

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

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## Leninism—Great Life-Giving Teaching

Leninism is the great international teaching of the working people of the world, a powerful ideological weapon of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all lands. Lenin's ideas exert a tremendous influence on the whole course of world history, they set in motion the broad masses of the working people in all parts of the world, unite and rally them in the struggle for peace and freedom, for democracy and Socialism, for the triumph of a new life.

The Leninist teaching is indeed a teaching of millions, the greatest achievement of Russian and world culture. Leninism—Marxism of the new epoch, the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions—is the property of toiling mankind. Taking hold of the masses, the Lenin ideas have become a powerful material force transforming the world. Leninism is a genuinely scientific theory of social development, closely linked with the practice of the world Communist movement; it is the generalisation of the vast experience of the proletariat in its struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for the building of a new, socialist society. As an immortal and creative teaching Leninism helps to successfully solve the tasks of the revolutionary transformation of life, enriching itself with new theses and conclusions.

The attraction and life-giving force of Leninism stem from the fact that it correctly reflects the needs of the development of the material and intellectual life of society and the vital interests of the working people, and that Lenin's ideas are being translated into life with the utmost precision.

The immortal Leninist teaching has found its fullest realisation in the USSR. Unswervingly following the path charted by Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by J. V. Stalin, inspired and organised the Soviet people for carrying through gigantic socialist transformations. In a brief historical period the USSR was transformed from a backward agrarian country into a powerful industrial and collective-farm socialist power. Now the Soviet Union is carrying out the task of further powerful development of the productive forces of socialist society and improvement of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people; measures are being carried through for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

The ideas of Leninism are being made a reality, they live on and win victories in the deeds of the working people of the countries of people's democracy.

The enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism seek in vain to stop the spread of Leninist ideas, to weaken their influence on the popular masses. The imperialist warmongers would like to conceal the Leninist life truth from the working people, to enmesh them in falsehood and to dupe them with slander. This is the object of the activity of the whole apparatus of the capitalist state.

In our day, all the forces of reaction and war, headed by the U.S. aggressive circles, gather beneath the evil banner of anti-Communism in their struggle against all that is new and progressive. But the peoples throughout the world remember and will always remember that it was precisely under this criminal standard that the second world war was prepared by the Hitler fascists—the shock force of predatory German imperialism.

On whom do the U.S. warmongers rely? In Europe they rely on the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, on the anti-patriotic forces of the ruling circles of Britain, France, Italy and the other West European countries; in Asia the U.S. military rely on adventurists and betrayers such as Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek and Bao Dai; in the countries of Latin America on anti-popular pro-fascist elements. It is these forces of reaction that are coming out today beneath the standard of anti-Communism and, supporting the U.S. "positions of strength" policy—the policy of gambles and atomic blackmail—are striving to plunge the peoples into the abyss of a new world war.

Armed with the immortal Leninist teaching, the Communist and Workers' Parties wage a consistent, resolute and unremitting struggle against the forces of international reaction, against the pernicious ideology of imperialism and war. They expose the reactionary essence of racism, cosmopolitanism, neo-Malthusianism, atomic sociology and all other misanthropic and unscientific "theories". The Communist and Workers' Parties persistently expose the schemes and machinations of the U.S. atom maniacs and their accomplices, as well as their utterly anti-popular policy of deceit and violence, the policy of preparing a new world war. Leninism lives on and wins victories in the activity of the growing and strengthening international movement for peace and friendship between the nations.

There is no force in the world that can stop the victorious advance of the Leninist ideas. No matter to what ventures the aggressive circles of the imperialist

## Soviet Government's Statement on German Question

The Governments of the United States of America, Britain, France and also the German Federal Republic (Western Germany) have recently been doing everything they can to get the Paris agreements ratified. In doing so they do not want to take into account the adverse consequences for all the peoples of Europe and the cause of universal peace which will result from such ratification.

The Government of the Soviet Union deems it necessary once again to draw attention to the fact that the Paris agreements envisaging the remilitarisation of Western Germany are leading to a grave aggravation of the entire situation in Europe. This is the view not only of the Government of the USSR, but of the Governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and also of the People's Republic of China and certain other states. It is common knowledge that even in those countries whose governments are in favour of the Paris agreements the majority of the people are, as a rule, opposed to these agreements.

In the event of the ratification of these agreements Western Germany will be remilitarised and the German Federal Republic will be drawn into such military groupings as the West European military alliance and the North Atlantic bloc.

Not only the Soviet Union but a whole series of other European and non-European countries consider the West European Union and the North Atlantic bloc to be aggressive military groupings, and regard the incorporation of the German Federal Republic into these military groupings, which are directed against the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states, as an act leading to an increased danger of a new war in Europe.

The Paris agreements can bring no good either to Germany or the German people; on the contrary, having as their aim the re-establishment of militarism in Western Germany, these agreements will completely draw the German Federal Republic into the adventurist plans for preparing a new war, plans which have always been and will continue to be alien to the interests of the peoples, including the interests of the German people.

The Paris agreements contradict the interests of the German people first of all because they will harden the division of Germany for many years to come and will be an obstacle to the peaceful restoration of the unity of Germany. It is perfectly obvious that the unification of a peace-loving German Democratic Republic and a militarised German Federal Republic that has been drawn into military groupings is impossible. Ratification of the Paris agreements is incompatible with the restoration of Germany as a unified peace-loving state.

Of late allegations have been spread in the German Federal Republic, as well as in Britain, France and some other countries, to the effect that ratification of the Paris agreements will not hinder but will even facilitate the holding of negotiations on the German question and on other unsolved international problems.

The Soviet Government has already pointed out that such allegations are absolutely groundless and can only serve to confuse public opinion. This is being done in order to push through ratification of the Paris agreements in the parliaments of certain states at any cost. It is being done by those Western circles who are making the revival of German militarism their principal aim and who, for the sake of this, are sacrificing the national reunification of Germany.

In view of this attitude of the Governments of the United States of America, Britain and France, an attitude that is in flagrant contradiction to the international obligations assumed by these countries as regards restoring the unity of Germany as a peace-loving and democratic state, the unification of Germany now depends, first and foremost, on the Germans themselves, on the stand of the German people.

As is known, the final consideration of the Paris agreements in the West German Bundestag is set for February. The future of Germany to a great extent depends on its decision, and those major parties and the trade unions of Western Germany, which are closer to the people, to the German working class and oppose the ratification of the Paris agreements, fully appreciate this.

The democratic rights of the German citizens must be ensured at these elections. The electoral law for these elections, prepared with due regard for the electoral laws of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, must guarantee to the electorate free expression of will and to each democratic party and organisation freedom of electoral campaigning throughout Germany, as well as freedom to nominate candidates and put forward lists of candidates.

With a view to facilitating agreement on holding the aforementioned elections the Soviet Government deems it possible, in the event of agreement on this point by the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, to negotiate agreement on the establishment of corresponding international supervision over the conducting of the all-German elections.

At the same time no part of Germany must be bound by any provisions whatsoever arising from separate agreements regarding her participation in military groupings.

The Soviet Government believes that the question of the future state system of a unified Germany must be decided by the German people themselves and that it is the task of other states to help Germany firmly to take the path of peace-loving and democratic development.

The holding of free all-German elections and the restoration of the unity of Germany would also create the necessary prerequisites for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, which would finally consolidate the independence, sovereignty and equality of a unified Germany. A peace treaty would likewise give the right to a united Germany to have her own national armed forces, necessary for ensuring the security of Germany and her borders.

The German people must decide which path they are to take in the future.

One path leads to the restoration of the unity of Germany and to the establishment of normal relations with all countries of Europe. This path excludes the participation of either part of Germany in military groupings directed against other states and can best of all be ensured by the participation of Germany in a system of collective security in Europe.

The other path, along which the Paris agreements are impelling her, is the path of hardening the division of Germany, re-establishing militarism in Western Germany, a path leading to her involvement in the plans for engineering a new war. There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the German people reject this militarist path, the path of new hopeless military ventures, a path that Germany has traversed more than once and that bodes nothing but fresh, even more dire calamities for the German people.

As distinct from the militarist path along which Germany developed in the past, the reunification of Germany and her participation in a system of collective security in Europe will open up the most favourable opportunities for an upsurge of a German peace economy and advanced industry, for the development of broad economic relations between Germany and other countries, particularly the East European and Asian countries with their enormous population and inexhaustible resources. Such a development of Germany under conditions of peace and broad economic relations with other states would ensure her industry the broad markets so necessary for it and would provide employment for her population and help to raise the living standards of the German people.

Such a path of development for Germany conforms both to the national interests of the German people and the interests of consolidating peace in Europe and throughout the world.

All that has been said makes it possible for the Soviet Government to arrive at the following conclusions:

**FIRST.** The most important and urgent thing for the settlement of the German problem is the solution of the problem of restoring the unity of Germany. In order to solve this question negotiations are needed between the United States of America, Britain, France and the Soviet Union on the subject of restoring the unity of Germany on the basis of holding free all-German elections. Such negotiations will become pointless and impossible if the Paris agreements are ratified.

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The ideas of Leninism are being made a reality, they live on and win victories in the deeds of the working people of the countries of people's democracy in Europe and Asia. Armed with the all-conquering Leninist teaching and headed by their Communist and Workers' Parties—the leading and guiding force of the new society—the working people of these countries are consolidating the people's-democratic system and are successfully laying the foundations of Socialism.

The victory of the people's revolution in China is a vivid embodiment of the ideas of Leninism as applied to concrete conditions in China. The Communist Party of China, creatively applying the Leninist teaching to the conditions obtaining in China, is firmly and confidently leading the country along the path of socialist transformation. Each item of news about the fresh labour victories of the great Chinese people, who have shaken off forever the chains of imperialism and feudal reaction, is welcomed by the working people of all countries with pride and joy.

The ideas of Leninism find striking reflection in the successes of the international Communist movement, in its ever-growing influence among the masses of the working people of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. Hundreds of millions of proletarians, peasants and progressive intellectuals rally around the Communist and Workers' Parties of these countries in the struggle for their vital demands and democratic rights, for the independence and security of their countries. For them, Leninism embodies their brightest ideals and noblest aspirations for freedom, democracy and Socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching develops and wins ever-broader sections of the popular masses in the course of bitter and uncompromising struggle against imperialism, against all enemies of the working people, against the predatory, expansionist strivings of aggressive circles of the capitalist countries. Leninism teaches that capitalism means economic crises, unemployment, poverty and hunger, national oppression, the colonial yoke, and the fomenting of enmity and wars between the peoples. And this world, which is distinguished for its lack of rights and merciless exploitation of the working people, is presented as a "free world" by the apologists of capitalism who, to conceal their aggressive designs, cynically proclaim their intention to "defend" it with the A and H-bomb!

## Emulation in Honour of Tenth Anniversary of Liberation of Hungary

The Hungarian working people are preparing a worthy celebration of their great national holiday—the tenth anniversary of the country's liberation from the Hitler invaders by the Soviet Army.

On the initiative of the workers at the Matyas Rakosi Combinat in Csepel wide-scale socialist emulation in honour of this memorable date has been developed up and down the country. The workers of the Combinat fulfilled the plan for the first ten days

of the new year by 105.4% and also overfulfilled it for the next ten-day period.

Big achievements stand to the credit of the workers of the six major coal trusts in the country, which overfulfilled their production assignments for the first 17 days of January.

The emulation drive is likewise gaining momentum in the countryside, on the state farms, in the MTS and producer co-operatives.

Armed with the immortal Leninist teaching, the Communist and Workers' Parties wage a consistent, resolute and unremitting struggle against the forces of international reaction, against the pernicious ideology of imperialism and war. They expose the reactionary essence of racism, cosmopolitanism, neo-Malthusianism, atomic sociology and all other misanthropic and unscientific "theories". The Communist and Workers' Parties persistently expose the schemes and machinations of the U.S. atom maniacs and their accomplices, as well as their utterly anti-popular policy of deceit and violence, the policy of preparing a new world war. Leninism lives on and wins victories in the activity of the growing and strengthening international movement for peace and friendship between the nations.

There is no force in the world that can stop the victorious advance of the Leninist ideas. No matter to what ventures the aggressive circles of the imperialist countries may resort they will not stop the course of history. The inextinguishable light of the Leninist ideas more and more brightly illumines the way forward for the peoples of all countries.

The powerful camp of democracy and Socialism is the unshakable bulwark of peace and justice. Rallied in a united and brotherly family the working people of this camp, headed by the Soviet Union, are firmly and unswervingly putting into practice the Leninist policy of peace and friendship between the nations, are consistently upholding and carrying out the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, capitalism and Socialism. The principles of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR, elaborated by Lenin, differ fundamentally from the foreign policy of exploiting states and are warmly welcomed and supported by all men of goodwill in all countries of the world.

Lenin's name and his immortal teaching are inseparable from the life and struggle of millions of people. Lenin's name is inseparable from all the best achievements of mankind in the present century.

The decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "On commemoration day of V. I. Lenin", states:

"The name of V. I. Lenin and his teaching are linked in the consciousness of the peoples in our country and of working people the world over with the great victories of the Soviet people in the construction of Communist society. Consequently it has become more fitting to honour the memory of V. I. Lenin not on the anniversary of his death, which has been characterised by mourning and sorrow, but on the anniversary of his birth, April 22, giving it the character of a celebration, more in keeping with the whole spirit of Leninism as an immortal, life-giving teaching."

The working people of all countries face the future with confidence. In the struggle for their just cause they are inspired by the all-conquering teaching of Leninism, permeated with bright and optimistic ideas, with profound confidence in the creative energy of the popular masses. Beneath the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the peoples are marching forward, towards the victory of peace and Socialism, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles in their heroic path.

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The attention of the world public is focused on the Soviet Government's Statement on the German question. The Statement contains new concrete proposals for a peaceful solution of the German problem. If these proposals were accepted, the division of Germany would be overcome, European peace strengthened and international tension diminished. This is why all who cherish peace and international security have received the latest Soviet proposals with profound satisfaction.

Commenting on the Soviet Government's Statement *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, stresses that the Paris agreements aggravate the war danger and that the Soviet Union proposes the convening of a Four-Power conference on the restoration of Germany's unity through the holding of free elections. Referring to the allegation spread by Western propagandists to the effect that negotiations for the reunification of Germany are still possible after ratification of the Paris agreements, the paper writes that allegations of this type are aimed at deceiving the German people.

The Secretariat of the Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany has issued a special statement pointing out that the Government of the USSR, consistently following a course of peace and security for all nations, has made new proposals for the settlement of the German question and relaxation of world tension. The statement reads that ratification of the Paris agreements must be removed from the order of the day in the Bonn Bundestag. Negotiations for the unification of Germany—this is the task of the moment.

Stressing the great importance of the Statement of the Soviet Government the Polish press points out that it shows the solely correct path to the unification of Germany and elimination of the danger of a new war in Europe.

leading to her involvement in the plans for engineering a new war. There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the German people reject this militarist path, the path of new hopeless military ventures, a path that Germany has traversed more than once and that bodes nothing but fresh, even more dire calamities for the German people.

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**SECOND.** The Soviet Union has good relations with the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Government is also prepared to normalise relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic.

Under present conditions the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic could, at the same time, contribute to better mutual understanding and to a search for more successful ways to solve the question of restoring the unity of Germany.

**THIRD.** If the Paris agreements are ratified, a new situation will be created in which the Soviet Union will concern itself not only with further consolidating friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic, but with helping to consolidate peace and security in Europe by the joint efforts of the peace-loving countries of Europe.

January 15, 1955

# Solve the German Question in the Interests of Peace!

## Comments of World Public on Soviet Government's Statement on German Question

The Czechoslovak newspaper *Rude Pravo* writes in a leading article that the Czechoslovak people give their firm support to the Statement of the Soviet Government on the German question. So long as the Paris agreements are not ratified, the article states, there is a possibility of achieving the reunification of Germany by peaceful, democratic means. That is why the Soviet Government's Statement, which now, at the decisive moment, shows the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the German question and gives a fresh warning against the Paris agreements, is of particular significance.

