargoes making uncontrolled flights in the air.

It is known that these balloons are sent off from the territory of Western Germany with the object of spreading leaflets and other propaganda material hostile to the USSR and a number of other European countries.

In drawing the attention of the Federal Chancellor to this, the Soviet Government, said Molotov, expects the GFR to take the necessary measures to put an end to these activities and eliminate the danger which these balloons represent to aircraft flying along internal routes of the Soviet Union and on international routes passing through the Soviet Union and a number of other European states.

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An exchange of views at the session of September 13, in which Bulganin, Adenauer, Khrushchev, Molotov and Hallstein participated, resulted in the adoption of a decision to establish diplomatic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic and for this purpose it was decided to exchange the appropriate letters.

With this, negotiations between the government delegations of the USSR and the GFR concluded. A joint communique was adopted on the results of the Moscow negotiations.

The negotiations between the government delegations of the USSR and the GFR were of great international significance, and were keenly followed by the world public.

The reactionary press in Western countries and certain elements who do not desire any further détente, endeavoured to assure all and sundry that the Moscow negotiations would yield no results and that they would certainly fail. But these prophets have once more found themselves mistaken.

The talks between the government delegations of the USSR and the GFR, which were conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding, came to a successful conclusion. This news spread round the world like lightning and was received with great satisfaction by the peace-loving peoples. World democratic opinion assesses the results of these negotiations as a fresh and important achievement for the Soviet Union's peaceable foreign policy, as another success for the peace forces, as a fresh contribution to the further relaxation of international tension.

In conducting this campaign, both before and after August 20, the colonisers in Algeria and Morocco and the official government circles supporting them have pursued a triple objective: to attempt to justify the brutal repression against the Algerians and Moroccans; to divide the popular masses of France and the peoples of Algeria and Morocco and disunite the Algerian and French working people in our country; with the backing of financial circles which exploit Algeria and Morocco and with the support of an anti-democratic military clique, to put back in power their most loyal and fanatic henchmen.

For whom and for what is blood being spilled in Morocco and Algeria? As in Viet Nam—it is being shed in the sordid interests of the big financial companies which are amassing fabulous profits by exploiting the natural wealth and the peoples of these countries.

The Moroccan people not only suffer under this economic oppression, which gives rise to appalling poverty, they lack the most elementary freedoms, including trade union rights, and are subjected to the most extreme national oppression. Although the Protectorate Treaty, justly rejected by the Moroccans, was imposed on them by fire and sword, it still preserved a semblance of independence, about which the colonisers no longer want to hear any mention.

On August 20, 1953, Laniel and Bidault deposed the sultan, replacing him by one of their yes-men, Ben Arafa.

Torn by contradictions, the Government apparently intends to negotiate with a Moroccan government which has yet to be formed, and this presupposes the settlement of the question raised by the deposition of the former sultan. A possible compromise on this question between the French Government and various trends of the national movement in Morocco has been spoken of. But one thing is certain—the shifts to which the ruling circles in France are resorting as a result of pressure from the big colonial companies and of the reactionary intrigues of certain ministers, shifts augmented by continued repressive actions in Morocco, threaten to destroy all possibility of real, fruitful negotiations, since the people of Morocco have no intention of being made victims or dupes.

We are well aware that the government's plans, even if carried out to the full, will not produce an effective or lasting solution of the Moroccan problem. But even these timid moves by the Government exasperate the most extreme of the colonisers, who dream only of unimpeded and uncontrolled domination over 9 million slaves.

In Algeria the situation is, if one dare say so, even worse. Like the Laniel-Bidault and Mendès-France governments, the present Government has taken up the arrogant attitude that Algeria consists of three French departments.

The fiction that "Algeria is France" simply serves to disguise the most classic type of colonial oppression and exploitation. As in Morocco, the trusts—often the same ones—dominate, accumulating vast profits by intensive exploitation of the Algerian working people.

The bulk of the Algerian people are peasants. But since colonisation they have been forced off their land. Millions of people have been driven to arid mountainous land or into the army of unemployed in the towns, or have been obliged to leave their homeland.

Hundreds of thousands of them have gone to France, frequently enticed there by misleading contracts, to earn a living and send a little money home to their families. They are first of all victims of the rule of the colonisers in Algeria and here they become victims of ruthless employers who

French workers. It is up to us, the Communist Party, to take action at the head of the masses to put an end to a policy that blackens France in the eyes of the world. This necessary action is an integral part of our national policy.

Profound hostility is developing in France to the policy of colonial repression in North Africa. The obvious impasse to which this policy is leading and the fact that it is a blow to the real interests of the country, the bitter memories of the war in Viet Nam, the death of young Frenchmen in North Africa, the call-up of 75,000 young men and the retention in the army of 104,000 soldiers due for demobilisation—all this arouses hostility among wide sections of our people.

Not everyone shares the opinion of the Communists and of all the working class that it is necessary to recognise the right of the peoples of Morocco and Algeria to independence. But all are agreed that it is necessary to find a path other than that leading to massacres and war.

We solemnly appeal to all French people—workers, intellectuals and peasants, Communists, Socialists and Catholics—to unite to secure without delay the opening of honest negotiations with authorised representatives of the Moroccan and Algerian peoples, with a view to finding a solution to outstanding questions satisfactory to both parties.

As partisans of the freedom and independence of these two peoples, we are prepared to support any negotiations, any steps likely to lead to a settlement of the issues in dispute, just as we did in regard to Tunisia.

The desire for peace and negotiations is particularly marked among Socialist working people. Fruitful unity of action is already developing between them and the members of our Party.

In this situation, the result of the government policy of repression in North Africa, the position of the Communists is clear:

1. To show in a concrete way that Communists support the economic and political demands of the peoples of Algeria and Morocco, including those of the Algerian working people residing in France.

2. To work for the unification of the patriotic and democratic forces that want to see an end to repression in North Africa and the opening of honest negotiations with representatives of the Algerian and Moroccan peoples.

3. To work with particular vigour for a united front with the Socialist working people and the organisations of the Socialist Party.

4. Sharing the anxiety of all mothers whose sons have been recalled to the army or are already dying in North Africa and being in solidarity with the mothers in Algeria and Morocco who so often have cause to shed tears, Communist women must display initiative in organising all French mothers so that their voices may be heard by the Government.

5. Communists must assist our young comrades, the Union of French Republican Youth, to organise young people in committees of struggle on the basis of the following demands: no soldiers to be sent to North Africa; no call-up of demobilised men and no extension of the period of military service; discussions and negotiations with a view to reaching decisions acceptable to the peoples of Algeria and Morocco; an end to repression.

On this basis a broad union of youth is possible, as is proved by the stand taken by young Socialists and Catholics on many occasions.

It is also up to young Communists to fight for the period of military service to

put before, and decided at, meetings of the 10,000 metal workers there.

The metal workers of Saint Nazaire were victorious because they held fast to their class positions. The arguments of the employers that higher wages would give rise to difficulties because, for instance, of competition in the world markets, had no effect on the workers. They simply replied that they needed higher wages and that it was up to the employers to settle any problems raised for them, especially since the fact they had amassed allowed them to do so easily. We think there is no other valid position for the workers to adopt in the struggle against their exploiters.

As the capitalists feared, the example of Saint Nazaire was rapidly taken up. In Nantes, where the capitalists are disowning their signatures to a protocol fixing an hourly wage increase of 40 francs, the struggle is continuing. The workers in most of the shipyards and iron and steel plants in Brest and Le Havre have won 20-25% increases.

The lessons to be drawn from all these facts are clear to the Communists. Our Party members, our factory branches and our sections must turn their attention to working out demands in the shops, on the conveyer belts, in the factories. As members of trade unions, in which they are sometimes elected to positions of responsibility, Party members must help the trade union organisations find a firm basis for economic struggle, one which takes into account the opinions and demands of the workers.

Communists must also give all their attention to the establishment of unity, both in the trade unions and in the political sphere. The working people want this. As regards the trade unions, agreements between the organisations of the various trade unions (CGT, Force Ouvrière and the French Confederation of Christian Working People) are very often reached in the enterprises. This is a very good thing. But it must be said, and this applies especially to medium and large enterprises, that these agreements are often concluded only at the top and that in the shops and on the various sectors such organised unity is not to be found. This not only weakens unity but also makes it more difficult to compile lists of concrete demands and see to the practical organisation of the struggle.

The united front of Communists and Socialists is at one and the same time a necessary element of confidence and the best weapon for winning a struggle for economic demands.

It should not be forgotten that the way to the great victorious battles of June 1954 was paved by the establishment of a united front of Communists and Socialists in 1934-1935.

The need to take the defence of the workers' demands more firmly in our hands, the intensification of the struggle for economic demands, the new prospect of winning considerable wage increases—all these pose more sharply than ever before, the question of organising and intensifying the activity of the Party in the enterprises.

We must wage a constant ideological struggle in the factories—basing ourselves on the materials of the latest meetings of the Central Committee—in order to smash all the arguments of the employers and Socialist leaders which rest on the idea of class collaboration and which demobilise the working people. We must wage a struggle for economic demands. We must wage a political struggle, popularising our slogans and drawing the workers into the struggle for peace, against repression in North Africa, for a new political course for the country.

Protest Against Ban on Algerian Communist Party

On September 13 the French Government outlawed the Algerian Communist Party. At once large-scale police operations were begun against the leaders of the Party and other democratic and progressive organisations in Algeria. The premises of *Liberté*, the weekly newspaper of the Algerian Communist Party, and of the daily democratic newspaper *Alger Républicain* were searched and sealed.

This anti-democratic government decision has prompted the Political Bureau of the

French Communist Party to publish a statement saying:

"The French Communist Party, which has invariably protested at measures directed against various Algerian organisations and at the state of emergency, now protests at the fascist-type measure taken against the fraternal Algerian Party. It assures the Algerian Communist Party and its members of its warm and fraternal solidarity and its absolute confidence that no

measure of constraint can hinder the spread in Algeria, as beyond its confines, of the ideas for which the Communists are fighting...

"The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party urges the working class, all working people, Republicans and patriots to unite in order to defeat the policy pursued in Algeria and to secure the annulment of all repressive measures, including those directed against the Algerian Communist Party."

Meeting in Peking in Memory of Comrade Tokuda

A meeting in memory of Comrade Kyuichi Tokuda, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Japan and General Secretary of its Central Committee, was held in the Peking Palace of Culture on September 13.

It was addressed by Comrade Liu Shaoh-chi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Secretary of the C.C. of the Communist Party of

China. He characterised the life and activities of Comrade Tokuda as an untiring struggle for independence and a happy future for the Japanese people, and for peace throughout the world.

Comrade Yoshio Shiga, representing the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, said that his Party, in monolithic unity, was at present fighting for the cause begun by Comrade Tokuda.

After the meeting, the urn containing Comrade Tokuda's ashes was handed over to Yoshio Shiga and Tatsu Tokuda, Comrade Tokuda's widow, to be taken to Japan. The funeral procession then made its way to the airport, where the final memorial ceremony took place. After the "Internationale", the plane carrying Comrade Tokuda's ashes took off.

35th Anniversary of the Newspaper Rude Pravo

The Communists of Czechoslovakia and all the working people of the Republic will be celebrating an outstanding event on September 21—the 35th anniversary of the founding of *Rude Pravo*, central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The foundation of *Rude Pravo* was closely linked up with the revolutionary upsurge in Czechoslovakia after the first world war, an upsurge which took place under the influence of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party did all in their power to establish the unrestricted rule of the bourgeoisie in the Czechoslovak Republic that had just come into being. They joined the bourgeois coalition government and helped to save and bolster up the capitalist system. In the fight against this traitorous policy of the right-wing leaders a left-wing opposition, backed by 90% of the membership, crystallised within the Social Democratic Party.

Rude Pravo came into being as an organ of the left-wing representatives of the Social Democratic Party and first appeared on September 21, 1920. When the congress of the left-wing Social Democrats held on May 16, 1921, decided to join the Third Communist International and take the name of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, *Rude Pravo* became the Communist Party's central organ.

The entire activities of this paper are bound up with the struggle waged by the working class and working people of Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the Communist Party. The bourgeois government, ruthless in its persecution of the revolutionary press, was particularly so where *Rude Pravo* was concerned. The paper was regularly seized; between 1929 and 1934 it was banned several times, its editors were arrested and the sellers of the paper subjected to various repressive measures. Often it had to be printed underground.

This experience of underground work was used to full advantage during the fascist occupation. In spite of the most savage persecution, in spite of the fact too that the members of the editorial board were arrested several times, and comrades working on it were executed, the Communist Party, throughout the years of fascist occupation, succeeded, although irregularly, in issuing the paper.

German Democratic Republic Growth of Industrial Output

Industrial production in the German Democratic Republic is steadily growing, thanks to the self-sacrificing efforts of the workers, engineers and technicians. The production of new technique, the better utilization of existing machinery and the application of advanced technological methods enable the working people to constantly raise labour productivity and reduce production costs.

In the first half of this year production of publicly-owned enterprises under central planning was 12% higher than in the first half of 1954. Private enterprise production has also increased too.

The names of the finest representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are closely bound up with *Rude Pravo*, first and foremost that of its editor-in-chief, Jan Sverma, member of the Central Committee, CPC, who fell fighting in Slovakia. The whole world has heard of Julius Fucik, member of the prewar editorial board, who was an editor of the paper during the fascist occupation.

Rude Pravo has always been one of the sharpest and most effective weapons of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It has shared the experience of the Communist Party and the working people, and fought for the victory of the working class of Czechoslovakia; now it is working for the triumph of Socialism in our country.

Since the people's-democratic system was established *Rude Pravo* has been a true help to the Central Committee of the CPC in the battle to build a socialist society. It is tireless in its efforts to rally the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia for new feats of labour, it passes on the rich experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, and gives wide publicity to the achievements of leading workers in industry and agriculture. It explains to the masses the tasks of economic construction, firmly upholding the Party's general line, and wages a determined fight against opportunists of all kinds, ruthlessly exposing reactionaries of all shades and consistently making determined efforts for peace, friendship among peoples, relaxation of international tension and the banning of nuclear weapons.

The 35th anniversary of *Rude Pravo* will coincide with Press Day in Czechoslovakia. During the preparations for this occasion the editorial boards of Party newspapers and journals are arranging discussions with their readers. Social evenings will be held in the regional towns. Some 100,000 people are expected to take part in festivities in the capital.

The paper's editorial board and the Party organisations in the country are now making every effort to increase the number of readers of the Communist press and to heighten its influence among the broad masses of working people.

V. DOLEJSI
Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
Rude Pravo

GROWTH OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN HUNGARY

Six months ago the Central Committee of our Party published a resolution on "The Political Situation and the Party's Tasks" which, with thorough-going consistency, exposed the right-wing deviation in the Party and the state apparatus and the harmful views held by Imre Nagy (then Chairman of the Council of Ministers), views that diverged from Marxism-Leninism. The ideological struggle waged by our Party against right-wing opportunist views has raised the theoretical level of Party members and helped them to obtain a deeper understanding of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the priority development of heavy industry, the socialist transformation of agriculture and the leading role of the Party, and has strengthened the ideological and political unity of the Party.

The six months that have since elapsed show that this resolution was correct and that the measures taken to put it into effect have resulted in an accelerated rate of socialist development, on both the industrial and agricultural fronts. A large section of the working people have understood that increased production, higher productivity of labour and reduced costs of production constitute the main conditions for a steady improvement in the people's well-being. This can be seen from the fact that in the first six months of this year industrial output rose by 9.7% as against the same period last year. The working people in the countryside have cultivated their land in a better way and are gathering in a bigger harvest of grain and other crops. People have become more conscious of their responsibilities to the state, and the large majority of producer co-operatives and individual working peasants are carrying out their delivery obligations and paying their taxes honestly and on time.

The worker-peasant alliance has gained in strength as a result of the struggle against the right-wing deviation, and the producer co-operative movement is again beginning to make headway in the countryside. By the end of August the improved method of farming in co-operatives and the explanatory work conducted by rural Party organisations brought 43,000 new members, on a voluntary basis, into co-operative farms and led to the establishment of 220 new ones. We now have 4,600 co-operatives in the country. Furthermore, there are another 4,000 peasants, in 450 preparatory commissions, working to establish new co-operatives. These facts testify to the increasing popularity of producer co-operatives and show that after a two-year period of stagnation the producer co-operative movement in Hungary is again beginning to develop.