The Hungarian newspaper *Szabad Nep* writes that the Soviet Statement has once more drawn the attention of the West to the fact that ratification of the Paris agreements would close the door to Germany's reunification. There are two paths before the German people—one as indicated in the Paris agreements, the other as proposed by the Soviet Union. The first—the path of the Paris agreements—will make the peaceful reunification of Germany impossible. The second is that of a peaceful settlement of the German question, of establishing a unified, democratic, independent and peace-loving Germany. If the German people, writes the paper, take the second path, their country can regain genuine sovereignty and take a worthy place among the powers of the world.

The Soviet Government's Statement, writes the Rumanian newspaper *Scintei*, faces the German people more clearly than ever before with the choice as to which path they are to traverse in the future.

The Statement of the Soviet Government clearly and precisely shows that in the event of ratification of the Paris agreements negotiations for the unification of the two parts of Germany will be impossible.

Under the headline "It is for the German people to speak" the Bulgarian *Rabot-*

*nichsko Delo* writes that the Soviet Government's Statement is justly regarded as an exceptionally important constructive step taken by the Soviet Union along the path of a just and stable solution of the German question which, under the conditions now existing in Germany and Europe, depends above all on the Germans themselves.

Referring to the Soviet Government's Statement the Chinese newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* writes that it is of particular importance both to the destinies of Europe and world peace.

The French democratic public looks upon the Statement as an important step forward along the path for restoring the unity of Germany on a democratic and peaceable footing. The Soviet Union, *L'Humanité* writes, exposes the manoeuvres of the Mendès-France Government which persists in asserting that negotiations for the reunification of Germany can take place after the ratification of the Paris agreements. The Soviet Union demonstrates that even this year the problem of German unity can be solved through the holding of free elections under international supervision.

The Italian paper *Unita* stresses the spirit of peace permeating the Soviet Government's Statement which confirms the desire of the USSR to convene a Four-Power conference to facilitate the unification of Germany and solve the most serious problem of peace in Europe.

A diplomatic observer of the Swiss newspaper *Die Tat*, in welcoming the Soviet Statement, writes: the Soviet Government's Statement of January 15 on the reunification of Germany, which envisages the possibility of establishing international supervision over the holding of free elections by secret ballot throughout Germany and the possibility of normalising relations between Moscow and Bonn, is of great significance.

The diplomatic observer of the British newspaper the *Birmingham Post* describes the Soviet Statement as clever and attractive, since it proposes to the Germans the realisation of their most cherished dream—the unification of their country.

The significance of the latest Soviet proposals is such that even a section of the reactionary American press, which at first greeted the Soviet Statement with hostility, has been forced to change the tune of its comments. In this respect an editorial in the *New York Times* is striking. It states that it is impossible to deny the potential power of this appeal for the realisation of the fundamental German aim, not to mention the fact that many groups in Germany are influenced by the extension of trade relations which can follow the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and Western Germany.

The majority of the reactionary newspapers, however, adopted a negative attitude towards the latest Soviet proposals. Fearing that the proposals will have a profound influence on public opinion in Western Europe they are seeking to play down the significance of the Soviet Government's Statement. It was the U.S. State Department which set the tone in this respect. Its representative hurried to proclaim on January 15 that the Soviet proposal was nothing but a repetition of what had been said for quite some time. The capitalist monopoly press, acting at the bidding of the State Department, is doing its utmost to distort the meaning of the Soviet Government's Statement and has called it a propaganda manoeuvre.

However, no matter how hard the reactionary propagandists attempt to mislead public opinion, the words of truth will reach all sincere peace supporters. The peoples will step up the struggle for the establishment of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany, for the promotion of peace in Europe.

## FRUSTRATE PLANS OF ATOMIC WARMONGERS!

### Enlarged Meeting of Bureau of World Peace Council

An enlarged meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council was held in Vienna on January 18 and 19, in which members of the Bureau and a large number of visitors, representing 30 countries of Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Australia took part.

The meeting was opened by Frederic Joliot-Curie, Chairman of the World Peace Council.

The meeting discussed the following questions:

1. Tasks of the peace movement arising out of the decision of the Council of NATO to use nuclear weapons.

2. Continued extension of the struggle of all peace-loving forces against the ratification and implementation of the Paris agreements directed at reviving German militarism.

The meeting unanimously adopted a Declaration of the Bureau of the World Peace Council and an Appeal to the Peoples of Europe.

An Appeal to the Peoples of the World, proposed by Frederic Joliot-Curie, was adopted in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm. It was signed by all taking part in the meeting, thus giving a start to a world-wide campaign for collecting signatures to this most important document.

## DECLARATION of Bureau of World Peace Council

Before 1955 set in two threats emerged and overshadowed the peoples: the menace of the remilitarisation of Germany and the decisions taken to prepare and justify an atomic war. They emerged just at the time when new prospects of peace were opened up to the peoples, they emerged as a result of the acts of responsible governments and not merely of the declarations of politicians and military leaders. These acts clearly flout the will of the peoples concerned and world public opinion.

The remilitarisation of Germany and all the obstacles placed by SEATO in the way of a peaceful solution of the problems of Asia emphasise the extreme gravity of the decisions adopted by the Council of NATO.

These decisions are designed to legalise atomic war, which has already been condemned by the conscience of mankind and international law, and to convince the public of the necessity of such a war. They can lead to the unleashing of an atomic war in Asia and Europe. They already constitute such a threat to the countries of all continents.

The remilitarisation of Germany and legalisation of atomic war are closely linked. They are the fruits of one and the same policy based on the division of the world into two blocs, on the drive for positions of strength and recourse to war as a means of solving international differences. The peoples know from experience that

this policy can only lead to economic chaos, poverty and war. The world peace movement urges them to weigh up the whole gravity of this new danger and to avert it by all means at their disposal.

The concerted action of the peoples can put an end to the policy of blocs and compel the governments to begin to negotiate, to disarm and to use atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes.

Mankind will not passively allow itself to be plunged into the disasters of an atomic war. It is not a question of which staff or government level may take the decision on atomic war, nor is it one of drawing a distinction between so-called tactical and strategic weapons. The task is to reject the destruction, oppression and poverty that such a war would entail and to ensure to all peoples of the world their independence and the right to develop their own resources, enabling them to step out together on the path of security and prosperity. It is to meet this necessity that the Appeal to continue the struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany and the Appeal to organise a great campaign against the use of atomic weapons have been issued.

It is to meet this need that the Great World Assembly has been called for May 22, 1955, in Helsinki, at which representatives of peace-loving forces of all countries will meet.

Vienna, January 19, 1955.

## APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE

The peoples of Europe refuse to accept the creation of the Wehrmacht.

They oppose the restoration—a bare ten years after the end of the war—of the army which brought death and destruction upon Europe.

They are indignant at the idea that atomic weapons may be put at the disposal of Hitler's former generals.

The peoples will never reconcile themselves to this crime.

The ratification of the treaties on setting up the Wehrmacht is far from being an accomplished fact.

In London and Paris, less than half the members of the Parliaments which approved these decisions voted for these agreements. The governments, like the Parliaments, have been obliged openly to acknowledge the hostility to the Paris agreements on the part of the peoples concerned. But these governments do not intend to take account of the opposition of the peoples of Europe and in particular the growing opposition of the German people themselves.

The peoples cannot be bound by decisions adopted by Parliaments against their will.

The governments that signed the London and Paris agreements can no longer conceal the tragic consequences of the creation of a new Wehrmacht. The remilitarisation of Western Germany would lead to the establishment of armed forces in Eastern Germany. It would speed up the arms race, make the peaceful reunification of Germany impossible for many years to come and render difficult any organisation of collective security in Europe.

The World Peace Council calls on the men and women of all countries to spare no effort, to display all their determination and all their courage so that the ratification and implementation of the London and Paris agreements may be prevented.

It calls on men and women who have been waging a heroic struggle against the rearmament of Germany, as well as all those who are becoming aware of the impending danger, to unite and multiply their efforts in order to prevent the revival of German militarism and safeguard the security of Europe with participation of a peace-loving Germany.

With the support of all peoples, Europe will prevent the establishment of a new Wehrmacht.

Vienna, January 19, 1955.

## APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Today certain governments are preparing to unleash an atomic war. They are trying to make the peoples accept it as inevitable.

The use of atomic weapons would result in a war of extermination.

We declare that any government that lets loose an atomic war would forfeit the trust of its people and would be condemned by all peoples of the world.

## In Council of Ministers of USSR

### On Scientific, Technical and Production Assistance by the Soviet Union to Other States for Promoting Research Into the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

The Soviet Government, attaching as it does great importance to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, has decided to render scientific, technical and production assistance to other states in establishing scientific experimental centres for the development of research into nuclear physics and the utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The Soviet Government has offered the People's Republic of China, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic many-sided assistance in designing projects, providing equipment and constructing experimental atomic piles with thermal capacities of up to 5,000 kw. each and accelerators of atomic particles. It is also envisaged that these countries will be supplied with the necessary amounts of fissionable material for atomic piles and scientific research. It is being done on the understanding that the above-mentioned countries will provide the Soviet Union with the necessary raw materials.

Scientists and engineers of these countries will be accorded the opportunity of acquainting themselves with scientific research into the peaceful uses of atomic energy carried on in the USSR and with the operation of experimental atomic piles.

The creation of the above-mentioned scientific experimental centres will enable these countries to develop large-scale nuclear research, to produce, with the help of experimental atomic piles, sufficient amounts of radio-active isotopes for use in medicine, biology and different branches of science and technique as well as to train cadres of scientists and engineers for advancing research into the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The USSR is considering the question of extending the range of countries which it will be able to assist in developing scientific research and experiments in using atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

## TASS Report

TASS is authorised to state the following. As is generally known, an official statement was published on July 1, 1954, to the effect that the first industrial atom power plant had been put into commission in the Soviet Union and had generated electric power for the industry and agriculture of surrounding districts.

The Soviet Government, recognising the great importance of utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and seeking to pro-

mote the development of international co-operation in this sphere, is prepared to share the appropriate scientific and technical experience gained in the Soviet Union.

To this end the Soviet Government is prepared to hand over a report on the first industrial atom power plant in the USSR and its work to the International Conference on the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy that is being convened in 1955 in accordance

with the decision of the IXth session of the General Assembly of Uno.

Academician D. B. Skobeltsin has been nominated Soviet representative to the UN consultative committee on convening this conference, which has been set up by the General Assembly. Academician Skobeltsin has been instructed to put forward a proposal that an appropriate item be included in the conference agenda.

## Atomic Energy—In the Service of Peace and Progress of Mankind!

The TASS report of the readiness of the Soviet Government to submit to the International Conference on the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy a report on the first industrial atomic power station in the USSR and its work, as well as the decision of the Soviet Government to render scientific, technical and industrial assistance to other countries for establishing experimental scientific centres for the development of research into nuclear physics and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have evoked great interest in all countries of the world.

These great historic decisions of the Soviet Government for ensuring the use of the magnificent achievement of the human mind—atomic energy—not for murder and devastation, as planned by the aggressive circles of the Western powers, but for peace and construction, for the progress of mankind, have found an enthusiastic response in the hearts of all people of goodwill since they are in harmony with their cherished hopes and aspirations. This is why they have been met with joy and satisfaction by the democratic public in all countries.

The TASS report and the statement "In Council of Ministers of USSR" are widely featured by the press in the People's Republic of China. The newspaper *Jenmin-jihpao* published a statement under the headline: "The Soviet Union renders scientific, technical and industrial assistance to our country and other states for the promotion of scientific research into the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes". The newspaper *Venuehpao* wrote on January 18: "The Soviet Union has not only put into commission an atomic power station which is the first in the history of mankind, it is ready to share its experience with other nations. What a great contribution to the cause of peace and progress of mankind!"

who have officially proclaimed their schemes for reducing the world to radio-active ruins."

The decision of the Soviet Government is heartily welcomed and approved by the entire Czechoslovak press. *Rude Pravo* wrote: "The Czechoslovak people will always march shoulder to shoulder with all peace-loving peoples in the front ranks of the fighters for the happiness of the world and the future of human society. Thanks to the Soviet Union, which has always helped us to hasten the approach of the joyous future, atomic energy will be used on a large scale in our country, too, for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of our people."

The new peaceful initiative of the Soviet Government has been met with great satisfaction and wholehearted approval in Rumania, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania.

The democratic public in France looks upon the decisions of the Soviet Government as proof of the aspirations cherished by the USSR to place atomic energy at the service of mankind and secure a ban on the use of this magnificent discovery for extermination purposes.

The newspaper *L'Humanité* emphasises in a leading article that "at a time when only war orders etc., are being spoken of in all the Western countries, the USSR tirelessly shows the way to international co-operating standards of the people to an undreamed of level".

Reports on the decisions of the Soviet Government have been the subject of lively comment in the British press. The *Daily Worker*, referring to the TASS report, says: "The USSR is the only country in the world which has not only put into commission an atomic power station but is ready to share its experience with other nations. What a great contribution to the cause of peace and progress of mankind!"

the significance of the steps taken by the Soviet Government and to distort their genuine purpose it could not help acknowledging the serious and positive role of these measures for the peaceful use of atomic energy. The *New York Times* in its editorial wrote that the Soviet statement as to its readiness to supply information on the work of the Soviet atomic power station is undoubtedly a step forward compared with the recent past. As the Associated Press reports, Democratic Senator Anderson, Chairman of the Congress Joint Atomic Energy Commission, commented on the TASS report that it would be an important step forward along the path to the relaxation of international tension.

People of goodwill in all countries cannot but see that the policy of the Soviet Union is in complete contrast to the policy pursued by the U.S. ruling circles with regard to the use of atomic energy. The Soviet Union, which consistently and persistently strives for a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons, is doing its utmost to use atomic energy as a powerful force of progress, for peaceful purposes, for ensuring abundance of material wealth.

In contrast, the U.S. aggressive circles, who from time to time have spoken out for the peaceful use of atomic energy to confuse public opinion, have, in fact, steered a course of preparation for an atomic war. This is precisely at a time when certain adventurist circles in the Western powers are whipping up atomic hysteria on an ever-greater scale in the attempt to secure

upon Europe.

They are indignant at the idea that atomic weapons may be put at the disposal of Hitler's former generals.

The peoples will never reconcile themselves to this crime.

The ratification of the treaties on setting up the Wehrmacht is far from being an accomplished fact.

In London and Paris, less than half the members of the Parliaments which approved these decisions voted for these agreements. The governments, like the Parliaments, have been obliged openly to acknowledge the hostility to the Paris agreements on the part of the peoples concerned. But these governments do not intend to take account of the opposition of the peoples of Europe and in particular the growing opposition of the German people themselves.

The peoples cannot be bound by decisions adopted by Parliaments against their will.

## APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

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The use of atomic weapons would result in a war of extermination.

We declare that any government that lets loose an atomic war would forfeit the trust of its people and would be condemned by all peoples of the world.

We oppose those who are preparing an atomic war.

We demand the destruction of stockpiles of atomic weapons, wherever they may be, and an immediate end to their manufacture.

**Frederic Joliot-Curie** (France), Chairman, World Peace Council; **Gabriel d'Arboussier** (Black Africa), Vice-Chairman, World Peace Council, lawyer; **Mme Eugénie Cotton** (France), Vice-Chairman, World Peace Council, Chairman of Women's International Democratic Federation; **Alexandr Fadeyev** (USSR), Vice-Chairman, World Peace Council, writer; **Leopold Infeld** (Poland), Vice-Chairman, World Peace Council, Professor of Physics; **Kuo Mo-jo** (China), Vice-Chairman, World Peace Council, Chairman of Academy of Sciences of China; **Jorge Amado** (Brazil), writer, Chairman, National Association of Brazilian Writers; **Laurent Casanova** (France), deputy, former minister; **Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie** (France), deputy, former minister; **Ilya Ehrenburg** (USSR), writer, deputy; **Wilhelm Elfes** (Germany), former burgomeister of Munich-Gladbach, Chairman, Union of Germans Fighting for Unity, Peace and Freedom; **James Endicott** (Canada), Chairman, National Peace Congress; **Nazym Hikmet** (Turkey), poet; **Josef Hromádka** (Czechoslovakia), Dean, Faculty of Geology in Prague; **Alexandr Korneichuk** (USSR), playwright, deputy; **Jan Mukarjovský** (Czechoslovakia), Director, Kralov University, Prague; **D. N. Pritt** (Great Britain), lawyer, Chairman, British Peace Committee; **Louis Saillant** (France), General Secretary, World Federation of Trade Unions; **Emilio Sereni** (Italy), senator; **Jessie Street** (Australia), representative of Australia at the UNO San Francisco Conference; **Antoine Tabet** (Lebanon), architect; **Nikolai Tikhonov** (USSR), poet, Chairman, Soviet Peace Committee; **William Wainwright** (Great Britain), writer, Secretary, British Peace Committee; **Jean Laffitte** (France), General Secretary, World Peace Council, writer; **Isabelle Blume** (Belgium), Secretary, World Peace Council, former deputy; **Vincent Duncan Jones** (Great Britain), Secretary, World Peace Council, publicist; **Panteleimon Gulyayev** (USSR), Secretary, World Peace Council, journalist; **Li I-mang** (China), Secretary, World Peace Council, economist; **Ivor Montagu** (Great Britain), Secretary, World Peace Council, film director; **Riccardo Lombardi** (Italy), deputy, former minister, member of Bureau, World Peace Council; **Abder Haman Bouchama** (Algeria), architect, Chairman, Algerian Peace Committee; **Heinrich Brandweiner** (Austria), Professor of International Law, Chairman, Austrian Peace Council; **Alberto Cavalcanti** (Brazil), film director; **Robert Chambeiron** (France), former deputy; **Jacques Denis** (France), General Secretary, World Federation of Democratic Youth; **Ostap Dluski** (Poland), deputy, editor; **Ambrogio Donini** (Italy), senator; **Erwin Eckert** (Germany), deputy, Landtag, Chairman, West German Peace Committee; **Ernst Fischer** (Austria), writer, former minister; **Nino Fogliarisi** (Italy), professor; **Ragnar Forbakk** (Norway), pastor, Chaplain, Oslo Cathedral; **Sergei Gerasimov** (USSR), deputy, film director; **Kaoru Yasui** (Japan), Professor of International Law at Hosei University,

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Vienna, January 19, 1955.

General Secretary of National Council for Collection of Signatures to Demands to Ban Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons; **Kinkazu Saionji** (Japan), Member, Chamber of Councillors, Director of Nishi Nippon Shimbun; **Liu Kuan-yi** (China), General Secretary, Chinese People's Committee of Peace and Struggle against American Aggression; **Liu Chang-sheng** (China), Deputy Chairman, All-China Federation of Trade Unions; **Clarence Menotti** (Italy), former senator; **Parameswaran** (India), Secretary, All-India Peace Council; **Erwin Scharf** (Austria), writer, Chairman, Socialist Workers' Party of Austria; **Zekeria Sertel** (Turkey), writer, journalist; **Valentin Sorokin** (USSR), economist; **Pandit Sunderlal** (India), writer; **Alfredo Varela** (Argentina), writer; **Paul Wandel** (Germany), deputy, former minister; **Heinz Willmann** (Germany), General Secretary, German Peace Council; **Jorge Zalamea** (Colombia), writer, former minister; **Teitelboim** (Chile), writer; **Heinz Altschul** (Austria), General Secretary, Austrian Peace Council; **Mme Janosne Bugar** (Hungary), Secretary, All-Hungarian Peace Council; **Nestor Grancelli** (Argentina), lawyer, former president, University federation; **Mme Rosa Hollender** (Belgium), General Secretary, Belgian Peace Union; **Iza Ibrahim** (Indonesia), Secretary, Indonesian National Peace Committee; **Joris Ivens** (Holland), film director; **Felix Iversen** (Finland), Vice-Chairman, World Federation of United Nations Association; **Anton Strend** (Sweden), Secretary, Swedish Peace Committee; **Suroso** (Indonesia), General Secretary, Indonesian National Peace Committee; **Luis Vidales** (Colombia), writer; **Fernand Vigne** (France), General Secretary, National Peace Council; **Mme Mjrjant-Vire Tuominen** (Finland), General Secretary, organisation of Finnish peace supporters; **Jacob Wolf** (Holland), journalist; **Bruno Bernini** (Italy), Chairman, World Federation of Democratic Youth; **Bertolini**, Secretary, International Federation of Resistance Fighters and Victims and Prisoners of Fascism; **Paul Delanoue**, General Secretary, International Federation of Educational Workers' Trade Unions; **Luigi Grassi**, Secretary, World Federation of Trade Unions; **Zoya Ivanova**, Secretary, Women's International Democratic Federation; **Mme Molly Mandel**, Secretary, Women's International Democratic Federation; **Mme Hilde Neumann**, lawyer, International Association of Democratic Lawyers; **Se Ban Diu**, Vice-Chairman, International Students' Union; **Taptikov**, International Federation of Educational Workers' Trade Unions; **Sorin Toma** (Rumania), journalist; **Jaroslav iwaskiewicz** (Poland), writer, Chairman, All-Polish Peace Committee; **Leon Kruczkowski**, Chairman, Polish Writers' Union; **W. Klosiewicz**, Chairman, Central Council, Polish Trade Unions; **Max Cosyns** (Belgium), Professor of Physics; **Mme Farge**, member, Presidium, French National Peace Council; **Georgi Pirinski** (Bulgaria), Vice-Chairman, Executive Bureau, National Peace Committee.

of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have evoked great interest in all countries of the world.

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Commenting on the TASS report, the **Polish** newspaper **Trybuna Ludu** emphasised: "The public of Poland, and not of Poland alone, regard this report as one of great significance. Atomic energy must be used for the benefit of life, civilisation and culture, threatened by the notorious atom maniacs

to hasten the approach of the joy of atomic energy will be used on a large scale in our country, too, for peaceful purposes for the benefit of our people."

The new peaceful initiative of the Soviet Government has been met with great satisfaction and wholehearted approval in **Rumania, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania**.

The democratic public in **France** looks upon the decisions of the Soviet Government as proof of the aspirations cherished by the USSR to place atomic energy at the service of mankind and secure a ban on the use of this magnificent discovery for extermination purposes.

The newspaper **l'Humanité** emphasises in a leading article that "at a time when only the arms pool, atomic guns, distribution of the war orders etc., are being spoken of in all war orders etc., the USSR tirelessly shows the way to international co-operation, which, if followed, could raise the living standards of the people to an undreamed of level".

Reports on the decisions of the Soviet Government have been the subject of lively comment in the **British** press. The **Daily Worker**, referring to the readiness of the USSR to share its experience in the operation of the atomic power station, stressed that the Soviet Union had made its praiseworthy and good-will and because of the tremendous importance to mankind of the peaceful use of atomic energy. It declared that Soviet science had advanced to first place in the world of science.

Despite all the attempts of the **American** press to belittle, in every possible way,

## Working People Prepare to Mark Fiftieth Anniversary of First Russian Revolution

The Soviet people and the world democratic public are preparing to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the First Russian Revolution, the first popular revolution of the epoch of imperialism.

The First Russian Revolution broke out with the bloody events of January 9 (January 22, new style), 1905, in St. Petersburg, when the tsarist government brutally fired upon a peaceful workers' demonstration in accordance with a previously prepared plan; on that day over a thousand workers were killed and several thousand wounded.

The hegemonic role in the First Russian Revolution, which aimed at overthrowing tsarism and establishing a democratic republic, was played by the heroic Russian proletariat which, back in the pre-revolutionary period, had formed its revolutionary Marxist party, a party of the new type, headed by V. I. Lenin.

The First Russian Revolution, according to Lenin's brilliant definition, was the prologue and general rehearsal of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Soviet people dearly cherish and carefully study the wealth of experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907.

Preparing to celebrate this outstanding anniversary, Party organisations are helping all the working people to familiarise themselves thoroughly with the heroic pages of the history of the First Russian Revolution. Lectures, reports and talks are being arranged everywhere. Newspapers and socio-political journals are publishing articles and other material dealing with the 1905-1907 Revolution.

Trade union, women's, youth and other public organisations, workers in the field of art, literature and science are making active preparations to celebrate the 50th anniversary.

A central exhibition on the 1905-1907 Revolution is being arranged in **Moscow** in the Museum of the Revolution. It is

proposed to organise a number of excursions for the working people to the scenes of revolutionary events and to produce new films this year about the First Russian Revolution. A plan to publish the classics of Marxism-Leninism, literary works and works of a popular-scientific character on this revolution has been adopted.

Art posters and reproductions of pictures depicting events of this revolution are being issued.

Preparations for this notable date are underway on a wide scale in **Lenin-grad**. Lectures on "Fifty years since the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907" and "Leningrad—city of three revolutions" are being held there. In the halls of the Winter Palace an exhibition is being arranged which will depict the selfless struggle of the workers and peasants of Russia against tsarism. The monument to the memory of those who were killed during the firing on the workers' demonstration on January 9, 1905, at the Winter Palace, has been restored.

The working people of all the fraternal Soviet Republics are enthusiastically preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary. The number of visitors to the **Kiev** Historical Museum has shown an increase recently, and the museum's scientific workers are delivering lectures on: "The 1905-1907 Revolution in the Ukraine", "Proletariat of Kiev in the period of the 1905-1907 Revolution" and other subjects.

Next to multi-storeyed buildings on the **Kruglaya Square** in **Minsk**, the capital of **Byelorussia**, stands a house, now a museum, which was the scene of the First Congress of the **RSDLP** nearly 57 years ago. Many anniversary excursions are being made to it. Many of the exhibits are devoted to the life and revolutionary activities of V. I. Lenin.

Excursions to places of historical interest are being arranged in **Riga**. They visit the houses where V. I. Lenin stayed in

Chairman of the Congress. Joint TASS Energy Commission, commented on the report that it would be an important step forward along the path to the relaxation of international tension.

People of goodwill in all countries cannot but see that the policy of the Soviet Union is in complete contrast to the policy pursued by the U.S. ruling circles with regard to the use of atomic energy. The Soviet Union, which consistently and persistently strives for a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons, is doing its utmost to use atomic energy as a powerful force of progress, for peaceful purposes, for ensuring abundance of material wealth.

In contrast, the U.S. aggressive circles, who from time to time have spoken out for the peaceful use of atomic energy to confuse public opinion, have, in fact, steered a course of preparation for an atomic war. This is precisely at a time when certain adventurist circles in the Western powers are whipping up atomic hysteria on an ever-greater scale in the attempt to secure ratification of the Paris agreements which lead to the revival of the West German Wehrmacht, armed with such means of mass destruction as atomic, chemical and germ weapons.

The latest splendid initiative of the Soviet Union aimed at ensuring the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes inspires the peace-loving people of the whole world for still greater efforts in the fight for a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and against the adventurist schemes of the aggressive circles of the Western countries.

1900 and where he had a meeting with the Social Democrats of Riga.

The First Russian Revolution is of immense international significance. It has exerted a direct and powerful influence upon the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe and upon the national liberation movement in the countries of the East. The 50th anniversary of the First Russian Revolution is an event of immense importance in the history of the liberation movement, not only of the people of the Soviet Union, but of the working people throughout the world too.

The C.C. of the **Polish** United Workers' Party has adopted a special decision to celebrate this historic anniversary. From January 22 onwards, rallies, meetings and talks will be held all over Poland. They will be devoted to the heroic traditions of the Polish people who, during the period of the First Russian Revolution, rose to joint struggle for the common cause of the Russian and Polish people—the overthrow of tsarism, bulwark of reaction in Europe.

Workers, peasants and young people will meet with people who took part in the battles of 1905. Party activists will give reports and deliver lectures on the First Russian Revolution, and Party education centres are organising special exhibitions on the heroic events in Poland during the revolution. The History of the Party Department of the C.C. of the **PUWP** is preparing to publish many works on this event.

A book entitled "International significance of the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and its influence on Hungary" has been published in the **Hungarian** People's Republic while "Echo of the First Russian Revolution in the Czech lands" in **Czechoslovakia** has come off the press.

This significant date—the 50th anniversary of the First Russian Revolution—will also be marked by the working people of **Rumania, Bulgaria** and other countries,

# Communists' Struggle for Freedom, Peace and Socialism\*

In general, the results of our activity since the VIIIth Party Congress are positive in our opinion, the opinion of the Central Committee.

The Italian Communist Party, which is followed and supported by the millionfold masses of the people, comes to its Fourth National Conference a vigorous and strong party, full of energy and enjoying tremendous political, intellectual and moral prestige. A Party which has confidence in itself and in its cause, a cause that cannot but triumph.

Among the main successes which we have achieved and to which we intend to direct our attention, the election victory of June 1953, occupies first place. This victory prevented a virtual reactionary coup d'état, that is, the abolition of parliamentary and democratic freedoms that would have been necessary for the open transition to a totalitarian-type regime which the Clerical Party and its satellites were plotting and which was to have been realised by implementing the fraudulent election law. This was a big victory with extensive and far-reaching consequences, a victory won through the popular struggle which was well directed and carried on in full concord and co-operation with our Socialist comrades and supported by other not insignificant democratic forces.

Side by side with this success of paramount significance we must put the 16 million signatures collected in 1951 to the petition calling for a meeting of the heads of the Five Great Powers to conclude a Peace Pact. This was of great significance for the correct orientation of public opinion in our country on the vitally important questions of peace and war.

The economic struggle, although it has had its overall and partial victories and setbacks has led to many significant economic results and above all has shown that

the main masses of the industrial and agricultural proletariat, the office workers and state employees and fairly broad sections of the peasantry are always able to organise themselves and to struggle in defence of and for the improvement of their living standards.

In the South and on the islands, the organised movement of the entire working population, which aims at demanding and obtaining the economic and political renovation of this part of Italy, has gained momentum, taken firm strides forward and has made the whole of Italian society acknowledge the need for such a renovation. This movement has initiated democratic and social transformations in the South, a development which cannot be halted.

In the course of the entire political, trade union and agitational work which was necessary for obtaining these results we have built up and maintained unity of action of the main forces of the working class. This was achieved through the co-operation of our Party with the Italian Socialist Party, co-operation which is a permanent and most characteristic feature of the political situation in Italy.

Throughout the entire period under review our Party not only succeeded in resisting the attempts to sever the Party from the broad masses of the population and reduce it to the status of a persecuted sect, it has not only ensured that the greater part of the unbridled and frantic anti-Communist campaigns ended in fiasco, it has strengthened itself by increasing the number of its members and sympathisers, by strengthening solidarity, extending its organisations and increasing the number of votes it receives; the mass organisations, to whose activity we make our own contribution, have also become stronger.

## The Imperialists are Mainly Responsible for International Tension

Today we are confronted with a situation which, gradually to begin with and then as a result of several sudden leaps, has become more serious and strained. There is no doubt that international relations have become more strained and serious. They have become so since the Western powers' rejection of the repeated proposals to settle, peacefully and through honest negotiations, the German and other unsolved problems in Europe and to conclude a treaty on collective security open to all European countries. They have become so since the conclusion of the treaty in the so-called West European Union which is a new military bloc weighing more heavily on all peoples of Europe, giving the go-ahead for the revival of aggressive German militarism. They have become so, finally, after the recent decisions of the NATO Council which gave the American and British warmongers a free hand in preparing an atomic war on the European continent.

The situation at home has also become more serious and strained as a result of the more distinct and more clearly pronounced desire of the present rulers to repeat, in new forms and by new means, their attempt to suppress democratic and constitutional freedoms and in fact to establish under the banner of anti-Communism a regime of repression and persecution of the working-class and popular movement, restoring fascism in some of its ugly features and sharpening to the extreme all class and

in the course of the past few months we have witnessed the development of a specific process. On the one hand, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, or the countries marching along the path to Socialism have advanced proposal after proposal aimed at a rapprochement and at settling acute questions; they have proposed new measures which, had they been freely discussed as proposed, would have meant the strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world for a long time to come. On the other hand, the imperialist groups, following in the wake of the groups that direct the United States of America and Britain, have systematically, and one after the other, rejected all the peaceful proposals aimed at easing international tension; at the same time they undertook new acts in the cold war and even committed acts of open provocation of war and international conflicts.

For many years the imperialist powers have forced the popular masses of the capitalist countries to shoulder the unbearable burden of rearmament which impoverishes countries and ruins their national economies.