Explanatory work by Party organisations has been conducted on a still broader scale since the C.C. resolution of June 8 which, in accordance with the directives of the Third Congress of the Party, sets the task of increasing the output of farm produce and, at the same time, of ensuring the socialist transformation of agriculture. This means that, on the basis of our own and Soviet experience and strict observation of the voluntary principle, we must bring the majority of small and middle peasants into the co-operatives at a rate which, by the end of the Five-Year Plan, will ensure the predominance of the socialist sector in agriculture as well.

At the present time socialist industry is developing both rapidly and according to plan; its output is treble the prewar level. Heavy industry, the basis for the further development of the entire national economy, is producing 383% more than in 1938. It is obvious that agriculture, with its predominantly small peasant farms, has been unable to keep pace with the advance of industry.

This task calls for concerted efforts by our Party, the state and the entire working people. We now have all the conditions for accomplishing this task: our industry

is in a position to provide farming with big, up-to-date machines and artificial fertilisers; a network of machine and tractor stations covers the country; our cadres have acquired more experience and, as a result of consistent political and organisational work by the Party and the people's-democratic state during the first Five-Year Plan, the socialist sector is firmly established in agriculture; the state farms and producer co-operatives between them possess a third of the country's arable land. In 1954 the state farms and co-operatives provided 36% of the grain delivered to the state, 84.8% of the rice, 42.6% of the pigs for slaughter and 40% of the milk—these figures testify to the growing importance of the socialist sector of agriculture.

As a result of the all-round support given by the people's-democratic state, the co-operatives have become much stronger politically, organisationally and economically. Last year the socially-owned property of the producer co-operatives increased 22%. Labour discipline improved considerably, the number of work-day units per worker having increased from 220 in 1953 to 245.

The superiority of socialist large-scale farming is proved by the fact that the producer co-operatives reap bigger yields of grain and other crops than the small and middle individual peasants. Preliminary figures for the Pest region show, for instance, that the individual peasants obtained 820 kg. of winter wheat per hold as against 1,000 kg. reaped by the co-operatives, while in the Somogy region the producer co-operatives gathered 1,160 kg. of winter wheat per hold against the individual peasants' harvest of 990 kg.

The local councils and the stock-breeding and artificial insemination centres, as well as the voluntary patronage groups of industrial workers, do a great deal to promote the development of the co-operatives. The greatest help, however, is that accorded by the state machine and tractor stations, which have a fleet of 12,000 tractors and tens of thousands of other machines. The MTS carry out from 85% to 90% of all ploughing and sowing and 64% of the harvesting. Their contribution will be still greater in the future, since the number of machines at their disposal is growing year by year.

Such measures of the people's-democratic state as the increasing of prices for crops purchased under contract, the provision of free veterinary services, reduction of payment for MTS work and cuts in obligatory deliveries have also helped augment co-operative incomes. The various credits granted to producer co-operatives (this year amounting to 542 million forints) have facilitated the all-round development of farming. Two years ago co-operative debts amounting to approximately 600 million forints were cancelled by the Government and the repayment period for medium and long-term credits was extended by two years. This has been of great assistance to the co-operatives. Producer co-operatives enjoy substantial advantages where taxes and state deliveries are concerned.

The individual working peasants are gradually becoming convinced that, as a result of bumper yields and substantial state

János Mátolcsi
Secretary, Central Committee,
Hungarian Working People's Party

farmers and that the living standard of members of advanced co-operatives is higher than that of the middle peasants who are successfully running their farms. The in-

terests of the socialist transformation of agriculture demand that rural Party organisations and co-operative members bring these achievements home to the whole of our working peasantry and make greater efforts to persuade the working peasants to join the co-operatives.

The majority of working peasants, experience proves, are primarily interested in the highest type of co-operative (third type) and it is this form that is developing most successfully. Of the total number of co-operatives, 73.4% are of the third type. In our conditions, this is the most advanced form of co-operative farming, under which the size of the personal plots is determined in the same way as in the collective farms of the Soviet Union and incomes are shared out mainly according to work-day units earned. No more than 20% of income goes on land rent in accordance with the land contributed by the co-operative members. Where this provision of the Rules is adhered to, the co-operative acquires increased attraction, particularly for the middle peasants.

Even now the middle peasants are the most numerous of our peasantry. They hold 40% of the country's arable land, 52% of the cattle herd and 61% of the horses. The job of drawing them into the co-operatives is one which calls for extensive, patient and all-round work to explain things in a friendly way. To convince them, it is essential that the producer co-operative strictly observe the Rules and inner-co-operative democracy, so that on joining the co-operative the middle peasants take part in the work of management and their farming experience is put to good use. Middle peasants are influenced most by members who have themselves been middle peasants and who entered the co-operative after considerable hesitation. Quite often the example of a middle peasant who is respected is followed by many.

It is the Party's view that all forms of co-operation should be utilised to bring the toiling peasants onto the path of socialist construction. That is why, while actively popularising co-operatives of the third type, the Party is of the opinion that where the toiling peasants are not yet convinced of the advantages of the more developed form of agricultural co-operative, they should set up co-operative groups of the first and second types. Providing Party organisations and local councils do not neglect these co-operatives and carry out propaganda for the various forms of collective labour, then, sooner or later, these co-operatives will go over to a higher form of co-operation. This year the members of many co-operative groups of the first and second types have decided to go over to work on the same lines as co-operatives of the third type. We shall obviously see more and more of this in the future.

It is not right when certain co-operatives, mainly the strong and well-run ones, refuse new members, quite often because they do not wish them to receive a share of the growing commonly-owned property. They particularly refrain from taking back former members. There are now many peasants who regret their one-time hasty decision and want to return to the co-operative fold, especially if they feel they will be made welcome. To eradicate these errors is one of the most urgent tasks of Party organisations.

comes for their members the majority of the toiling peasants voluntarily took the path of co-operative farming.

Dissemination of the ideas of co-operation, and the struggle between the old and the new has lived up political and social life in the countryside. But it is not only co-operative supporters, but also the kulaks and other hostile elements in the countryside, who have become more active. The Party has come out against kulak speculation, against open and concealed forms of exploitation. The class struggle has sharpened, and it is no easy one. Even Party functionaries frequently are mistaken. Because restrictive measures have resulted in reducing the number of kulak farms by half, many of them forget that the kulak's influence has not waned to the same extent as his economic power, that the kulak, gripped in the vice of restrictions, has not changed his way of thinking, that he has become a still more violent enemy of our people's democracy. It is therefore the day-to-day task of our Party organisations to wage a struggle against the kulaks, to check exploitation and speculation, to prevent the kulak from engaging in subversive activities. We must be on the alert to see that the kulaks do not worm their way into the co-operatives.

Not for a moment must we forget the need to continue strengthening the socialist sector of agriculture, to reinforce the co-operatives already functioning. We must pay particular attention to strengthening backward and weak co-operatives and ensuring that big co-operatives, cultivating more than 1,000 holds, within a short space of time become model, large-scale farms with a large amount of their produce going to the market. The facts show that the majority of the co-operatives still make inadequate use of the potentialities of large-scale farming. Many of them still have too few head of cattle and stock up insufficient fodder. It has been planned that the head of cattle per 100 holds should this year increase from 17 to 21.2 and that the area sown to maize should be enlarged by 40% by next year.

In each co-operative there must be strict observance of the Rules. An infringement of the Rules can be seen in the fact that personal plots of co-operative members often exceed the permitted size.

To fulfil these tasks the rural Party organisations must be reinforced, and with this in view our Party last year sent to the rural district Party committees and branches a thousand Party workers drawn from industry. Secretaries of the Party organisations in the MTS were released from their daily jobs and made full-time Party functionaries. On the instructions of the Central Committee, one of the secretaries of each rural district committee deals solely with the work of the MTS Party branches and helps the MTS in their activities. Recently, with a view to co-ordinating the work of rural Party organisations and establishing unified leadership, Party bureaus were elected in the villages and Party committees set up in the larger villages. The C.C. decision to send to the countryside some 1,200 politically tempered Party members capable of exercising leadership is now being implemented. This regrouping of cadres will help to further strengthen rural Party organisations and to improve the management of socialist farming, since a large number of the cadres being assigned to the countryside become chairmen of co-operatives or directors of state farms or MTS.