In Italy, for example, military expenditure during the six years since the signing of the North Atlantic pact has amounted to 2,747,500 million lire. In five years of this period 2,047,000 million lire were thrown to the winds for the sake of preparing new conflicts—and all this at a time when Italy has no aim whatever that, even to the slightest degree, could be realised by

striving for European and world domination. It follows from this that to restore what in the past was a permanent seat of conflict in Europe and throughout the world means to place the life and the fate of the European peoples under the direct threat of fresh conflicts, fresh divisions and fresh devastation. In Western Germany fascism is very far from being buried completely. Moreover, under the protection of American imperialism the objective and real basis of fascism has been restored. There are in existence and active now those, or at least some of those, who made up the cadres of the Hitlerite state and the Hitlerite aggressive army. In addition, those in key positions openly declare their intention to resume the struggle for European and world domination which has already twice ended in catastrophe for Germany and disaster for the European nations. It is also known that the decision to resurrect German militarism was taken by the very same American and British imperialists who want to use German imperialism as a shock force in an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries or the countries marching along the path to Socialism. Consequently, more ominous prospects are opening up which very soon can spell catastrophe for Europe if the European peoples do not resist, rally and struggle to save peace.

At almost the very time when the decision to resurrect German militarism was being taken at international conferences and on the strength of an imposed vote in the Parliaments of two countries, the meeting of the NATO Council was held which adopted a most dangerous decision aimed at the preparation of an atomic war in Europe. Simultaneously with the adoption of these decisions a British field marshal, American generals and colonels, together with the American press, have been engaged in a sinister campaign of threats of destruction by atomic weapons, a campaign which can be evaluated as nothing but an evil preparation for and the boosting of what tomorrow would be war crimes.

Thus there arises a most serious question, one that today confronts not only us and our country but the whole of mankind, the concrete question of the danger of atomic annihilation by the unleashing of a war in which atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons are used. The use of these weapons which cannot be controlled after they have been set in operation would entail the total destruction of vast areas of the world, the extermination of tens of millions of families, the destruction of enterprises and the productivity of the soil as well as the obliteration of all centres of social life, that is, the destruction of the modern civilisation of which we are legitimately proud and which represents the highest level of the development of the history of mankind.

What will remain after a war of this kind? The picture is such that people refuse to think about it. There is no doubt that neither British marshals nor American generals would survive. It is also certain that neither capitalism and Western ideology nor any monopolist groups with their plans of conquest would emerge victorious from such a catastrophe. Such part of mankind as managed to survive would be imbued with eternal hatred for the capitalism and imperialism that caused this destruction. The argument that atomic weapons are so catastrophic that the rulers will refrain from using them holds no water. This is all the more so since the groups in question are those which direct the policy of imperialism. And in fact we know that the moment might come when their policy will lead to a situation which, through their fault, will give rise to a process that cannot be stopped. In the last few years the bosses of American imperialism and militarism have twice threatened to launch a direct atomic conflict: McArthur in Korea in 1951, and Foster Dulles in Indo-China last year. It was the peoples rising to resolute action that forced certain governments to take measures to stop these criminals.

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**Palmiro Togliatti**  
General Secretary,  
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It is obvious that when the leading groups of imperialism act in this way and adopt this kind of decision they create a real threat of exterminating the nations of Europe and the whole world. We must reckon with this threat, assess it in all its gravity and explain it to the peoples with such clarity that the very consciousness of the people rises as never before and the peoples by their actions force the removal of this threat and the choice of an utterly different path in the development of international relations.

## Three Prerequisites for Peaceful Coexistence

The capitalist world is at the same time witnessing a process of the deepening of contradictions and of the growth of crisis phenomena. In some countries, as ours for example, economic stagnation has become a permanent phenomenon. The whole of capitalism represents a picture of continuous and constant decay; it shows its inability to solve its own contradictions without the preparation, through its economy and war policy, of new conflicts of devastation, it shows its inability to ensure mankind's progress by the satisfaction of the vital needs of the broad masses.

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## For Democratic Liberties and Well-being, Against Monopolies

If we now turn to relations at home, it can be said that here, the complicated situation has arisen from the renewed attack on the very foundations of the democratic regime and from the intention, brought to light by this offensive, to effect a radical, reactionary change in our regime.

The Government is throwing itself headlong into the so-called anti-Communist campaign, in the hope that in this way it will at least be able to gather around itself a closely knit group of reactionaries.

Some of the main principles of our Constitution are being repudiated, primarily the one providing for equality for all people before the law, so that political and social discrimination can be carried out not against individuals but against whole masses, against organised citizens. In fact, freedom of assembly and of the press, the right to criticise the actions and course taken by the Government, is restricted. The autonomy of local bodies in relation to the organs of executive power is systematically trampled underfoot. The right of the workers and all working people, no matter what their views and ideals, to undertake, within the framework of the law, the same activity as all other citizens and to obtain work on the same terms is being restricted and abolished.

One should not be surprised that these numerous Government actions result, directly or indirectly, in further aggravating the situation in factories, on farms and in other places of work. And so people are dismissed on political grounds and trade union activists and activists of the working-class political organisations at the factories are most relentlessly persecuted during working hours. The freedom and dignity of the worker are being abused, trampled underfoot and denied. The working people are even being threatened with differentiated wages according to their political views!

That is the picture we are faced with and it would be a mistake to regard it as one of simple political victimisation aimed at alienating the voters from the parties of the left. All this is being carried out on orders from across the Atlantic and is undoubtedly in the interests of certain economic and social groups at present directing Italian society.

It follows from this that ominous prospects may now open up. On the one hand, there is the question of enhancing American interference by imposing a policy of rearmament and military blocs, through the occupation of a part of our territory, by disastrous economic measures foisted on us in the interests of imperialism and, finally, by converting Italy into a politically and economically dependent country. On the other hand, there is the question of clerical interference in support of the bankrupt ruling and privileged circles, interference that renders imminent the danger of a return to clerical obscurantism in all spheres of social life.

The workers and civil servants needed a year of struggle to win a definite, but still inadequate wage increase. And there is already the threat of a rent increase and this increase alone would cancel out the results achieved in this struggle. As concerns the reforms needed for any permanent change in the economic structure

agricultural economy, the intolerable burden of land rent, the feudal type of agreements which hinder the development of labour productivity; of the fact that a general land reform has not been carried through and that the survivals of out-moded economic regimes have not been and are not being eradicated. This entire situation is not only the consequence of legislative or Government shortcomings, accidental or permanent. If we want to understand its essence, then we must admit that it is the consequence of a particular structure that contains shortcomings, of which I emphasise at least three main elements as being the most important.

The first—survivals of the most backward economic regimes of the past, particularly in the countryside. The second—the extremely rapid transition to the more advanced forms of capital concentration by creating monopolies which at the present time possess the greater part of the national wealth. The third—the fact that these monopolies, through organising and implementing corporatism (which on the whole still obtains, no matter what the liberals in the Government say), keep the state apparatus dependent on them and compel it to serve their interests.

One of the highest degrees of concentration of finance capital has been attained in Italy, and today 24 joint stock companies manage 39% of the capital of all joint stock companies, of which there are tens of thousands.

These titans of private capital have combined into a huge organisation, the Confederation of Industrialists, whose activities they determine, and this confederation, in its turn, is the body which now, it can be said, virtually rules Italy. This bloc of reactionary forces determines the Government's present course which is the traditional course of the privileged classes in Italy and the essence of which lies in the attempt to solve the nation's problems not with the people's help but by suppressing democratic rights and by foreign interference.

To this reactionary plan we are counterposing our policy, the policy of the working class and all the working people, which is aimed at radically regenerating and renovating our country through the restoration of and respect for all democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, by consistent defence and improvement of the living standards of all the people, by abolishing the inequality between town and country, between South and North and by implementing measures and the necessary economic reforms for wresting the management of the country's economic life from the big monopoly capitalists and giving it over to a government that would manage the national wealth in the interests of the working people and consumers, in the interests of the people as a whole.

In defining this programme and fighting for it, we are simultaneously fighting for the defence of our national independence in all fields of economic and political life, in home and foreign relations.

The defence of democratic freedoms is thus the primary task confronting us in the sphere of politics. We have already admitted that there are weaknesses and shortcomings

which is a new military bloc weighing more heavily on all peoples of Europe, giving the go-ahead for the revival of aggressive German militarism. They have become so, finally, after the recent decisions of the NATO Council which gave the American and British warmongers a free hand in preparing an atomic war on the European continent.

The situation at home has also become more serious and strained as a result of the more distinct and more clearly pronounced desire of the present rulers to repeat, in new forms and by new means, their attempt to suppress democratic and constitutional freedoms and in fact to establish under the banner of anti-Communism a regime of repression and persecution of the working-class and popular movement, restoring fascism in some of its ugly features and opening to the extreme all class and political relations in the country.

Although the situation has become more complicated, and we must recognise this and take account of it in defining our next tasks, it would have been a grave mistake on our part to forget that the sharpening of the situation takes place alongside the successes obtained as a result of our own activity, the activity of the working-class and popular movement, and constant actions and struggle over a number of years. This activity of the masses and our own activity, this struggle and its results have brought about an essential change in the correlation of forces, have given the working people increased confidence in their strength and a greater awareness of their rights and their ability to win new victories through resistance and struggle. The antagonisms between the popular masses, striving for a freer and better life and a peaceful future, and the reactionary ruling groups have deepened. The masses have become more conscious and more confident that by organising themselves, by fighting under correct leadership and by maintaining their unity they can uphold and save peace, and better conditions of life for themselves.

Consequently, a more severe struggle is ahead of us and we shall face new problems that must be put before the people and solved. At the same time, we are confident that the possibility exists for gaining fresh successes and we shall be able to win and consolidate these successes if we do not fail to work jointly with our Socialist comrades at the head of a broad front of the workers, the working people and democratic forces.

We have stressed more than once that the present deterioration of the international situation was preceded by certain obvious and substantial successes in the struggle for peace. The chief among these were the first, and not fruitless, coming together of the great world powers, including the People's Republic of China, at the Geneva Conference; the cessation of hostilities first in Korea and then in Indo-China; the failure of EDC as a result of the French people's struggle and the vote in the French Parliament; and, finally, certain progress in the discussion of the draft on disarmament which should include as one of its main points a ban on the use of atomic weapons and the destruction of the already existing atomic means of extermination.

These successes caused alarm in the war camp, in the camp of the imperialist instigators of war, for they seemed to put an end to the cold war, to make further conflicts impossible and to open up for the world a new and permanent vista of peaceful life and development. And indeed,

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## Three Prerequisites for Peaceful Coexistence

The capitalist world is at the same time witnessing a process of the deepening of contradictions and of the growth of crisis phenomena. In some countries, as ours for example, economic stagnation has become a permanent phenomenon. The whole of capitalism represents a picture of continuous and constant decay; it shows its inability to solve its own contradictions without the preparation, through its economy and war policy, of new conflicts of devastation, it shows its inability to ensure mankind's progress by the satisfaction of the vital needs of the broad masses.

On the other side there stands the vast camp of Socialism. There is the Soviet Union, a federation of sixteen Union Republics, there are six European states, there is the People's Republic of China and, in addition to China, there exist three other Asian states. These states cover a vast territory populated by hundreds of millions of people. These states and these people live in peace among themselves, there are no conflicts between them and they do not build up military blocs which would counterpose one group of states to the other. They are developing peacefully and are striving to direct all their efforts to an ever more effective utilisation of the forces of nature and labour to improve the well-being of all. It is these countries that were the first to overcome the appalling crisis caused by the devastations of the latest world war and which, without any doubt, are now marching in the van of humanity.

Consequently, there is a whole world in which the peoples work, produce and continuously advance because they have taken the path of Socialism. Besides this we know that the peoples of these countries have solved once and for all the problem of illiteracy and of bringing culture to all sections of the popular masses, that the moral and political unity of the peoples in these countries and their close solidarity around the governments who lead them, the Party and mass organisations are such as has never been seen in any country in the entire history of mankind.

Everyone must recognise the fact that part of mankind, nearly half of it, has chosen this new path of development and that it will never and under no circumstances abandon it.

This gives rise to the question of co-existence of the two worlds, a question which is being discussed all over the world. Coexistence today is not only a topic of discussion. No honest man or woman can any longer deny that since the October Revolution this has always been the approach of Communists, the approach defined by Lenin, confirmed by Stalin and confirmed in every measure taken by the present leaders of the Soviet Union. But what does coexistence mean? Some people say that it is too restricted a term and that we must speak about living together. We have no arguments whatever against this view because we also think that coexistence must not be understood as the division of the world into two halves sharply separated from each other. The civilisations existing in the world, irrespective of their social and political content, must not only exist side by side, they must know each other and compete with each other. And this demands daily contact and at least a certain degree of co-operation in all fields. Moreover, the need for this is determined by the fact that it is an absurdity and falsehood

to think of the socialist world as consisting only of what lies behind the "curtain"—described in Europe as the "Iron curtain" and in other parts of the world as the "Bamboo curtain". No, the socialist world exists on the other side, too, it lives and finds its expression in the consciousness, in the organisations, in the labour and struggle of millions of people organised in the capitalist countries and fighting in the ranks of this or that party for a radical renovation of the social structure in the direction shown by Socialism.

Let us even speak about living together. But in speaking about international politics we must clearly define what conditions can and must exist for this. We are of the opinion that the first and chief condition for this is the removal of the threat of atomic destruction, by means of concrete measures forced through by a movement embracing the entire people and all peoples even against the will of the imperialists. Secondly, there must be no interference by states in the internal affairs of others, that is, a guarantee of the independence of individual countries and national freedom in solving the problems that may confront particular peoples, the guarantee for which both liberals and democrats were fighting in the course of our Risorgimento. Finally, it requires a concrete policy of peace pursued by the governments and backed or imposed by the peoples who want peace because peace is the first condition for their lives, well-being and progress.

The demand for an altogether new direction in foreign policy is, therefore, the first act of our National Conference, is the backbone of all the proposals we now put before the Italians for the renovation of the national policy.

We demand a government of peace, we demand the resolute rejection of the policy of preparing and provoking a war, a policy that is founded now on the rearmament of a militarist Germany, on preparations for an atomic war in Europe, on aggravating to the extreme the differences now dividing the European peoples. We demand that the Italian Government undertake a concrete, peaceful initiative directed at easing tension in international relations, at the better organisation of a peaceful common life of all peoples and co-operation between them and consequently at ensuring constant peace on the continent of Europe and throughout the world. In demanding a policy of peace, we are demanding a policy of national independence.

**The battle against the atomic threat and for peace is now the most important one, and one that must be waged to save our people.**

It is obvious that, in posing these questions, the appeal we made some months back to the masses of people united in Catholic organisations led by the clerical hierarchy still holds good. This appeal has not been fruitless.

Consequently, we must get united, work together to demand a break with the atomic war plans, to demand a peace policy. We declare this and will repeat our declaration to the entire people by many and varied means because we know that to safeguard the future of our homeland it is absolutely necessary to attain this end and, consequently, to bring to the forefront the people's common aspiration for peace.

It follows from this that ominous prospects may now open up. On the one hand, there is the question of enhancing American interference by imposing a policy of rearmament and military blocs, through the occupation of a part of our territory, by disastrous economic measures foisted on us in the interests of imperialism and, finally, by converting Italy into a politically and economically dependent country. On the other hand, there is the question of clerical interference in support of the bankrupt ruling and privileged circles, interference that renders imminent the danger of a return to clerical obscurantism in all spheres of social life.

The workers and civil servants needed a year of struggle to win a definite, but still inadequate wage increase. And there is already the threat of a rent increase and this increase alone would cancel out the results achieved in this struggle. As concerns the reforms needed for any perceptible effect on the economic structure that gives rise to unemployment and poverty, nothing has as yet been accomplished here, except for a few resolutions by the Chamber of Deputies which the Government has ignored and made clear its intention to ignore them in the future too. Nothing has been done to reorganise the IRI (state controlled industry), to prevent dismissals and the closing down of factories, at least in the sectors controlled by the state. Nothing has been done towards solving the old problem of agrarian agreements, around which a fight is now being waged in the Government camp to find a means of preserving intact the status quo and once again betraying the hopes of the peasants. Nothing has yet been done to make the taxation system more democratic.

This explains why the anxiety, uncertainty, fear, perplexity and discontent with the situation, which remains grave and from which there appears to be no way out, are not diminishing in Italy, but on the contrary are just as widespread as hitherto and even more so; they are not diminishing because some of the main factors, which have now become almost structural in our economy, have not changed. And the most serious of these is the 2,000,000 fully unemployed and just as many partially unemployed, and the correspondingly terrible reduction of national productivity. Some branches of industry, particularly those connected with power supplies are developing, but it is precisely on these that the foreign imperialists are getting, or attempting to get, their clutches. In other branches stagnation and a crisis of production are continuing, accompanied by factories closing down and dismissals. Dismissals are only being stemmed by a tenacious, relentless and hard struggle by the proletariat, supported by the entire mass of the working people and citizens. The alarming manifestations of an exceedingly low agricultural productivity are still apparent in the countryside. And in fact, our country has the greatest amount of man-power per hectare of land in Europe and proportionally obtains the least produce from it. This is a consequence of the whole structure of our

## To Consolidate Unity of Working Class and All Democratic Forces

Today Socialism has ceased to be a bogey for anybody, since everyone has become aware of the catastrophe and devastation which can be and have been brought about by capitalism and imperialism. Several decades have passed since capitalism in our country reached the peak of its development as is seen now from its prevailing monopoly structure; and conse-

quently, conditions are now ripe for carrying out transformations of a socialist nature. It is clear that our Constitution itself, which must and will be a beacon illuminating the path of the development of Italian society within the next few years, contains the elements not only of a political but

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\* From Comrade Palmiro Togliatti's report to the Fourth National Conference of the Italian Communist Party on January 9, 1955.

## Communists' Struggle for Freedom, Peace and Socialism

(Continued from page 3)

also of an economic and social programme, of profound socialist inspiration. We demand the implementation of the Constitution and the constant defence and restoration of liberties recorded in it.

If these are the basic features of our programme and our actions, then what are the prospects of realising them? Our task is to find and define the general direction in which the class and political forces are striving to move, to disclose the contradictory viewpoints and, as far as possible, to establish the rhythm of the movement.

We know what schemes have been harboured and nursed by the reactionary groups; but on the other hand, we are also aware of the energy latent in the working class, the democratic sections of the middle classes, peasants and the whole people. Our enemies are likewise aware of this fact and it would be a good thing were they to keep it always in mind. This is what we recommend them to do. Let them know that each and every attempt to return to open reactionary dictatorship, to fascism, would mean the prospect of a new civil war in Italy, in which the Italian people, whom we can bring once more to victory, would take part.

At this Conference we confirm our basic political positions which have determined the political line pursued by our Party over the past few years. We are fighting for unity of the working people's and democratic forces and believe that all serious problems facing us must be solved through the establishment of this great unity.

The formation of a government of peace, a government that would restore democratic liberties and raise the standard of living of the entire Italian population remains our chief political demand. We assert—and this is borne out by the intensification of the campaign against us—that today in Italy it has already become impossible to put off for long the problem of participation by representatives of the working class and the broad masses of the working people in the leadership of social life.

The decisive factor in defining the correct perspective is our work to win the majority of the working class and the working population to the programme of peace, freedom and labour. The action we shall take to convince the entire people of the correctness of this programme and draw them into struggle to put it into effect is decisive.

Decisive too is the work of clarifying and carrying through certain concrete demands, of working out and taking action of a more general nature, for discussing and solving all questions which are of interest to the working masses, to whole categories, whole sectors of our economy and to whole regions of Italy.

In order to carry out this democratic and positive policy we must firmly base ourselves on working-class unity, on the worker-peasant alliance, on the alliance and co-operation of the working class with the broad working masses in the South.

Our large trade union organisation and the political co-operation between us and our fellow Socialists is an embodiment of working-class unity.

We know that unity is not a question of formulas or scraps of paper; it is a necessity, a method of work and struggle. What is necessary is to strengthen the working class forces, their ability to stand

up to the enemy and win victory by this unity. This is the chief thing, the decisive thing.

However, much still remains to be done among the working class itself and there is always much to be done. The ruling bourgeois circles have so far preserved their social and political support among the workers and the working masses, a fact which should not be overlooked. It is true that the membership of the Social Democratic Party has fallen off considerably but this Party still exists and we would be committing a serious error if we lost sight of this fact.

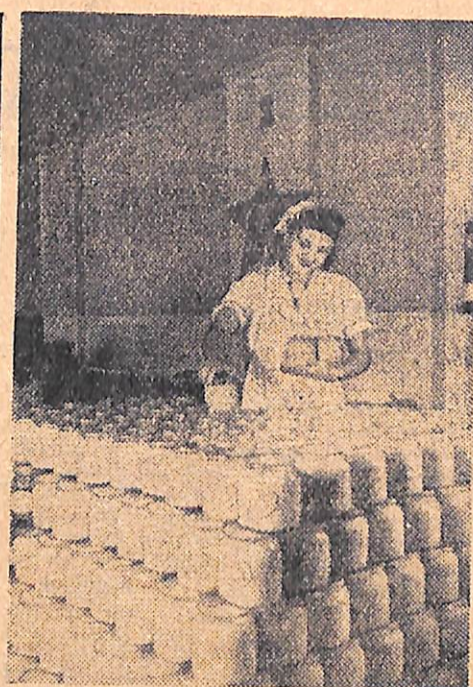
Of course, the ruling bourgeois circles find their main support not among this part of the population but among the Catholic organisations, headed by the clerical leadership, whose social "doctrine" is nothing but an instrument used by them to stop the march of the working people towards Socialism.

On the other hand the Catholic rank and file and the cadres of middle level often—and in certain localities in their majority—differ completely from the clerical leaders. The Catholic rank and file and the cadres of middle level are part and parcel of Italian society, work in factories and plants shoulder to shoulder with Socialist and Communist workers, suffer the same exploitation and are denied freedom in the same way; in the countryside their common desire is a revision of the agricultural agreements and a general land reform; they are, just as much as we are, suffering from the arbitrary actions of the monopolist bosses. Even prominent figures of the Catholic movement cannot, for long or for all time, escape from the effect of this feeling which is maturing in the lower sections of this movement.

We are only just beginning to work among the Catholic masses; so far this work is spasmodic, on an extremely limited scale and is carried out with undue caution.

The line that we have taken is not a falsely tolerant opportunist line. Our stand is correct, we are armed with a programme of freedom, peace and just progress, with a teaching that has opened up the way for us to get a correct understanding of the world in general and in the most crucial periods of history and that provides us with what we can and must teach all people, including the working people in Catholic organisations. We must, however, bring home to these working people the idea that it is clericalism and not religious beliefs that we fight against, that our programmes for peaceful progress and democratic and social regeneration do not envisage the suppression of their organisations; moreover, we call on these organisations to join in the work to eliminate serious shortcomings in our society and to build a new, a sounder and better society. We and the Catholic working people have common enemies: poverty, low wages, arbitrary actions of the employers, denial of freedom in factories, the poverty of the peasants, the economic and social backwardness of the South, the state which has set up police forces to use them always and only for the support of the employers in their fight against the working people.

We have a common enemy in the leaders of the policy of big imperialist states who are preparing for an atomic war, thereby threatening to destroy the whole of our civilisation. And as we have common enemies we can establish contact and unity of action both in factories and throughout the whole of national life.



The "Fraga" factory in Bucharest is producing high quality preserves which are in great demand among the population. Photo: One of the best women workers is preparing jars of jam for despatch to the warehouses.

## Danish Public is Against Ratification of Paris Agreements

The protest movement against the remilitarisation of Western Germany is broadening in Denmark. The meeting of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Denmark has recently adopted an appeal to the Danish people, calling on them to step up the struggle against the revival of the Wehrmacht. Trade union functionaries at the "Burmester og Vein" Company have issued a call to all trade union functionaries in Copenhagen to join in the demand for a popular referendum on the ratification of the Paris agreements.

In the town of Aalborg 132 trade union functionaries have published a protest against West German remilitarisation in which they demand the holding of negotiations between the great powers. A number of representatives of Danish student organisations have made a similar protest which stresses that in view of the menace from German militarism, the students consider it a matter of necessity to decide the question of ratification of the agreements on West German remilitarisation by popular vote.

Members of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark are also joining in the struggle against ratification of the Paris agreements. As reported by the Information Bureau of the All-Danish Conference for the Defence of Peace (federation of organisations in the peace movement), a group of outstanding Social Democrats have called upon members of their party and all Danish working people to support their West German comrades in their struggle to prevent the remilitarisation of Western Germany and against its inclusion in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

## Protests in Belgium Against Revival of German Militarism

While the Belgian Chamber of Deputies was debating the ratification of the Paris agreements, the struggle of the working people against the criminal schemes for West German rearmament was gaining momentum up and down the country. Thus, the Louvain section of the ex-partisan organisation issued a poster with the following

## National Economy of Czechoslovakia on the Upsurge

★  
Otakar Simunek

★ ★  
Alternative Member, Political Bureau of Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Since the Party Conference in December 1952 and particularly since the September 1953 meeting of the C.C., the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, relying on the successes achieved in previous years in the development and reconstruction of heavy industry, has, more resolutely than before, been carrying out the policy of ensuring a steady rise in the living standards of the Czechoslovak people.

As a result of the steps taken by the Party and the Government, real wages in July, 1954, were more than 20% higher compared with the July 1953 level. In the first half of 1954 the volume of retail trade rose by 15%, while in July and August it was 28% greater than in the corresponding period of 1953.

This demonstrates that the living standards of the working class and the working peasantry in our country have shown a systematic increase.

Having noted the correctness of the line of the Party, aimed at securing a higher standard of living for the working people, and guided by the requirements of the basic economic law of Socialism, the Xth Party Congress set the task of ensuring, within a short space of time, a notable advance in agriculture, particularly in animal husbandry; a further development of the fuel, raw materials and power base; an increase and improvement in the production of consumer goods; the improvement of transport, and a stricter observance of economy throughout the whole national economy.

### I.

The realisation of the task of ensuring a further rise in the working people's living standards presents certain difficulties for, on the one hand, we have already registered noticeable successes in this field and, on the other, the demands and requirements of the population are constantly growing.

As regards the supply of foodstuffs to the population, the main difficulty lies in ensuring supplies of meat and other animal husbandry produce to the people. Supplies of vegetable and other foods are sufficient although we still import a considerable amount of grain.

We have had considerable success in ensuring supplies of manufactured goods to the population. Our people are well dressed; there is a radio in practically every home. But things like washing machines, refrigerators, TV-sets, motorcycles, cars etc., have not so far become really mass-consumption goods, although the demand for such things is rapidly increasing. We are also facing the task of systematically improving supplies of fuel, electric power, building materials and household goods to the population. One of the urgent tasks is to speed up house building considerably.

All these tasks can be solved providing we raise work on all sectors of the national economy to a new, higher plane. With this object in view our Party has taken the lead and rallied the working people in the fight for improved work on all sectors of the national economy. The C.C. meetings held last October and December gave a detailed analysis of the state of affairs in the national economy and showed the way forward to the goals defined by the Xth Congress.

The decisions of recent meetings of the C.C. of the CPC have shown the ways and means for ensuring a continued rise in labour productivity. The big campaign launched at our factories to discuss the technical, industrial and financial targets for 1955, the annual meetings and district conferences of agricultural producer co-operatives and the large-scale socialist emulation successfully developing in honour of the forthcoming tenth anniversary of the liberation are aimed at the fulfilment of the militant tasks set by the Party and testify to the growing enthusiasm of the working people and their determination to achieve further successes in the development of our socialist economy.

The Party and the Government are concentrating on the question of increasing labour productivity in agriculture. Last year capital investments in agriculture were approximately 87% above the 1953 figure. The quantity of tractors and machinery supplied for agriculture increased considerably. For example, in 15 months alone agriculture received more than 10,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p.), 800 grain harvester combines, 500 sugar-beet combines, over 1,000 threshing machines and a great amount of other agricultural machinery and implements. The amount of nitrogenous fertilisers supplied to agriculture rose 28% above the 1953 figure and superphosphates 20%. State credit granted to agricultural producer co-operatives for capital construction was much bigger in 1954 than in 1953. The development of production in the producer co-operatives and state farms, which are the advanced socialist forms of farming, has been encouraged in every possible way.

The small and middle peasants still remain an important factor in the countryside. The Party and the Government, guided by the principle that small and middle peasants are the allies of the working class, have given and continue to give constant attention to the individual working peasants and render them all-round and effective aid.

### II.

Of great importance to the technical perfection of all branches of the national economy, including agriculture, is the continued development of the engineering industry. Because of their high quality the goods produced by the engineering industry of Czechoslovakia were in great demand in the past. During the people's-democratic regime the engineering industry has further developed and its output is now practically equal to one-third of the country's industrial output and roughly equal to half of the country's exports. In the first Five-Year Plan series of new types of machines which had not been produced in capitalist Czechoslovakia. For example, it is now

tion period by 6 or 10 months. Given correct organisation of labour and the use of the conveyor method in construction well as the introduction of assembly and mechanisation it is possible speed to achieve the necessary acceleration rates of house building.

Our national economy is confronted with the task of improving the system of planning and leadership in production.

The directives of the Xth Party Congress on simplification and decentralisation of planning, which were enthusiastically approved by the working people, are already being put into effect. In agriculture, for instance, wide powers have been granted to local bodies and wider opportunities given to producer co-operatives and individual peasants to show greater initiative in production.

It is becoming more and more clear that the most reliable basis for planning is tested norms and particularly those of the expenditure of materials and utilisation of equipment. A high scientific level of planning is impossible without a perfect system of norms.

The Party has embarked on a resolute struggle for a radical and all-round rise in the level of leadership, for the utilisation of all rights vested in responsible economic functionaries, for enhancing their responsibility for the work of the enterprises against inconsistency, hesitation and a struggle to enhance the skill of the leading economic functionaries as well as the economic and political knowledge.

In recent years the Party and the Government have adopted a number of important decisions for ensuring better work in particular branches of the national economy. Experience has shown, however, that extremely valuable instructions contained in the decisions were not always consistently carried through by our economic and Party functionaries.

The Party has, therefore, particularly stressed that the struggle for the realisation of all Party and Government decisions requires supervision over their implementation at every part and parcel of the work of leading bodies, from the managers of factories, state farms, MTS and trading and transport enterprises to the heads of the main departments and ministries.

### III.

The plan for the development of the national economy in 1955 is directed towards the implementation of the tasks charted at the Xth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

This year's increases in supplies of machinery to agriculture are estimated to be as follows: wheeled tractors 106%; caterpillar tractors 38%; automatic threshing machines 124%; grain harvester combines 68% and sugar-beet combines 158%. The amount of the nitrogenous fertilisers will up 28%, phosphorites 16%, and potassium fertilisers 25%. The volume of capital investments in agriculture will increase roughly by 68%. The number of engineers and technicians in the MTS will rise 50% and more.

Big allocations

population to the programme of peace, freedom and labour. The action we shall take to convince the entire people of the correctness of this programme and draw them into struggle to put it into effect is decisive.

Decisive too is the work of clarifying and carrying through certain concrete demands, of working out and taking action of a more general nature, for discussing and solving all questions which are of interest to the working masses, to whole categories, whole sectors of our economy and to whole regions of Italy.

In order to carry out this democratic and positive policy we must firmly base ourselves on working-class unity, on the worker-peasant alliance, on the alliance and co-operation of the working class with the broad working masses in the South.

Our large trade union organisation and the political co-operation between us and our fellow Socialists is an embodiment of working-class unity.

We know that unity is not a question of formulas or scraps of paper; it is a necessity, a method of work and struggle. What is necessary is to strengthen the working class forces, their ability to stand

## To Develop Criticism and Raise Ideological Level of Party

In the course of the pre-Conference discussion some of our opponents wrote that they had never before seen the Communists "giving such a frank evaluation of their Party, of the political line pursued by the Party in the past few years, of its victories and defeats". But this is our method of work, this is our method of work at all Party meetings.

Criticism is necessary for the development of the Party of the working class and the people. We have always criticised ourselves and will continue to do so. This is not only a sign of our strength; it shows at the same time that we want to become even stronger since through criticism we acquire a greater ability for labour and struggle and gain greater confidence among the workers who know that in the ranks of the Party and its leadership there are serious people who study all questions deeply and want to solve them in the light of what is necessary and the tasks which arise before the entire people. So roll in, criticism!