Guided by the teaching of Marxism

German Democratic Republic

Growth of Industrial Output

Industrial production in the German Democratic Republic is steadily growing, thanks to the self-sacrificing efforts of the workers, engineers and technicians. The introduction of new technique, the better utilisation of existing machinery and the application of advanced technological methods enable the working people to constantly raise labour productivity and reduce production costs.

In the first half of this year production at publicly-owned enterprises under central authority was 12% higher than in the first half of 1954. Private enterprise production has considerably increased too.

Labour productivity in the second quarter of this year was 11% higher than in the corresponding period of last year.

Opening of German State Opera House

On September 4 the rebuilt German State Opera House was officially opened in Berlin. Among those present at the ceremony were representatives of the Government of the GDR and the democratic parties, leading figures in cultural life and guests from Western Germany and other countries.

Dr. Johannes R. Becher, Minister of Culture of the GDR, made a speech in

In the first half of 1955 capital investments in the power industry increased to 23% above the figure for the first half of last year.

Young people are working with particular enthusiasm. In view of the growing requirements of our industry for power, they undertook to be responsible for the building of one of the biggest power plants, declaring it to be a youth construction site. The second turbine has already been put into operation at this hydro-electric station, near the village of Trattendorf on the River Spree. The first two sections of this hydro-electric station will have a capacity of 450,000 kilowatts.

State Opera House

which he reminded the audience that the government decision to rebuild the Opera House was adopted in 1951 on the initiative of Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic.

Those present warmly greeted the workers and artists who contributed to the restoration of this remarkable piece of German architecture and centre of German musical life.

...the producer co-operative movement in Hungary is again beginning to develop.

Explanatory work by Party organisations has been conducted on a still broader scale since the C.C. resolution of June 8 which, in accordance with the directives of the Third Congress of the Party, sets the task of increasing the output of farm produce and, at the same time, of ensuring the socialist transformation of agriculture. This means that, on the basis of our own and Soviet experience and strict observation of the voluntary principle, we must bring the majority of small and middle peasants into the co-operatives at a rate which, by the end of the Five-Year Plan, will ensure the predominance of the socialist sector in agriculture as well.

At the present time socialist industry is developing both rapidly and according to plan; its output is treble the prewar level. Heavy industry, the basis for the further development of the entire national economy, is producing 383% more than in 1938. It is obvious that agriculture, with its predominantly small peasant farms, has been unable to keep pace with the advance of industry, and overall agricultural production is only slightly above the pre-liberation level. This is because the boundaries of the small plots belonging to individual peasants restrict the application of technique and science and the development of production. It is only by the socialist transformation of agriculture that we can satisfy the ever-growing requirements of the economy for agricultural produce and raw materials.

...thousands of other machines. The MTS carry out from 85% to 90% of all ploughing and sowing and 64% of the harvesting. Their contribution will be still greater in the future, since the number of machines at their disposal is growing year by year.

Such measures of the people's-democratic state as the increasing of prices for crops purchased under contract, the provision of free veterinary services, reduction of payment for MTS work and cuts in obligatory deliveries have also helped augment co-operative incomes. The various credits granted to producer co-operatives (this year amounting to 542 million forints) have facilitated the all-round development of farming. Two years ago co-operative debts amounting to approximately 600 million forints were cancelled by the Government and the repayment period for medium and long-term credits was extended by two years. This has been of great assistance to the co-operatives. Producer co-operatives enjoy substantial advantages where taxes and state deliveries are concerned.

The individual working peasants are gradually becoming convinced that, as a result of bumper yields and substantial state aid, large-scale co-operative farming brings, year by year, growing incomes and rising living standards to the co-operators. In many places our agitators compare the incomes earned by individual farmers with those of co-operative members, and the figures show that the incomes of co-operative members, together with what they receive from their personal plots, by now surpass the average income of the individual

...that is why, while actively popularising co-operatives of the third type, the Party is of the opinion that where the toiling peasants are not yet convinced of the advantages of the more developed form of agricultural co-operative, they should set up co-operative groups of the first and second types. Providing Party organisations and local councils do not neglect these co-operatives and carry out propaganda for the various forms of collective labour, then, sooner or later, these co-operatives will go over to a higher form of co-operation. This year the members of many co-operative groups of the first and second types have decided to go over to work on the same lines as co-operatives of the third type. We shall obviously see more and more of this in the future.

It is not right when certain co-operatives, mainly the strong and well-run ones, refuse new members, quite often because they do not wish them to receive a share of the growing commonly-owned property. They particularly refrain from taking back former members. There are now many peasants who regret their one-time hasty decision and want to return to the co-operative fold, especially if they feel they will be made welcome. To eradicate these errors is one of the most urgent tasks of Party organisations.

We see that where these mistakes are not made, where co-operative members themselves persuade individual peasants to enter the co-operative and where Party members themselves set an example by joining the co-operative, new members come in day by day. This is borne out by the following example: recently, in 53 villages where co-operatives had reaped big harvests and ensured substantial in-

...organisations must be reinforced, and with this in view our Party last year sent to the rural district Party committees and branches a thousand Party workers drawn from industry. Secretaries of the Party organisations in the MTS were released from their daily jobs and made full-time Party functionaries. On the instructions of the Central Committee, one of the secretaries of each rural district committee deals solely with the work of the MTS Party branches and helps the MTS in their activities. Recently, with a view to co-ordinating the work of rural Party organisations and establishing unified leadership, Party bureaus were elected in the villages and Party committees set up in the larger villages. The C.C. decision to send to the countryside some 1,200 politically tempered Party members capable of exercising leadership is now being implemented. This regrouping of cadres will help to further strengthen rural Party organisations and to improve the management of socialist farming, since a large number of the cadres being assigned to the countryside become chairmen of co-operatives or directors of state farms or MTS.

Guided by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, our Party will continue to wage a consistent struggle against any right or left-wing distortions of the Party's policy. By making efforts to strengthen still further the worker-peasant alliance and utilising the Soviet Union's experience, our Party will carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The Position of the Brazilian Communist Party in the Presidential Elections and Its Present Tasks

On October 3, presidential elections are to take place in Brazil. This makes it necessary to analyse the political situation in the country on the eve of the elections, to re-examine the Party's pre-election tactics and, especially, to define the Party's position in connection with the elections.

We must, first of all, warmly congratulate the comrades from Sao Paulo on their victory in the municipal elections of May 22. It was in great measure due to the efforts of the Communists, who fought for unity, that the working people and the broad masses elected, with big majorities, democratic candidates to the Sao Paulo prefecture.

It was because the Party's pre-election tactics were properly employed that victory was achieved at Sao Paulo. The widely representative election coalition established in Sao Paulo shows us the forms of struggle we should use in a particular situation to apply the Party's programme; it teaches us how to work for a proper municipal policy. For the purpose of improvements in living conditions (however small they may be) it has become possible to unite broad sections of the population on specific questions reflecting their urgent demands, rallying different political parties into an election coalition around the people's candidates and a programme for municipal affairs. This victory also proves that when the working class closes its ranks and draws in other sections of the working people, it succeeds in defeating its bitter enemies and in advancing along the path of uniting the democratic and popular forces.

The presidential election campaign offers a unique opportunity for heightening our work to strengthen the unity and organisation of the working class and the broadest sections of the people of Brazil.

★
Luiz Carlos Prestes
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Brazil

★ ★

As yet not all Party organisations have proved that they have properly mastered pre-election tactics. So far there are few examples of these tactics having been correctly applied. The Party as a whole has nevertheless entered the pre-election battle and is doing its best to educate the masses and unite them, under the leadership of the working class, into a widely-representative democratic and patriotic coalition. In order to advance in this direction we have been fighting for the nomination of an independent popular candidate, one who would merit the confidence of the working people. Under present conditions in Brazil, a united working class, in alliance with the other democratic and patriotic forces, could easily elect an honest patriot to the post of President of the Republic, one capable of carrying out a policy of peace and defence of national sovereignty.

Our political line and election programme have won us the support of broad sections of the people and political figures of all trends belonging to the most diverse political parties. The greatest response has come from the working class, where an extensive movement has begun, uniting the working people of all political trends and striving to take an organised part in the presidential election campaign, at the same time waging united action for democratic and trade union rights, against government interference in the trade union movement, for the vital demands of the working people. In this we have succeeded, to some degree, in arous-

ing and rallying the masses, in drawing them into the battle that has developed in connection with the presidential elections and thus brought a new and most important factor into the country's political arena.