There have been shortcomings, too, in the struggle for peace which did not correspond, especially in the recent period, to the gravity of the international situation. We must admit this. Since June 7 there have been observed a certain feeling of self-complacency and inactivity on the one hand, and confusion of the maximalist type on the other. Both of these phenomena were the result of a lack of understanding of the more complicated tasks with which the situation confronted us and which the Central Committee correctly defined at the time. This we must also recognise. Sluggishness and narrowness were observed in the entire struggle for freedom, especially in the enterprises, a struggle which must not be dispersed into extremely small actions but must be carried on in a co-ordinated manner and on a large scale. Our contribution to the work and struggle of the big mass organisations, such as women's, trade union and co-operative organisations, and the Communist Youth Federation, has likewise not always corresponded to the requirements of the situation.

We have done a great deal of work to initiate and carry out the struggle for the regeneration of the South as well as of other areas, towns, provinces and regions throughout Italy. And in this the Party and trade union organisations have some splendid undertakings to their credit. However, there is a serious shortcoming in this activity too, which manifests itself in the lack of ability to carry out the tasks set, in the lack of ability to combine this and that aim or result so as to ensure that the whole broad front of our activity can go forward successfully, in a co-ordinated way.

We must be able to disclose mistakes, correctly define them and to rectify them. This requires considerable ideological train-

ing and political and organisational ability, that is, we should be masters of our teaching and know how to work. Our comrades from among the intellectuals have done a great deal to introduce Marxist ideology into Italian culture. The results of this activity are obvious. In the field of culture Marxism is now once more something to be reckoned with—Marxism which was at one time regarded as finished but which in the long run has turned out to be the strongest. Communist ideology must always be the basis of our Party activity too. The rank and file and the leading cadres of our Party must strive harder to master this ideology. They must read more, study more and discuss a great deal more than hitherto; they must read more, beginning with *Unita* and the Party journals, their study must be more extensive and discussion much wider. We recognise no dogma, and our political positions and the results of our activity must be the subject of broad collective discussion. All Party members are obliged to carry out Party decisions, they can and must take part in the discussions which lead to these decisions, they can and must take part in discussion on the character and the methods of carrying out these decisions and on the results of their fulfilment. This is an essential condition for ensuring that the Party is always active and conscious of what it is doing and, thereby, able to carry through its tasks.

Critical discussion ensures the building up and strengthening of unity of the Party ranks, since it is in the course of such a discussion that the accumulated experience is analysed and enriched in the light of the teaching of our classics. The paramount condition for the unity of the Party ranks is ideological clarity, an understanding of the basic principles of our teaching which gives rise to our political line and the direction of our activity in carrying it through.

If we want to strengthen our ideological and political unity we must insist on the following three points: first, an exact knowledge of the very nature of imperialism; second, an exact knowledge of the new conditions in which the struggle of the working class and the peoples for the overthrow of imperialism and the opening of new ways for political and social progress is developing; third, a careful analysis of the structure of our society, of its history, of the contradictions existing in it and the forms of its development.

For us the basic criterion in organisation and work is always to be and to work as a Party everywhere the workers, peasants and popular masses are to be found. We must develop our activity among them, explain our political line to them, direct the broad masses of the population towards the activity and struggle necessary for carrying through our programme.

Members of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark are also joining in the struggle against ratification of the Paris agreements. As reported by the Information Bureau of the All-Danish Conference for the Defence of Peace (Federation of organisations in the peace movement), a group of outstanding Social Democrats have called upon members of their party and all Danish working people to support their West German comrades in their struggle to prevent the remilitarisation of Western Germany and against its inclusion in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

While the Belgian Chamber of Deputies was debating the ratification of the Paris agreements, the struggle of the working people against the criminal schemes for West German rearmament was gaining momentum up and down the country. Thus, the Louvain section of the ex-partisan organisation issued a poster with the following inscription: "Against the butchers of our people, against German militarism!" At mass meetings in Antwerp, Charleroi and Brussels the working people declared themselves against the revival of German militarism. A meeting of trade union members—a section of the General Confederation of Belgian Working People—took place in Saint-Vith and unanimously adopted a resolution of solidarity with members of the West German trade unions, who have come out against the remilitarisation of their country.

The collection of signatures to protest petitions against the restoration of the German Wehrmacht is under way in many Belgian towns. The "Union of Belgian Women for Peace", progressive organisation, has collected about 2,000 signatures in the Brussels district. Some 948 residents have signed the protest petition in Elouges (Hainaut). Another 370 people have recently signed one in La-Louviere and Haine-Saint-Pierre (Hainaut) and in Florzé-Rouvreaux (Liège).

## Protests in Belgium Against Revival of German Militarism

A delegation from the Canadian Peace Congress, headed by James Endicott, International Stalin Prize winner, recently called on Parliament to reject West German rearmament. It circulated among members of Parliament a document pointing out that the entry of a rearmed Western Germany into the aggressive North Atlantic bloc would unleash a catastrophic arms drive. An undoubted result of this, the document went on, would be lower standards of living, while a highly probable result would be destruction from the A-bomb—hence the imperative need for a resolute struggle against the restoration of German militarism.

A recent meeting of the Brazilian National Peace Committee discussed the results of the work of the Stockholm Session of the World Peace Council and wholeheartedly approved the resolution adopted by the Session. The Committee resolved to launch a large-scale preparatory campaign for the World Peace Assembly. With this aim in view the meeting decided to convene a National Assembly of the peace-loving forces in Brazil in the second half of April.

## REJECT WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT

PEACE MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL

The democratic youth of Sweden strongly condemn the policy of remilitarising Western Germany. A recent meeting of the Democratic Youth Union in Stockholm carried a resolution emphasising the danger of rearming Western Germany.

The Party and the Government, guided by the principle that small and middle peasants are the allies of the working class, have given and continue to give constant attention to the individual working peasants and render them all-round and effective aid.

II.

Of great importance to the technical perfection of all branches of the national economy, including agriculture, is the continued development of the engineering industry. Because of their high quality the goods produced by the engineering industry of Czechoslovakia were in great demand in the past. During the people's-democratic regime the engineering industry has further developed and its output is now practically equal to one-third of the country's industrial output and roughly equal to half of the country's exports. In the first Five-Year Plan period the engineering industry produced a series of new types of machines which had not been produced in capitalist Czechoslovakia. For example, it is now turning out 29 new designs of heavy and 36 types of medium-size and light metal-cutting machine tools, 31 types of heavy forges and presses, including the gigantic 12,000-ton press which can cope with 200-ton machine parts; steam turbines with a capacity up to 50,000 kw., powerful excavators, dredgers, physical measuring instruments, counting and statistical machines (splendid calculating machines which are original in their designs have recently been perfected); 88 types of new textile machine tools are produced and a number of machine tools for other industries; more types of agricultural machines have been perfected and turned out.

The major task before the engineering industry is a further improvement in the quality of goods and creation of such conditions in the organisation of production as would in a short time enable the requirements of the country and the export of highly productive machinery to be satisfied efficiently and in a good time. Particular attention has been paid to ensure greater deliveries of complex factory equipment.

Many branches of the Czechoslovak national economy have made a big step forward in the introduction and perfection of new technique. A number of enterprises have been equipped with up-to-date machinery, due particularly to scientific and technical aid from the Soviet Union. However, it is clear from experience that the introduction of new technique must be carried out in a more consistent and planned way. The lag in equipping a number of branches of the national economy with modern technique is the main reason for the slowness in the increase of labour productivity in these branches. For example, there is now an urgent need for raising the level of mechanisation in agriculture and certain food industries, in addition to other branches.

The Party pays particularly great attention to increasing labour productivity in the building industry. The task of speeding up the rates of housing construction is particularly urgent. A number of building organisations have already cut their comple-

mentary and technical level of the working people and encouragement of their creative initiative.

the projected rearming of Western Germany, says the resolution, represents a grave menace to peace and the future of young people. In the interests of preserving peace we oppose the measures which again put arms into the hands of those who this century have brought two world wars upon

## Rearmament of Western Germany—Menace to Peace

the peoples and youth. Germany must become a united, democratic and peace-loving state.

The question of the unification of Germany must be settled by negotiations, just as all other problems between countries and peoples can be settled in a like manner.

boites, from farms, MTS and trading and transport enterprises to the heads of the main departments and ministries.

## III.

The plan for the development of the national economy in 1955 is directed toward the implementation of the tasks charted at the Xth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

This year's increases in supplies of machinery to agriculture are estimated as follows: wheeled tractors 106%; caterpillar tractors 38%; automatic threshing machines 124%; grain harvester combines 68% and sugar-beet combines 158%. The amount of the nitrogenous fertilisers will increase by 28%, phosphorites 16%, and potassium fertilisers 25%. The volume of capital investments in agriculture will increase roughly by 68%. The number of engineers and technicians in the MTS will rise 50% and more.

Big allocations are envisaged for the development of the coal and power industries and the construction of ore-dressing plants.

The manufacture of mass-consumption goods this year is again expected to exceed the 1954 figure. The range, particularly in textiles and foodstuffs, will be considerably extended. The production of mass-consumption goods by engineering enterprises will also be stepped up considerably.

The implementation of the 1955 plan will call for considerable efforts, a tireless struggle for improved work of the enterprises and especially for increased labour productivity and lower production costs.

The tasks outlined by the 1955 plan are close and understandable to the working class, working peasants and working intelligentsia of the country. Their implementation will enable us to pass successfully over to the second Czechoslovak Five-Year Plan.

There is no greater proof of the peace-loving aspirations of the Czechoslovak people than their efforts to advance the national economy, their culture and well-being to strengthen and extend friendly relations with all countries.

This by no means signifies that the people of Czechoslovakia are not aware of the intrigues of international reaction seeking at all costs to frustrate the proposals of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the European countries of people's democracy for a peaceful settlement of a controversial international problems and the German problem in particular. This is why the Czechoslovak people unanimously welcomed the Declaration of the Moscow Conference. This is why they have always openly declared their firm determination to defend their freedom and all the gains of the people's-democratic system.

Headed by the Communist Party and the Government of the National Front the Czechoslovak people will go forward resolutely, sparing no effort for the prosperity, security and independence of their homeland for peace and Socialism.



## Closure of Fourth National Conference of Italian Communist Party

The IVth National Conference of the Italian Communist Party ended in Rome on January 14.

The discussion on the report "Crisis of Italian agriculture and struggle for agrarian reform and in defence of the interests of the peasants" by Ruggero Grieco was continued at the concluding session. Many of those participating in discussion spoke about the courageous struggle of the working peasantry in Italy for land and democratic freedoms.

Making the concluding speech Comrade Palmiro Togliatti declared that the main task of the Communist organisations in Italy should be the struggle against the warmongers, against the atomic menace, against the decisions to arm Western Germany.

In conclusion the participants in the Conference discussed and approved the draft resolutions on the questions under review. They unanimously approved the text of the "Appeal to the Italian people" and the text of the reply to the message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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On January 15, the C.C. of the Party held a joint meeting with the Central Control Commission, which discussed the results of the work of the IVth National Conference and the decisions adopted by it. The C.C. approved the decisions and took initial steps to put them into effect.

## Working People of Western Germany Oppose Resurgence of German Militarism

### Strikes in Ruhr. Protest demonstrations in Hamburg

The decision of the Congress of the Communist Party of Germany to hold a Week of Struggle Against Ratification of the Paris Agreements beginning on January 10, 1955, has expressed the will of the broad popular masses in Western Germany. During this period mass meetings and rallies were held in Cologne, Bremerhaven and many other towns, at which the working people voiced a sharp protest against the remilitarisation of Western Germany. The delegates to the Third Conference of the West German Trade Union Federation in Bavaria, representing more than 900,000 trade unionists, adopted a unanimous resolution to instruct the Lander Trade Union Board to launch a popular referendum against the rearmament of Western Germany and the Paris agreements.

Tens of thousands of metal workers and miners are on strike in the Ruhr in defence of their democratic rights. As the West German DPA Agency reports, the Board of the Miners' Union has decided to declare a one-day strike in the Ruhr pits on January 22.

A mighty demonstration against the revival of German militarism and fascism was the 30,000-strong meeting in Hamburg on January 18. The working people of Hamburg gathered near the House of Trade Unions to protest against the fascist rally

The C.C. approved the decision taken by the Conference on the necessity to make a number of amendments to the text of the Party Rules in order to bring them into conformity with the development and requirements of organisation of the Party itself and its work. A commission has been appointed to work out these amendments.

With a view to drawing new comrades into the Leadership of the Party and acting on the suggestion of the Leadership itself, the Central Committee unanimously elected a new Leadership, consisting of the following comrades: members—Palmiro Togliatti, Giorgio Amendola, Arturo Colombi, Giuseppe Di Vittorio, Edoardo D'Onofrio, Giuseppe Dozza, Ruggero Grieco, Girolamo Li Causi, Luigi Longo, Celeste Negarville, Agostino Novella, Giancarlo Pajetta, Antonio Roasio, Giovanni Roveda, Mauro Scoccimarro, Pietro Secchia, Emilio Sereni, Velio Spano, Umberto Terraccini; alternate members—Enrico Berlinguer, Arrigo Boldrini, Pietro Ingrao, Mario Montagnana, Rita Montagnana, Giacomo Pellegrini.

At its meeting on January 18 the Leadership of the Party elected Palmiro Togliatti General Secretary of the C.C. of the Party. Luigi Longo was elected Deputy General Secretary. The Secretariat includes: P. Togliatti, L. Longo, D. Amendola, A. Colombi, E. D'Onofrio, Giancarlo Pajetta, M. Scoccimarro.

P. Secchia, who had previously occupied the post of Deputy General Secretary, was appointed Secretary of the Lombardy regional Party organisation.

organised for that day in Hamburg. Adolph Kummernuss, chairman of the union catering for transport, municipal and other workers in the town, declared at the meeting on behalf of the union members that they would not tolerate any political provocation or the resurgence of fascism. When the meeting was over everyone marched in a body to where the fascist rally was taking place, with the slogans: "Fascism and militarism—never again!", "Reunification, not remilitarisation!", "Down with the Paris agreements!", "For mutual understanding between peoples!". The population of Hamburg expressed their solidarity with the demonstrators.

The Bonn authorities, for their part, gave the fascist mob protection. Detachments of police armed with hoses barred the streets to stop the demonstrators moving. The police attacked unarmed demonstrators, hitting them with rubber truncheons.

But this could not break the will of the working people. At a short meeting which took place immediately after the demonstration the speakers stressed that the working people would never allow Hamburg to fall into the hands of the fascists and that they would step up their struggle against the restoration of militarism and fascism, against the Paris agreements.

# Communist Party of Brazil in Struggle for Peace, Freedom and Independence of Homeland\*

I.

The North American imperialists are paying particular attention to Brazil, which is the richest and biggest country on the South American continent.

The North American imperialists are infiltrating into all the nooks and crannies of the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country. They are endeavouring to reduce Brazil to the position of a U.S. colony and threaten its people with complete enslavement. The domination of the North American imperialists is accompanied by the open militarisation of the country.

The taxes levied by the Government and the states and municipal authorities comprise an increasingly large share of the national income, amounting at the present time to more than 30% of the entire revenue. Prices are climbing, real wages are falling rapidly. More than 50% of the national income goes to some 5% of the population. The profits of the big enterprises, particularly of those belonging to the North American monopolies, are growing day by day. The parasitic minority dominating the country is interested in stepping up the exploitation and enslavement of the Brazilian people, it wants another war in the hopes that it will bring advantageous deals in its train. Thus the interests of this minority correspond to those of the North American imperialists. This minority, whose fear of the people is growing, needs the North American dollars and arms to protect its privileges and to hinder Brazil's progress. At the same time, this minority is the docile tool of the North American monopolies, and secures for them the possibility of ruling over the country.

The U.S. ruling circles, furthermore, are attempting to draw Brazil into military ventures which they are preparing the world over, and to use our young people as cannon fodder. The agents and spies of the Washington Government are making themselves thoroughly at home in Brazil. The U.S. State Department interferes openly in Brazil's internal affairs. The overthrow of the Vargas government and its replacement by a dictatorship of the most scoundrelly lackeys of the North American warmongers, carried out on the instigation and direct instructions of the U.S. Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, were the latest and most insolent manifestations of this interference.