Despite the existence of all the conditions for victory, some parties that have an influence among the working masses, the Trabalhista (PTB) for one, preferred not to support a popular candidate from their own ranks around whom broad sections of those who are anxious for a change in the country's situation and in its foreign policy could have united. This fact cannot but be instructive to the Trabalhista masses. On the other hand, however, the reactionary minority that wanted to force a single candidate upon the country and thereby isolate the most politically conscious section of the proletariat—that is, the minority which has always tried to thwart a mass election campaign and keep in the saddle those who seized power as a result of the military coup d'etat of August 24, 1954—failed in its purpose. It was exposed and suffered a defeat. After considerable machination this reactionary minority was constrained to withdraw its police candidate, Etelvino Lins, who did not stand a chance, and is now regrouping itself around Juarez Tevora, a putschist general who seeks to deceive the masses by a so-called "revolution through voting" and, aided by the chatter of the demagogue Janio Quadros, is exploiting the election campaign to preach the necessity of establishing a fascist military dictatorship in order to "ennoble political morality".

Without exaggerating the strength of the small fascist group, which constitutes a minority even in the ranks of the armed forces where there are many patriots and democrats, we must bear in mind that

there does exist the danger of a coup d'etat aimed at imposing upon the country a fascist military dictatorship of the lackeys of the North American monopolies, and that it represents a grave menace to the interests of the people and the future of the nation. However, the broadest popular and democratic forces can be mobilised and united against this danger if they are properly informed and warned of the sinister designs of the putschists and the real purpose of the civil or military coup d'etat they are preparing.

As things stand in the country at present, the election of Juarez Tevora to the presidency would also be a grave danger. By putting him forward the forces that seized power through the coup d'etat of August 24 want to place at the head of the Republic a notorious henchman of the U.S. monopolists, an unflinching advocate of the transfer of Brazilian oil to Standard Oil, who has never made a secret of his hatred for the people and his dictatorial designs. That is why he is supported by the most reactionary elements in the national-democratic union and by the demagogic Janio Quadros, who are at present the main political props of the pro-U.S. Café Filho dictatorship and the most rabid advocates of a fascist military coup d'etat. In putting forward Tevora, the putschists want to recreate the conditions for the establishment of a terrorist dictatorship, whatever the results of the elections of October 3.

The Brazilian people are thus faced with two vital and immediate tasks, the one supplementing the other: to isolate and smash the forces striving for a fascist military coup d'etat and to prevent the election of a putschist and traitor.

We must now, more than ever before, bring our Party programme home to the broad masses who are disappointed with the present regime and long for a change in the situation in the country and who are indignant at the impotence of their rulers and members of parliament and at all

their shady transactions. The Party programme points out the only true, effective way of freeing Brazil from the imperialist yoke and building a better life: to establish a democratic government of national liberation in place of the government of latifundists and big capitalists who are tied up with North American imperialism. This is our main aim. And developments fully bear out the correctness of the path we indicate.

It is necessary for the people to unite in a broad democratic front of national liberation led by the working class and to take the path of true revolutionary struggle. For this it is necessary to defend the democratic rights and gains of the working people and at all costs to prevent a step backwards, which a fascist military dictatorship in the service of the U.S. monopolies would signify. In view of this, the slogan of struggle for an independent popular candidate, advanced by our Party at the last meeting of the Central Committee, was useful and yielded definite results. But the full realisation of this slogan depended not only upon the Communists. And because of this we had to withdraw it in order to avoid placing our Party in a position in which it would be unable to take an active part in the broad election campaign and would find itself isolated, never having played the important political role proper to it, although it had all the possibilities.

The main thing now is to unite all the forces, groups, trends and political parties that are prepared to work against a coup d'etat and in defence of democratic rights and the Constitution, for the holding of free elections. In the present situation the candidates around whom considerable forces opposing a fascist military coup d'etat could now group themselves are Kubitschek (for Presidency) and Goulart (for Vice-Presidency). These candidates were put forward and are supported by forces well known to the people, forces that are neither democratic nor anti-imperialist. But nothing prevents us from organising a broad election campaign around these candidates for the

political education of various sections of the people of Brazil; their victory in the October 3 elections would mean the defeat of the forces in favour of a coup d'etat and a fascist military dictatorship. Given the right conditions, these factors can mark the beginning of a change in the balance of forces in favour of democracy and progress in Brazil.

This is a path that would enable us to strengthen our ties with that section of the working masses that is under the influence of the Trabalhista. It is a path leading to a considerable broadening of the democratic struggle, which will facilitate the establishment of contacts between our Party and fresh sections of the people. It is a path which will ensure the defeat of the minority candidate who is in favour of a coup d'etat and a fascist military dictatorship, and which will also help to show up the truly reactionary and subversive character of the candidacy of Ademar de Barros, whose nomination is backed by groups connected with the Cetete (the presidential palace—Ed.) and with the putschists, with the idea of facilitating Tevora's victory in the elections. It is a path that will make it possible to organise more powerful forces capable of resisting the designs of the putschist generals who threaten freedom, and of standing up against any civil or military coup d'etat that might be attempted.

Kubitschek and Goulart have already publicly declared themselves prepared to resist a coup d'etat and defend the Constitution and democratic rights and to work for better living conditions for the people; around them can be united the most powerful anti-putschist forces, from the workers and peasants to the big capitalists and landlords interested in preserving the Constitution. These unified forces could ensure free elections and the victory of their candidates. Such a victory would give fresh impetus to the activity of the democratic and patriotic forces which could become a political power that, more than any of the promises made by the candidates, would compel the future government to respect democratic rights and immediately take concrete steps to improve the living conditions of the people.

(Continued on page 4)

BOOK REVIEW

A CONTINENT AWAKENS

Africa, Africa! by Derek Kartun *

In recent times an increasing number of books have been appearing on Africa in general or on particular areas or problems of the continent.

This increased interest in Africa is not accidental. The second biggest continent of the world, with great natural resources and valuable tropical crops, and occupying a position of strategic importance, Africa is being drawn more and more



gives abundant facts and figures to show the terrible hardship and sufferings brought by the policy of colonialism to the peoples of the African continent and exposes the social essence of this policy, the policy of ruthless exploitation of the working people and extortion of profits for the magnates of finance capital. In 1937 each African worker in the tin mines of Nigeria produced £69-worth of tin and

received only £9.2s. for his pains. The difference went into the pockets of the employers. During the twenty-six years from 1914 to 1939 the British monopolists drew £37 million in profits from these mines. These examples can be supplemented by later figures published by Uno. In French North Africa, for instance, the workers receive 5-6 times less than the most paltry wage paid to their counterparts in France, while in the Union of South Africa the wages of Africans are a twelfth of those of Europeans.

The African peasants—the bulk of the continent's native population—are subjected to equally monstrous exploitation. The colonisers have forcibly deprived them of their best lands, which have been handed over to white settlers and foreign monopolies. African peasants today are either labourers working for the colonisers in a position of semi-serfdom or are living in the so-called reserves, where the land is poor. In Tunisia, for instance, 450,000 peasants possess one million hectares (1 hectare equals 2.471 acres) of land of little value, while 4,000 colonists have 850,000 hectares of the best land.

The imperialists doom the African population to dire poverty, hunger and gradual extinction. Hunger, points out Derek Kartun, "is a fact which, for the African at any rate, overshadows everything else". In Nigeria more than half of the children die before their fifth birthday as a result of malnutrition and the diseases it inevitably gives rise to. "Called by its proper name", writes Derek Kartun in anger, "this is destruction of children's lives for the sake of profit."

Derek Kartun cites numerous examples of how the colonial powers throttle even the most moderate democratic demands of the Africans. Bans and restrictions, a strict censorship, racial discrimination, arrests, imprisonment, consignment to concentration camps, torture and shootings—these are characteristic of the present political regime in the countries of Africa. He gives a particularly detailed account of events in Kenya, where a cruel and bloody war has been going on against the Kikuyu people for more than two years. About 80,000 Kenyans are confined in concentration camps, the British press reports. Every day up to one hundred are shot, die of starvation or are destroyed by other means. "What is happening here is terrible...", reads a letter smuggled out of Kenya and published in London by the Daily Worker. "The women of Majuga's location are in a great trouble. They are being arrested and all their clothes taken off them. When a woman says she does not know about the Mau Mau oath, boiling water is kept nearby, and is poured on her breasts until her skin comes off there... People are being arrested in

by the colonisers the people's movement is developing and broadening, advancing along extremely difficult, complicated and devious paths. It has become an inseparable part of the world movement of the peoples for peace, democracy and progress.