The aim of the U.S. ruling circles in organising the coup d'état of August 24 was to hinder the development of the struggle of the democratic and popular forces of Brazil and the organisation of these forces, to suppress the working class and patriotic movement and create the conditions for implanting fascist terror in the country.

Café Filho's Government is a dictatorship of the latifundists and big capitalists in the service of the North American monopolists and warmongers. This Government is much weaker than the former Vargas government because its social base is extremely limited and is incomparably narrower than that on which the Vargas government relied.

Hatred for the U.S. oppressors is speedily mounting all over the country, and the struggle against the plundering of the national wealth and the ever-increasing colonisation of Brazil by the United States

The monopoly ownership of land is the main economic base of the reactionary minority holding sway in the country. Foreign capital penetrated into Brazil on the basis

of preserving the latifundia, the remnants of feudalism and survivals of slavery. The present ever-increasing colonisation of the country by the United States has the same basis. Brazil cannot be liberated from the yoke of the North American imperialists without the simultaneous abolition of the economic base of the social forces on which they rely, without abolishing the survivals of feudalism and monopoly land ownership. The Party Programme reflects this reality and advances the demand for the confiscation of the lands of the latifundists and for the transfer of this land free of charge to peasants with little or no land and to all who desire to cultivate land; it also demands the abolition of all kinds of semi-feudal exploitation.

At the present time, in the interests of the victory of the Brazilian revolution, it is important that the peasants should, during their struggle, realise the necessity of revolutionary abolition of the present regime of the latifundists and big capitalists. That is why the Party Programme does not include the demand for the nationalisation of the land, but takes into account the clearly expressed will of the peasant masses who in our country demand, above all, the transfer of land to private ownership. The Programme correctly reflects all the progressive demands of the peasantry. It defends firmly the interests of the entire peasantry, including the rich peasants, whose property must on no account be identified with the property of latifundists and must be guaranteed against any kind of encroachment.

In these circumstances the peasant masses, comprising the majority of the population of the country, all peasantry—agricultural workers, poor, middle and even rich peasants—may be won over to the side of the proletariat and must become its main ally. The alliance of the working class with the entire peasantry is possible and essential.

The Party Programme not only does not threaten the interests of the national bourgeoisie, but upholds those of its demands that are progressive in character, in particular, the demand for developing the national industry.

It would be a mistake, one which could weaken the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces, to confuse the national bourgeoisie with the forces of the feudal and imperialist camp and underrate the significance of this bourgeoisie, particularly in the present stage of the revolutionary movement in Brazil, owing to its influence on the petty bourgeoisie, the peasant masses and even on part of the workers. This attitude would lead to sectarianism and to isolation of the Communists from the broad popular masses, whereas the victory of the revolution demands that these masses be won over for the proletariat and wrested from the influence of the national bourgeoisie and national reformism. Without letting up on the economic struggle for its class interests against capitalist exploitation the proletariat must jointly with the national bourgeoisie fight against the North American imperialists, against the regime of the latifundists and big capitalists.

Today our aim is to abolish the regime

★  
Luiz Carlos Prestes  
General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Brazil

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masses and the struggle for the aims set out in the Party Programme. To confine the activity of the Communists solely to the struggle for the aims of the Party Programme would hinder the establishment of the Party's contact with the broad masses. This attitude leads to sectarianism and is completely at variance with the main idea of the Programme. However, on the other hand, to reduce the activity of the Communists to a struggle for the immediate demands of the masses and leave aside our main goal—the struggle for the aims laid down in the Programme—would be no less a mistake and would mean that we followed in the tail of events, instead of advancing further to win over the masses to the Party's policy.

III.

In the 25 years since the Third Party Congress we have heroically traversed a long, difficult and winding path, invariably loyal to the working class and the people. In our country the Communist Party is the only genuinely national political party which is closely linked with the popular masses and embodies all the best qualities of our people, their desire for peace, freedom, independence and social progress. Today we are a decisive force in relation to the destinies of Brazil, and our role becomes increasingly significant from day to day.

There is no doubt that our Party is going forward, in the process of its moulding as a genuinely revolutionary Party of the proletariat. However, this advance became possible as we began to fight to eradicate all the right and "left" deviations from the ranks of our Party and to root out the ideological influence of the petty bourgeoisie, which is the cause and the source of our errors.

This petty bourgeois influence stems from the process of formation of our Party. The Brazilian proletariat has already become numerous; it is growing from year to year and displays a high degree of militancy. Nevertheless, Brazil is still an underdeveloped capitalist country. The proletariat in Brazil is of quite recent formation and its peasant origin cannot but exercise a strong ideological influence by bringing various sentiments alien to the proletariat into the Party. Another reason for this petty bourgeois ideological influence over our Party lies in the influx of revolutionary, anti-imperialist intellectuals, particularly students, who regard our Party as the only consistent fighter against the hated imperialist domination. Many of these people who have joined the Party in the course of the revolutionary struggle assimilate the ideology of the proletariat, while others find it more difficult to shake off completely the influence of petty bourgeois ideology. Sometimes because of the poor political and ideological level of the workers, representatives of the intelligentsia play a dominant role in Party organisations and are a source of non-proletarian views in our ranks.

Our struggle against these manifestations of right and "left" opportunism, arising from the influence of petty bourgeois ideology, has already led to successes in building and strengthening the Party and

take into account such qualities as fidelity to the cause of the working class and loyalty to the Party as shown in practice; close contact with the masses; initiative and sense of responsibility; discipline and irreconcilability in the struggle to carry out the Party line, in the struggle against any deviations from Marxism-Leninism. However, an underestimation of theory is still widespread in the Party ranks, from the Central Committee down. This is the main obstacle which has up to the present frustrated the efforts to speed up the training of capable cadres.

4. To improve and widen our agitation and propaganda and pay more attention to our press. In present conditions the expansion and improvement of Party propaganda and political agitation is a vital question for the Party. The Party Programme must be taken to the broad masses of our people and must be understood by these masses. We must draw the millionfold masses into struggle for carrying out the aims and tasks outlined in the Programme. There is no doubt that we have certain achievements to our credit in our agitation and propaganda work among the masses. But we still have much to do in order to bring our agitation and propaganda to the level of the present tasks, bearing in mind the increased responsibility of our Party in view of the growing discontent of the popular masses and the intensified and more widespread struggle they are waging.

5. To develop ideological work inside the Party. In order to live up to its mission as leader and organiser of the masses of the working people the Party must, without any hesitation, launch a persistent and resolute struggle within its own ranks simultaneously against right and "left" opportunist deviations from the Party line.

However, we still have not launched the necessary ideological struggle inside the Party. Party members and Party organisations, as a whole, are still unable to take an irreconcilable attitude towards opportunist and sectarian tendencies, they still fail to erect an insurmountable barrier to the attempts of police elements to worm their way into the Party, they still fail to expose in good time the agents of the class enemy that have penetrated our ranks.

Revolutionary vigilance is the duty of each and every Party member. However, this duty can be fulfilled only by those who consistently study Marxist-Leninist theory and are able to uphold its principles firmly.

In view of this we must pay more attention to the Party members from amongst the intellectuals, who need our special help in order to cast off the influence of bourgeois ideology and to move towards proletarian ideology.

6. To study and observe the requirements of the Party Rules. The Party Rules are a document of great organising and mobilising force, a powerful factor in the ideological education of rank-and-file members and leading cadres of the Party, in developing inner-Party democracy, strengthening Party discipline and consolidating the unity of the Party ranks, as well as in developing criticism and self-criticism. In order to carry through the Party Programme successfully it is necessary to have a monolithic, centralised and militant organisation, it is essential for all Party members to study the Party Rules

...ionists, adopted a unanimous resolution to instruct the Lander Trade Union Board to launch a popular referendum against the rearmament of Western Germany and the Paris agreements.

Tens of thousands of metal workers and miners are on strike in the Ruhr in defence of their democratic rights. As the West German DPA Agency reports, the Board of the Miners' Union has decided to declare a one-day strike in the Ruhr pits on January 22.

A mighty demonstration against the revival of German militarism and fascism was the 30,000-strong meeting in Hamburg on January 18. The working people of Hamburg gathered near the House of Trade Unions to protest against the fascist rally

## ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST COSTA RICA

Alarming news has spread through the world—once again a hotbed of war has arisen on the American continent. And this time U.S.-engineered armed aggression has struck Costa Rica, a small state in Central America. Large armed detachments have invaded this country from Nicaragua headed by Picado, the former president of Costa Rica, and his predecessor, Calderon Guardia. In the first couple of days the interventionists succeeded in capturing several towns. Subsequently, however, they were thrown back to the Nicaragua border under the blows of the Costa Rican Civil Guard.

Even before the invasion, on January 8, the Costa Rican Government had officially requested the Organisation of American States to call a meeting of the foreign ministers of these states to examine the "serious situation that has arisen through the fault of the Government of Nicaragua". The statement of the Costa Rican Government pointed to the dangerous consequences of the aggression that was being prepared. But, as was to be expected, when the council of this organisation, which is run by the U.S.A., met on January 10, no decision was taken. The council satisfied itself with the ambiguous assurances of the Nicaraguan representative that he would reply to the accusations of the Costa Rican Government at the next meeting, which was set for January 12. The "reply", however, came before the time set: On January 11 an armed attack was made against Costa Rica from Nicaraguan territory.

Who is it that is interested in unleashing hostilities in Costa Rica? What is the real purpose of this armed attack?

As is well known, Costa Rica, like other Central American states, has for decades been ruthlessly exploited by the American monopolies. The "activities" of the United Fruit Company, which owns more than one-third of all the cultivated land, the railways and docks in Costa Rica, have been on a particularly large scale.

As a result of the 1953 elections, President Jose Figueres came to power in Costa Rica. Under pressure from the steadily growing national liberation forces he promised to nationalise the property of the American monopolies. Last year, with a view to at least partially carrying out his promise, Figueres tried to persuade the United Fruit Company to increase the taxes paid by it to Costa Rica from 15 to 50%, but he was met with a blunt refusal. The U.S. monopolists regarded Figueres' action as criminal "sedition". But it was the Costa Rican President's frank statement that the Latin American countries must develop on the basis of their "own savings" and reject

burg expressed their solidarity with the demonstrators.

The Bonn authorities, for their part, gave the fascist mob protection. Detachments of police armed with hoses barred the streets to stop the demonstrators moving. The police attacked unarmed demonstrators, hitting them with rubber truncheons.

But this could not break the will of the working people. At a short meeting which took place immediately after the demonstration the speakers stressed that the working people would never allow Hamburg to fall into the hands of the fascists and that they would step up their struggle against the restoration of militarism and fascism, against the Paris agreements.

foreign capital investments that aroused the particular ire of the American monopolists.

Even these timid actions and declarations of the Costa Rican President were interpreted by the U.S.A. as an encroachment on the "right" of the monopolists to interfere brazenly in the affairs of other countries and to squeeze fabulous profits out of them. Figueres was branded as a man whose views were "too left". A torrent of accusations rained down on him to the effect that he had deliberately refused to participate in the Caracas Pan-American Conference and that he had permitted 10,000 workers on the United Fruit Company's banana plantations to go on strike. At the same time measures were taken to speed up the intervention in Costa Rica.

It is as clear as crystal that under the guise of struggle against an undesired President the U.S. reactionaries are trying to settle accounts with the masses of the Costa Rican people who are coming out more and more resolutely for the freedom and national independence of their country.

Particularly worthy of note is the fact that the armed aggression against Costa Rica has a great deal in common with last summer's intervention against Guatemala. Just as in Guatemala, the armed invasion of Costa Rica has been conducted with the help of hired bands equipped with American weapons. In each case the governments gave advance warning of the intervention being prepared against them, but met with no support from the Organisation of American States. Furthermore, in both cases this organisation, acting on orders from Washington, sought and is still seeking in every way possible to camouflage the aggression and justify the criminal actions of the predatory U.S. imperialists.

American ruling circles, in an endeavour to evade responsibility for the aggression against Costa Rica, are now indulging in a lot of claptrap about their "neutrality". But how do these wordy assurances stand up in the face of irrefutable facts? It is now nobody's secret that it was precisely the U.S.A. that trained and armed the interventionists. Even the pro-American commission that was sent to Costa Rica was compelled to acknowledge the other day that the arms and munitions used by the interventionists were "supplied from a foreign source".

Wide sections of the public throughout the world and particularly in the Latin American countries are voicing increasingly insistent protests against the machinations of the American warmongers, and utterly condemn their latest bloody crime.

T. SAMBOR

The aim of the U.S. ruling circles in organising the coup d'état of August 24 was to hinder the development of the struggle of the democratic and popular forces of Brazil and the organisation of these forces, to suppress the working class and patriotic movement and create the conditions for implanting fascist terror in the country.

Café Filho's Government is a dictatorship of the latifundists and big capitalists in the service of the North American monopolists and warmongers. This Government is much weaker than the former Vargas government because its social base is extremely limited and is incomparably narrower than that on which the Vargas government relied.

Hatred for the U.S. oppressors is speedily mounting all over the country, and the struggle against the plundering of the national wealth and the ever-increasing colonisation of Brazil by the United States is embracing ever-broader sections of the people.

The class struggle is rapidly gaining momentum; the democratic and national liberation movement led by the working class and headed by the Communists, has attained a higher level. It is daily becoming clearer to the broad popular masses that neither state nor military coups, neither partial reforms nor elections that are not linked with the destruction of the basis of the existing reactionary regime, can liberate Brazil from the yoke of the North American imperialists and avert the catastrophe menacing the country.

Facts confirm that it is only the Communist Party, resolutely and boldly raising the banner of struggle for freedom, for sovereignty and national independence, that is in a position to point out to the people of Brazil the correct solution of the serious problems confronting them. This is the noble aim of the Programme of the Communist Party of Brazil.

### II.

The Brazilian people, particularly the working people of town and countryside, experiencing the double oppression of imperialism and the survivals of feudalism, are becoming ever more poorer. Being deprived of political rights, they live in a state of backwardness, poverty and ignorance.

Inasmuch as the key positions in the national economy are in the hands of foreign imperialists, the Brazilian bourgeoisie is comparatively weak, while the proletariat of Brazil is fairly numerous and comprises a comparatively large part of the population. Nevertheless, the majority of the population consists of peasants who live under the yoke of the latifundists and the majority of whom are landless. A considerable portion of the town population consists of the middle strata—handicraftsmen, office workers, petty tradesmen and manufacturers, intellectuals and officials—who are becoming pauperised.

This position of Brazil as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country is becoming even more pronounced as a result of the growing domination of the North American imperialists, a domination that has particularly intensified since the second world war. The U.S. imperialists and the feudal remnants are the chief enemies of progress and of the life and security of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Thus the Brazilian revolution at the present stage can be characterised as a people's-democratic revolution, an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and agrarian revolution.

\* From the report of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Brazil delivered by Comrade Luiz Carlos Prestes at the Fourth Congress of the Party.

with the forces of the feudal and imperialist camp and underrate the significance of this bourgeoisie, particularly in the present stage of the revolutionary movement in Brazil, owing to its influence on the petty bourgeoisie, the peasant masses and even on part of the workers. This attitude would lead to sectarianism and to isolation of the Communists from the broad popular masses, whereas the victory of the revolution demands that these masses be won over for the proletariat and wrested from the influence of the national bourgeoisie and national reformism. Without letting up on the economic struggle for its class interests against capitalist exploitation the proletariat must jointly with the national bourgeoisie fight against the North American imperialists, against the regime of the latifundists and big capitalists.

Today our aim is to abolish the regime of exploitation and oppression which serves the interests of the North American imperialists and replace it by a new, people's-democratic regime.

The people's-democratic regime will, in its class character, be the dictatorship of the revolutionary, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, a genuinely people's rule, the rule of the overwhelming majority of the nation led by the working class and its Communist Party.

The implementation of the tasks laid down in the Party Programme must be the cause of millions of people. We must therefore make the Programme of the Party the programme of the whole people.

However, the countless patriotic and democratic forces referred to in the Programme are so far disconnected and do not therefore make up a social force capable of breaking the resistance of the dying classes, of overthrowing the government of the latifundists and the big capitalists and the regime represented by this government. It is imperative to unite all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, to set up, in the course of struggle, the broadest possible Democratic Front of National Liberation. Only the working class, guided by its advanced Party—the Communist Party of Brazil—can attain these goals.