During and after the second world war, big changes have taken place in the national consciousness of Africans. It is in this period that the bulk of the trade union and democratic national organisations have appeared and most of the strikes taken place. Despite its small numbers, the working class has shown itself to be a force capable of leading the national liberation movement.

The people of the African continent have not stood aside from the powerful peace movement which has been developing since the second world war. Despite terror and persecution, the common people are putting their signatures to the Vienna Appeal. The voice of Africa's peoples, calling for an end to colonial repression in North Africa and satisfaction of the national demands of the Algerian and Moroccan peoples, an end to the war in Kenya, a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and a relaxation of international tension, rang out in full force at the World Peace Assembly in Helsinki. Among the young people at the Warsaw Youth Festival were 133 Egyptians and 160 Algerians. The young people of Rhodesia, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and other countries of Africa were represented for the first time.

Like all peace-loving peoples of the world, Africans greeted with satisfaction the results of the Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers, which led to a certain relaxation in international tension. In the words of Sonia Bunting, Secretary of the Cape Peace Council, "the results of the Geneva Conference are a triumph for the world peace movement, and will serve to inspire all South Africans to redouble their efforts to ensure that peace is safeguarded and the advantages gained are consolidated".

A big event in the life of the African people was the Congress of the People of South Africa, held at the end of June in Kliptown, where 2,844 elected delegates from the most varied national, religious and social groups of the population drew up a splendid document—the Freedom Charter. This militant programme of action embodies the most cherished desires and aspirations of the African people: the transfer of all power to the people; equal rights for all national groups; the transfer of all mineral wealth beneath the soil to the ownership of the people as a whole, together with the banks and monopoly industry; the land to those who work it; an end to racial discrimination; freedom of person; an improvement in living conditions and cultural life; world peace and friendship with other nations. The Freedom Charter bears witness to the considerable advance in the political consciousness of the African masses.

Unfortunately, apparently because of the size of the book, this aspect of the African scene has been given somewhat inadequate treatment. The book would certainly have gained had its fourth chapter "Africa Awakens" been fuller.

Latin American Peoples Defend Democratic Freedoms

A recent conference of Latin American countries in defence of democratic freedoms, held in Santiago (Chile), was attended by more than 170 delegates from most of the countries of South America, representing diverse ideological trends and religious beliefs.

The conference adopted a Declaration to the peoples of America, pointing out the great importance of "united action by all forces working in defence of liberty, and noble and deep solidarity among our fraternal peoples". It also stressed the necessity for a law to be passed decreeing a general amnesty and the immediate release of political prisoners detained for participation in the student movement, for religious reasons, etc.; it underlined the need to put an end to the persecution and torture to which thousands of citizens are being subjected, and to demand the immediate repeal of discriminatory and repressive laws and the provision of such conditions for elections as would guarantee the peoples the opportunity of expressing their will freely.

By decision of the conference August 12 has been designated a Day of Struggle for Democratic Freedoms.

Besides a recommendation to establish national co-ordinating committees, the conference adopted a decision to set up an American co-ordinating committee for democratic freedoms and establish a leading body (presidium) and a permanent secretariat. The latter committee will be in charge of the preparations for the First American Congress in Defence of Democratic Freedoms, scheduled to be held in one of the Latin American countries in the middle of next year.

Canadians Reject Propaganda of Atomic War

Recently, to whip up war psychosis, a sample H-bomb shelter was set up in front of the City Hall in Toronto (Canada) and loud speakers called upon the public to take action for "civil defense".

The results of the H-bomb shelter display were quite the opposite to what was intended. Comments made by passers-by showed that most of them were convinced of the need to do away with atomic war rather than of building a shelter.

Members of the Toronto Peace Council were on the job distributing leaflets and collecting signatures for the Vienna Appeal. "There are people in Toronto who don't have as good a place as that to live in now" said another as he signed.

Old and young, men and women, some in uniform read the leaflets with interest. Many of them drew the common-sense conclusion to sign the Appeal that calls for the destruction of the weapons of mass annihilation.

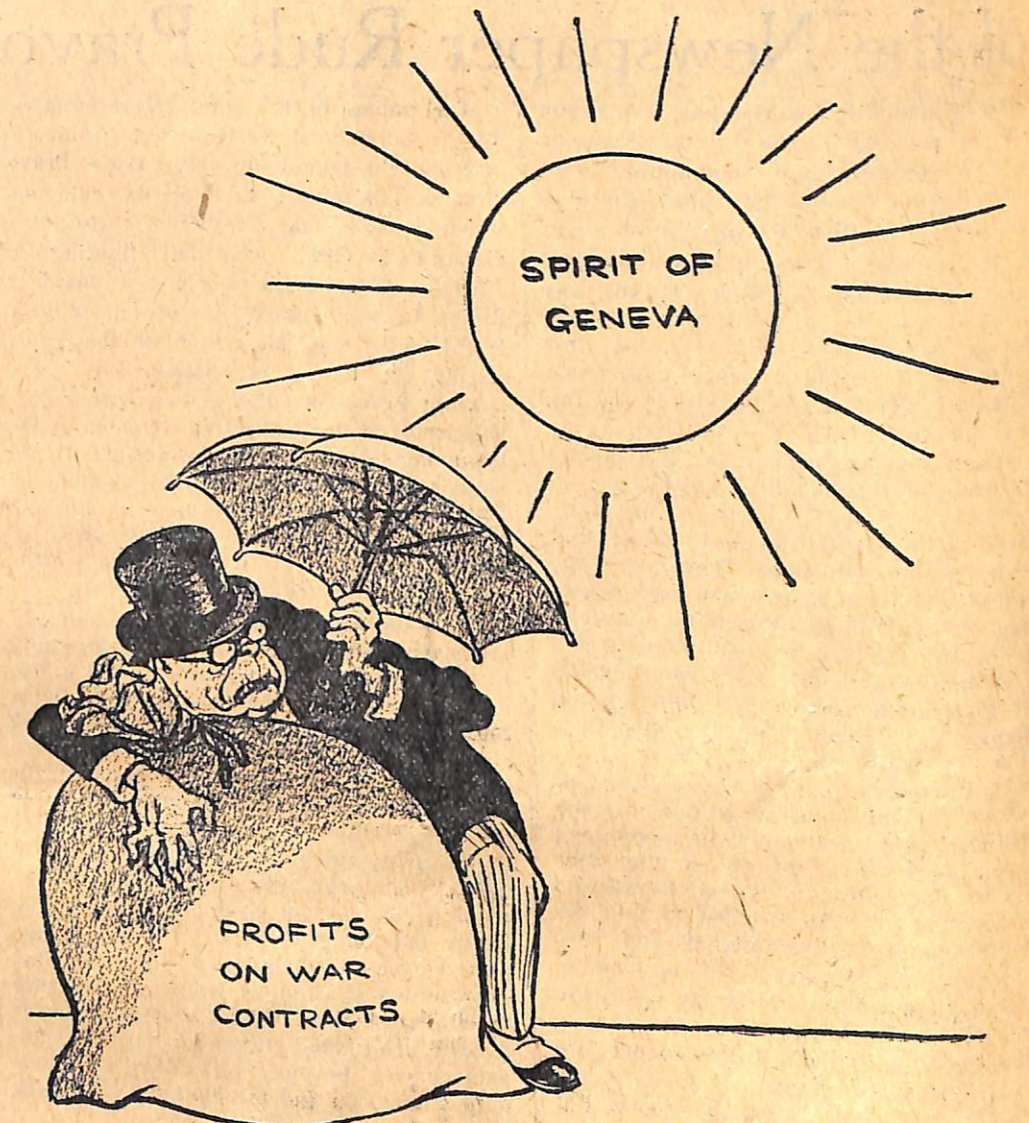
FACTS EXPOSE...

Shady Deals of Guatemalan Dictator

La Comercial Guatemalteca, a big import firm, has paid 25,000 dollars into the

personal account of Guatemala's dictator, Castillo Armas, who is said to have lent that sum at an earlier date to his

Certain monopolist groups in the West who receive profitable war contracts are interested in sustaining international tension and continuing the "cold war". (Press item)



SUPPOSE MY PROFITS BEGIN TO MELT AWAY!

Drawing by J. Novak

POLITICAL NOTES

1. Turkish McCarthyites Attack Literature

Peyami Safa, a Turkish journalist and one of U.S. Senator McCarthy's admirers, decided to try out his "talent" as a literary critic. Making no attempt to moderate his language he came down on those Turkish writers whose novels, stories and poems truthfully mirror the life of the Turkish people and are deservedly popular with the reading public. The newspaper Milliyet obligingly made space available for the libels of this newcomer to the profession.

He calls Turkey's finest writers "vipers" and "hardened criminals". He "catches" them engaging in "Communist activities". It makes his blood boil to see "left-wing volumes, tinged with red, pour off the press one after the other". Says Peyami Safa in high dudgeon: "I have warned my old friends—the newspaper proprietors—a hundred times of this, but never have I been able to convince them how great is the danger."

The attack he has launched is not the only one of its kind in Turkey today. Another fascist "literary critic", Salyahattin Türkan, hurls threats and abuse at writers and artists from the columns of the Izmir newspaper Demokrat Izmir. He is furious that, although Communism in Turkey is "outlawed", it has nevertheless not been possible to root it out. He appeals to the

"Our hearts yearn for you!" "In this poem", interprets Türkan, "the poet is impatiently waiting for the Communist Revolution."

He also warns his readers of a further "danger"—it turns out that there are some bold spirits in Turkey who dare to translate such "red" writers as Emile Zola and Romain Rolland.

These "literary critics" of the Safa and Türkan type would hardly be worth a mention were it not that their "criticisms" give a clear idea of the extent of anti-Communist psychosis in present-day Turkey.

We must say, however, that sensible-minded people in Turkey are beginning to come out more and more frequently against this anti-Communist psychosis, and even the journal Devir and the newspaper Cumhuriyet, which certainly cannot be suspected of entertaining any sympathy for the progressive movement, report with concern that an abnormal situation obtains in Turkey, a situation that is fraught with suspicion and fear and destroys all progressive thinking. As regards the fight against Communism, Cumhuriyet points out, some of our authors...

development of the African continent. Professor W. E. B. Du Bois, eminent Negro scholar, has estimated that the total number of victims of the slave trade, including those killed during slave hunts and those who died in transit to other countries, comes to the staggering figure of 100 million. "Never, anywhere, before or since, has a crime of this magnitude been committed", Derek Kartun points out. "Never have any peoples been subjected to such a sustained bloodletting, such an endless outrage."

But the slave trade was only one aspect of the "civilising" mission of the colonisers. Making their way into the heart of Africa and refashioning its map by fire and sword, they brutally mistreated and ruthlessly destroyed the population of whole regions. In 1898 one Lucroix, an agent of a big Belgian trust, admitted killing 160 men, women and children and cutting off sixty hands. Africa's history, writes Derek Kartun, is "a saga of barbarity, greed, fraud and betrayal, venality and utter ruthlessness".

The greater part of the book is given up to an analysis of the present economic and political situation in Africa. Kartun

* Derek Kartun, *Africa, Africa!*, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1954, pp. 99.

imprisonment, assignment to concentration camps, torture and shootings—these are characteristic of the present political regime in the countries of Africa. He gives a particularly detailed account of events in Kenya, where a cruel and bloody war has been going on against the Kikuyu people for more than two years. About 80,000 Kenyans are confined in concentration camps, the British press reports. Every day up to one hundred are shot, die of starvation or are destroyed by other means. "What is happening here is terrible...", reads a letter smuggled out of Kenya and published in London by the *Daily Worker*. "The women of Majuga's location are in a great trouble. They are being arrested and all their clothes taken off them. When a woman says she does not know about the Mau Mau oath, boiling water is kept nearby, and is poured on her breasts until her skin comes off there... People are being arrested in hundreds and thousands without being given any reason why."

No one can read this document unmoved.

This picture of bans and restrictions, of miners shot down and villagers killed, of trade unions and political parties smashed, leaders banished or imprisoned, is not the only one in present-day Africa, as Derek Kartun rightly points out. There is the many-sided, resourceful, relentless movement of the people. Despite the most brutal terror

of action embodies the most cherished desires and aspirations of the African people: the transfer of all power to the people; equal rights for all national groups; the transfer of all mineral wealth beneath the soil to the ownership of the people as a whole, together with the banks and monopoly industry; the land to those who work it; an end to racial discrimination; freedom of person; an improvement in living conditions and cultural life; world peace and friendship with other nations. The Freedom Charter bears witness to the considerable advance in the political consciousness of the African masses.

Unfortunately, apparently because of the size of the book, this aspect of the African scene has been given somewhat inadequate treatment. The book would certainly have gained had its fourth chapter "Africa Awakens" been fuller.

This, however, in no measure detracts from the general value of *Africa, Africa!* It has already received good write-ups in the Communist press in Britain, India and several other countries; it has recently been translated into Russian in the Soviet Union. Wide circles of the democratic public in many countries will read this book with interest and draw the necessary conclusions.

Y. YASNEV

collecting signatures for the petition. "There are people in Toronto who don't have as good a place as that to live in now" said another as he signed.

Old and young, men and women, some in uniform read the leaflets with interest. Many of them drew the common-sense conclusion to sign the Appeal that calls for the destruction of the weapons of mass annihilation.

FACTS EXPOSE...

Shady Deals of Guatemalan Dictator

La Comercial Guatemalteca, a big import firm, has paid 25,000 dollars into the personal account of Guatemala's dictator, Castillo Armas, who is said to have lent that sum at an earlier date to his old millionaire friend, Garcia. Although the latter was recently convicted on a charge of profiteering in maize he not only remains at large, but is a partner to profitable business deals with the Government. In other words, the 25,000 dollars deposited to the account of Castillo Armas constitute a bribe to the Guatemalan dictator for his encouragement of these scandalous transactions.

reading public. He obligingly made space available for libels of this newcomer to the profession. He calls Turkey's finest writers "vipers" and "hardened criminals". He "catches" them engaging in "Communist activities". It makes his blood boil to see "left-wing volumes, tinged with red, pour off the press one after the other". Says Peyami Safa in one of his high dudgeon: "I have warned my old friends—the newspaper proprietors—a hundred times of this, but never have I been able to convince them how great is the danger."

The attack he has launched is not the only one of its kind in Turkey today. Another fascist "literary critic", Salyahattin Türkkan, huris threats and abuse at writers and artists from the columns of the *Izmir newspaper Democrat Izmir*. He is furious that, although Communism in Turkey is "outlawed", it has nevertheless not been possible to root it out. He appeals to the public to begin an "effective and systematic fight" against the "Communist danger".

Where does he see the "danger"? Let us take a look at some of his "breath-taking" revelations. He quotes the following lines of a poem:

"How can I deny,
That beneath my feet there is the earth
"And o'er my head the sun?"
"In these lines the poet asserts", Türkkan says, "that the working class in our country is still trampled underfoot, and at the same time he talks of the sun overhead, that is, of the Communist ideal."
Or another few lines:
"Pour down, rain!
"Refresh us, rain,

These "literary Türkan type would hardly be worth a mention were it not that their "criticisms" give a clear idea of the extent of anti-Communist psychosis in present-day Turkey, that sensible.

We must say, however, that sensible-minded people in Turkey are beginning to come out more and more frequently against this anti-Communist psychosis, and even the journal *Devir* and the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, which certainly cannot be suspected of entertaining any sympathy for the progressive movement, report with concern that an abnormal situation obtains in Turkey, a situation that is fraught with suspicion and fear and destroys all progressive thinking. As regards the fight against Communism, *Cumhuriyet* points out, some of our authors are strangely out, some of our authors are strangely irritable, hitting out at newspapers, journals and school textbooks. The newspaper illustrates this by pointing out that it only needs someone to speak up for better living conditions for those who earn their daily bread, or to come out in favour of a greater measure of social justice, for the label "foreign agents" to be fastened on them straight away.

Sternly upbraiding those newspapers and publishers that put progressive writings before the public, the above mentioned Safa cries that they are "lunatics". It seems to us that it is Mr. Safa and Türkkan that are suffering from lunacy—of the anti-Communist brand. One can detect the dank atmosphere of the "cold war" a mile away from their efforts in literary criticism.

The Position of the Brazilian Communist Party in the Presidential Elections and Its Present Tasks

(Continued from page 3)

In view of this, the slightest hesitation would be a mistake. We support the candidacy of Kubitschek and Goulart and are prepared to fight for victory on October 3.

All Party members and Party organisations must give every attention and full support to the National Trabalhista Popular Movement (MNPT). Within the MNPT the Communists will do everything they can to ensure its participation in the election campaign as an independent force which, while supporting the anti-putschist candidates, will at the same time work for its own programme of unity, a programme which includes demands bearing on the immediate interests of the working people and broad masses. This is a broad united front movement, which is rapidly spreading throughout the country and, as it takes hold in the factories, working-class localities and among the broad masses in the countryside, it is becoming a new and important factor in the country's political life.

Our Party is taking an active part in the pre-election battle, convinced that this is at present the best means of combining underground activities with legal activities among the masses, of strengthening its ties with the masses and uniting and organising all patriots. The political activity of the masses during the election campaign will be a major factor that will greatly facilitate their rapid and powerful action against any possible threat or attempt at a fascist military coup d'etat. The higher the level of political consciousness and organisation of the masses, the more resolutely will they rise up against the putschists in defence of their gains and their rights. The closer and more vital our ties with the masses, the more easily will we be able to bring them out into the streets in the event of a civil or military coup d'etat to fight against it and in the course of their fight to elect united front bodies

from among themselves, bodies capable of leading and arming the people, of taking measures in the interests of the people and of beginning to build up a new, people's power to counterpose to the power of the putschist generals. The main thing, consequently, is to educate the masses politically, lead them to struggle, unite and organise them and be able to make use of the necessary forms of struggle without any hesitation.

It is perfectly obvious, however, that we shall not be able to draw the whole Party into the election campaign unless all its organisations study, discuss and master the most important documents issued by the leadership. We have not managed, in a proper way, to bring the report on "The 1955 Elections and the Tasks of Our Party" to the knowledge of the entire Party and to see to it that it is discussed and assimilated. As a result, the Party as a whole was not properly equipped to play a full part in the election campaign. It has been unable to mobilise the masses to the extent that would make it strong enough to demand the nomination of a popular candidate; it has been unable to persuade the getulista working people (supporters of the *Trabalhista*—Ed.) to bring pressure to bear upon the *Trabalhista* leaders to alter the decision adopted at that Party's national conference.

Only on the basis of the demands of the masses, only if we proceed from the necessity of organising the struggle for their vital and immediate demands will we be more successful in raising the masses, in uniting and organising them and educating them politically. This cannot be accomplished merely by conducting simple agitation around the names of candidates or by fostering illusions as to what those candidates might do if they were elected. It is our duty to inspire the masses with confidence in

their own strength, to educate them, to urge them to be vigilant and not to allow themselves to be deceived by demagogic promises. Victory of the candidates recommended and supported by the Communists would help the struggle of the entire people for freedoms, against the high cost of living and in defence of peace and national independence.

In places of work, in every town, village and locality, Party members must be able to set forth a correct programme of demands around which the working people could be united so that, organised and enlightened, they might take part in the election campaign, fight for their rights and the satisfaction of their needs and cast their votes for the candidates recommended and supported by our Party. Facilitating the legal activity of our Party among the masses as it does, the election campaign gives us the possibility of making substantial headway in organising committees in the factories, the localities, on the big estates, in the villages, etc. If such committees are set up—not merely around the candidates, but primarily around programmes of concrete local demands—they will not disappear with the conclusion of the elections but will grow stronger and can form new units of the democratic front of national liberation. To make our ties with the masses still stronger, it would also be useful to establish mutual understanding with the leading bodies of the different political parties that support the same candidates as we do. This should be done at national and state levels and above all at district and municipal level. In this connection we must ourselves take the initiative in forming co-operation or inter-party committees, invariably pursuing the aim of stepping up the election campaign and strengthening our contacts with the broad masses. This requires that, besides standing firm on matters of principle, Party members show the maximum tactical flexibility and a correct understanding of the essence of working with allies. In other words, we must always bear in mind that our Party never goes back on its pro-

gramme but at the same time knows how to be loyal to agreements based on a specific platform.

The election campaign will become a broad and powerful mass movement only to the extent to which our branches succeed in coping with their role of vanguard of the broad masses of our people. In place of the old and erroneous practice of summoning the best activists from the branches and organising them under the direct leadership of the highest bodies of the Party to carry out the tasks of the election campaign, we must now do the exact opposite: organise the work of the Party in such a manner as to send the greatest possible number of district, zonal and regional leaders to the branches, really transforming these into centres of all the Party activity. The election campaign should thus help us to take concrete steps towards bringing about the necessary change in the understanding of the entire Party as to the true role of the branches—the link, as our Rules put it, between our leading bodies and the working class and the masses in general.

In taking an active part in the election campaign we must make it our aim to improve the work of the Party in all spheres. Consequently, we must work in each Party organisation to raise the political consciousness of the masses to a level that is equal to the tasks outlined in the Party programme, fighting resolutely for the vital demands of the masses in each factory and locality. This is the correct path to follow in our efforts to apply the Party programme to the concrete specific conditions of each district, municipality, locality or place of work; this is a sure means of getting the masses, made wiser by their own experience, to become more deeply aware of the correctness of the Party programme and to join more readily in the democratic front of national liberation.

Through the activity of the masses and their unity let us forge a weapon that will win victory for our cause, which is the cause of our people!

2. "Darul Islam" and Its Inspirers

In the neighbourhood of Tjiledug, a village situated in one of the most picturesque parts of Western Java, 119 houses were recently razed to the ground and property valued at 500,000 rupiahs carried off. A little before this 350 houses had been burnt down and 5 people killed in the Tasikmalaja area. "It's the Darul Islam again!" "It's the bandits from the 'Islam army'", say the Indonesian peasants and plantation workers, when they hear about raids on peaceful villages by terrorist gangs.

Just who is behind these cut-throats from Darul Islam and other bands who murder peasants and destroy villages?

The fact is that Darul Islam, headed by Kartosuwirjo, who is trying to establish an Islam state, has close connections with foreign imperialism, primarily with the Dutch colonisers. The activities of the Daud Beureuh gangs in the Atjeh region (North Sumatra) and the establishment of the so-called South Moluccas Republic attest to this.

The proceedings against the not unknown Dutchman Jungschlager, a terrorist chief, which began in Djakarta in February last, show that he and two others, Schmidt and Westerling, are the leaders of the illegal "partisan organisation of the Dutch Indies" (NIGO), and that the Dutch and other foreign imperialists are actively helping them in their subversive activities. NIGO, in its turn, supports Darul Islam and other bands. Witnesses confirm that Kartosuwirjo maintained contact with the Dutch and used to meet them in the Priangan Hotel in Bandung and at the residence of the Netherlands High Commissioner. It has been revealed at the trial that arms, provisions and clothing for NIGO, Darul Islam, the "Islam army" and other terrorist bands were dropped from planes. Witness Manoch testified that he had himself participated

in a dozen operations of this kind and that the aircraft of the oil company Royal Dutch Shell, the Netherlands Military Mission and the U.S. and British embassies in Djakarta had taken part. On Jungschlager's demand arms were brought into the country regularly to keep the bands supplied. Witnesses testified that preparations were made to assassinate Ali Sastroamidjojo, former Prime Minister, Gondokusumo, Minister of Justice, and other members of his government.

The "ministers" and "leaders" of the self-styled "South Moluccas Republic" pleaded guilty to crimes against the people and declared that they were acting on orders from the Netherlands. All the same Westerling, the murderer of 40,000 patriots in South Celebes, having enlisted the support of the Masjumi Party, continues the fight for the "South Moluccas Republic".

We see that since the Indonesian Republic was proclaimed, the Netherlands colonisers have not for an instant relinquished their plans for dividing the Republic into separate "states". They are still getting together terrorist gangs, sending ruffians into the country. They have not only seized West Irian—legitimate territory of the Indonesian Republic—and are building their military bases there, but they are also attempting to reverse the wheel of history and once again convert Indonesia into their colony.

The working people of the Indonesian Republic will give the colonisers the rebuff they deserve.

Jan MAREK

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