To win this role of hegemony the working class must not only fight for the satisfaction of its demands but must also support by its action the just demands of all forces which can be drawn into the ranks of the democratic front of national liberation.

The Democratic Front of National Liberation must be based mainly on the alliance of workers and peasants, who represent the overwhelming majority of the population. The worker-peasant alliance is the main force, the unshakable foundation which will make it possible to achieve the broadest unification of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces.

The struggle for the building up of a Democratic Front of National Liberation is inseparable from the struggle for peace. It is essential that the broad masses of our people be drawn into a vigorous struggle against the war now being prepared by the U.S. ruling circles, into the struggle against the camp of war and imperialism, because it is the United States alone that threatens the lives and security of our people.

The Programme sets our Party the urgent task of strengthening and extending its contact with the popular masses. All remnants of sectarianism must be completely rooted out from the Party ranks. The Communists must be with the masses. We shall always bear in mind the warning given by Lenin that it is impossible to win victory with the forces of the vanguard alone.

There is a close connection between the struggle for the immediate demands of the

Another reason for this petty bourgeois ideological influence over our Party lies in the influx of revolutionary, anti-imperialist intellectuals, particularly students, who regard our Party as the only consistent fighter against the hated imperialist domination. Many of these people who have joined the Party in the course of the revolutionary struggle assimilate the ideology of the proletariat, while others find it more difficult to shake off completely the influence of petty bourgeois ideology. Sometimes because of the poor political and ideological level of the workers, representatives of the intelligentsia play a dominant role in Party organisations and are a source of non-proletarian views in our ranks.

Our struggle against these manifestations of right and "left" opportunism, arising from the influence of petty bourgeois ideology, has already led to successes in building and strengthening the Party and in extending and increasing its influence among the working class and the broad masses of the population.

The time has come to eliminate all remnants of opportunism in ideology, policy and practice, to raise our Party to the level of its Programme and the great battles ahead, to strengthen the Party organisationally, politically and ideologically. Among the many tasks facing the Party in ensuring its growth and the development of mass work, in improving its social composition, strengthening its leading role, steadfastly consolidating its unity, and raising its political and theoretical level, we must single out the following, which need particular attention.

1. To ensure a rapid and systematic growth of the Party. Our Party has grown numerically in recent years but the rate of growth has not been uniform; it lagged far behind the requirements and the tremendous potentialities of the situation. However, sectarianism and a tendency to let things take their course are still strong in our ranks as regards the problem of the growth of our Party. Such tendencies in fact mean an underestimation of the leading role of the Party and are nothing but the manifestation of petty bourgeois ideology within the Party. We must vigorously combat these tendencies and eradicate them more rapidly.

2. To set up Party branches, particularly at large-scale enterprises. In the struggle we are waging to strengthen our Party, its social composition is of fundamental significance.

There is still a serious underestimation of the urgency of strengthening the Party positions in large-scale enterprises, which signifies an underestimation of the leading role of the working class and is a manifestation of petty bourgeois ideology in our ranks. Many people who join the Party because they consider it to be the most consistent fighter against imperialist domination often do not understand that the Communist Party is not only the party of struggle against imperialist oppression but is also the political party of the proletariat which wages a resolute fight against all kinds of exploitation; the Party which as the most militant and consistent fighter against imperialism goes even further and imparts a socialist consciousness to the working class and the advanced representatives of other classes.

3. To extend the training of capable Party cadres. The Party has been successful in its work of training, moulding and educating Party cadres. We have made progress in political and ideological education, but we still lack a network of Party schools which could ensure the adequate and speedy training of ever-greater numbers of Party cadres as is demanded by the growth of the Party and its increasing influence. The shortage of cadres is still great and is more and more sharply felt. In selecting cadres we must first of all

the Party can be formed only by those who consistently study Marxist-Leninist theory and are able to uphold its principles firmly.

In view of this we must pay more attention to the Party members from amongst the intellectuals, who need our special help in order to cast off the influence of bourgeois ideology and to move towards proletarian ideology.

6. To study and observe the requirements of the Party Rules. The Party Rules are a document of great organising and mobilising force, a powerful factor in the ideological education of rank-and-file members and leading cadres of the Party, in developing inner-Party democracy, strengthening Party discipline and consolidating the unity of the Party ranks, as well as in developing criticism and self-criticism. In order to carry through the Party Programme successfully it is necessary to have a monolithic, centralised and militant organisation, it is essential for all Party members to study the Party Rules as early as possible and to launch a persistent and systematic struggle for the strict observance of all requirements of the Party Rules.

Study of the Party Rules and strict observance of their requirements will facilitate the struggle against tendencies to individualism which have been manifest in the activity of the leading Party bodies and have done much harm to the leadership of the Party.

The struggle for implementing the principle of collective leadership at all levels of the Party is closely linked with the ideological struggle against one of the worst and most persistent manifestations of petty bourgeois ideology in the Party ranks—against the individualism of those who try to impose their own will on the Party, to replace the work of the Party committees by individual activity, who fail to convene meetings of Party committees for long periods of time and convene them only for the purpose of formal approval of decisions taken individually and often already carried out.

The makers of history are the popular masses. The working class and its Party, in the course of revolutionary struggle, advance their own leaders, people who for the broad masses can be the bearers of ideas for the realisation of which the Party has been fighting. Within the Party, leadership is exercised by virtue of the collective wisdom and experience of the Central Committee. Collective leadership is the paramount principle of Party leadership. This is why we cannot tolerate in our ranks people who are "exempt" from criticism and self-criticism.

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Great battles are ahead of us. Our people will not submit to enslavement, they will not allow the lives and blood of their sons to be sacrificed for the interests of the warmongers and imperialist bankers. We are conscious that the approaching battles will be stubborn and difficult. The enemy facing our people is devoid of conscience and will stop at no crimes. But our people are invincible in the struggle for freedom and independence. The guarantee of this invincibility is the great strength of the popular masses.

We know that we are not alone. We are marching forward confidently and firmly because we are aware that there stands at the head of the peace-loving peoples fighting for social progress the mighty and invincible Soviet Union—the bulwark of peace throughout the world.

Beneath the glorious banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, inspired by their unconquerable teaching, boundlessly loyal to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we are determined to labour and to fight, confident in the strength of the working class, in the strength of the people, firmly confident of the future which, whatever may happen, belongs to us.

# WARSAW—CITY OF PEACE

January 17, 1955, marked the tenth anniversary of that unforgettable day for the Polish people when the heroic Soviet Army and units of the Polish troops liberated Warsaw, the long-suffering capital of Poland. The inhabitants of Warsaw, like the entire Polish people, look back on this day with a feeling of great joy, and they will always treasure in their hearts boundless gratitude to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army that liberated Poland and saved us from annihilation.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw, the Poles convey their most cordial gratitude and fraternal greetings to the peoples of the Soviet Union! Let this gratitude of the mothers of Warsaw be accepted by Soviet mothers whose sons shed their blood and gave their lives in the battles for the liberation of Warsaw! Let the inhabitants of Moscow, Stalingrad, Leningrad, Sevastopol, Odessa, Kiev, Minsk and other Soviet cities, who so heroically fought against the Hitlerite invasion, accept our gratitude!

German militarism, which brought in its train incalculable sufferings for the Polish people, committed monstrous crimes in Warsaw. The fascist barbarians destroyed 85% of all the buildings and 90% of the industrial enterprises in our capital, brought to ruins and ashes the 700-year-old Stare Miasto, monuments of architecture, temples, schools and hospitals and mined the bridges over the Vistula. The town had no water, electricity, gas or transport. The monuments to Mickiewicz, Copernicus, Chopin and Kilinski were smashed to pieces. And it seemed as if the city could never come to life again. Only some 140,000 people were left, out of a population of one and a half million.

We have not forgotten, nor shall we ever forget, whose hand it was that committed these crimes.

And that is why the inhabitants of Warsaw and our people as a whole voice a most resolute protest against the frenzied attempts of Western ruling circles to revive German militarism; that is why they are deeply indignant at the plans of those who, abusing the patriotic sentiments of peoples who love their independence and freedom, trampling underfoot sentiments of justice and defying the will of hundreds of millions of people, are seeking to re-establish the blood-stained Wehrmacht in Western Germany.

Will not the fact that the murderers of their sons, the former Hitlerite officers and generals and the former SS-men are again preparing to stand at the head of the aggressive German army, evoke the most sacred, the most heartfelt wrath and indignation in the hearts of Warsaw mothers? Can the millions of mothers of Coventry and Stalingrad, Oradour and Reims, Lidice and Oslo reconcile themselves to this fact? The mothers of Hamburg and Düsseldorf, who have lived through the horrors of the war devastation and extreme sufferings at the death of their children, likewise cannot reconcile themselves to it.

Still greater wrath and indignation are called forth by the attempts of those who advocate the restoration of German militarism to place in the hands of the butchers of the European peoples a weapon that is a hundred times more powerful than any they have ever had—the atomic weapon, with its vast destructive power. Nor can the inhabitants of Paris and Moscow, Rome and Stockholm, London and Prague, Warsaw and Berlin and all cities in the world, but give vent to a most determined protest against the danger of using this means of mass extermination!

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**Jerzy Albrecht**  
Chairman, Warsaw Rada Narodowa

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The Poles have suffered too much from German militarism to underestimate the dangers of its revival. They will never agree to the return of arms to the ravagers of Warsaw. What happened in Warsaw must never happen again in any European city.

An invincible force is latent in the yearnings of the peoples for a peaceful life. They do not want war and the idea of peaceful international co-operation is dear to their hearts. The Polish people are ardent champions of this idea. Like the peoples of the USSR and all countries of the peace camp, they see the path to a relaxation of international tension, to solving all controversial questions in the peaceful coexistence of the peoples and in negotiations between countries. This path conforms to the most vital interests of all peoples, it serves the cause of peace, the successful development of our towns, ensures a peaceful life, free of the menace of war.

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By their enormous efforts the Polish people, led by their heroic United Workers' Party, raised Warsaw from the ruins. The dead and devastated Warsaw of ten years ago will have more than one million inhabitants this year. Some 170,000 children have been born there in the ten years since its liberation and the birth-rate is now six times higher than before the war.

The almost one million-strong population of Warsaw looks to the morrow with confidence. Each Warsaw resident knows he has enormous opportunities for his personal development and to develop his abilities. People in Warsaw are no longer haunted by the phantom of unemployment, whereas in 1939 only 25% of the population of the city had permanent work. Now nearly half the city's population, more than 470,000 people, are working in factories, plants and offices.

Warsaw's industry, wholly destroyed during the war, is now the most modern in the country. There are more than 30 large engineering factories in the city. There are automobile and tractor works, tool and electro-technical works, heavy machine-building works, works producing optical precision instruments and radio and television equipment. The output of the Warsaw chemical works has increased more than five times since 1949; light industry is turning out 3.5 times more, the food industry 2.5 times while the consumer-goods factories of local industry have raised output six times.

We have been able to restore or build more than 220,000 habitable rooms in the capital, including more than 90,000 in new districts. Although this does not cover the steadily mounting needs of a rapidly growing population, the working people of Warsaw are now living in better conditions than before the war. If the cubic capacity

of all the dwellings completed for the use of the population were converted into standard type 4-storey houses, they would make up a street, with buildings on each side, stretching from Warsaw to Lodz, that is about 140 kilometres.

The water-supply system in Warsaw has been extended 130 km. compared with prewar, and our city transport carried as many passengers during 1954 as the total for the years 1936, 1937 and 1938.

Warsaw now has considerably more hospital beds than before the war, four times more creches, and the kindergartens cater for more than twice as many children as in 1938. Some 160,000 are studying in the Warsaw schools and higher school establishments, among them more than 30,000 students. We have restored the splendid monuments and historical buildings which the people of Warsaw love so much and at which the Hitlerite invaders, seeking to destroy not only our lives and future but also our historic past, so cruelly sneered. Now we can't imagine Warsaw without the restored Stare Miasto, and we once more see our Old Market as if it had been standing there undamaged for centuries.

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Enormous vistas for development open up before our capital. During the next ten years we shall completely restore the centre of the city, which still bears traces of the war; new residential districts and settlements will be built, new communication arteries, new parks and squares, new theatres, schools and hospitals will appear. Even within the next five years, in accordance with the National Front Programme, we shall make a big stride forward in rehabilitating and reconstructing the town, in improving the standard of living of its population. The Five-Year Plan envisages the building of 1.5 times as many habitable rooms as during the years of the Six-Year Plan. We must solve most of the difficulties of the city transport, complete the electrification of the Warsaw railway network and bring the new main station into use. We shall finish building the thermo-electrical power station in Zeran and a number of other major industrial projects; we shall construct new canals, extend the water-supply and sewage system and build about 100 schools, many kindergartens and creches; we shall complete the construction of a big theatre and build new cinemas and other cultural undertakings.

The Soviet Union's gift to Poland, the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science, most splendid testimony of the tireless aid the Soviet land is giving our capital, will be handed over for the use of the working people in 1955. This year about 25,000 new dwellings should be built and 80,000 repaired for the use of Warsaw residents.

The rebuilt Warsaw is the result of the selfless labour of the inhabitants of the Polish capital and of all our people. For the Polish people it has become a real symbol of the triumph of life over death, of peace over war, of real humanism over misanthropy.

We have enough strength and will-power to bring about an ever-greater flourishing of free Warsaw in the new decade. We shall spare no efforts to ensure that Warsaw, as hitherto, should always be the pride of each one of us.

Warsaw, the city beloved by the Polish people, has won for itself sincere sympathy far beyond our borders. We warmly appreciate these sentiments and on our part experience the most sincere feelings for all those peoples, who, like us, are longing for happiness and peace.

The messengers of peace who visited us in 1950 from all corners of the earth called Warsaw



AMERICAN "DOVE OF PEACE"  
(From Hungarian newspaper Szabad Nép)

## Polish Youth Prepare for Second Congress of Polish Youth Union

Amidst great political and labour enthusiasm the young people of Poland are preparing for the Second Congress of the Polish Youth Union scheduled for January 28.

Hundreds of meetings of Union members are discussing the new draft Rules to be submitted to the Congress and ways and means to improve political and educational work in their organisations. Factories and offices in Poznan have already held more than 60 youth meetings which have made many criticisms and suggestions for improving the ideological and educational work of the Union.

Thousands of young Polish men and women took production pledges in honour of the Congress. For instance, young fitters in a team headed by Lucjan Zarembski, in the Szczecin shipyard, cut by 7 days the time necessary to assemble an item of production and undertook to cut the time for assembling another mechanism and save a large quantity of auxiliary materials. The youth of the Bydgoszcz shoe-making factory have introduced 30 rationalisation suggestions.

Thousands of boys and girls are joining the ranks of the Union. Some 700 young people joined the Union in the Szczecin region during December.

Much attention is paid by the Polish United Workers' Party to the work of the Polish Youth Union. Meetings of Party activists have been held in regions, districts and towns to discuss the tasks of improving the education of Polish youth in the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

## RECONSTRUCTION OF BULGARIAN CAPITAL

House building and construction to satisfy cultural and everyday needs of the population have been undertaken on an immense scale in Sofia. Reconstruction of the centre of the capital, where large and beautiful buildings have already sprung up, is in full swing. Last year 26 million leva were allocated to improve the capital. The Sofia working people received new, well-appointed apartments of more than 56,000 square metres of dwelling space.

## POLITICAL NOTES

# "Guarantees" in the Paris Agreements and the German Militarists

In their attempts to convince the population of their countries of the necessity to remilitarise Western Germany and include the new Wehrmacht in the armed forces of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, the Western imperialists are asserting that the Paris agreements contain "guarantees" that make it possible to keep a tight rein on German militarism.

However, what the militarists of Western Germany think about these "guarantees" is shown clearly by the debates that developed in the Bonn Bundestag around the question of ratification at the first reading of the agreements. Former Nazi General Manteuffel stressed that a West German regular army of 500,000 would be "inadequate", in view of the fact that this army would be included in NATO and the West German militarists would be left without troops to "use within the country". Manteuffel's statement was the complement to one made by former SA Hauptsturmführer and present Bonn Minister Oberländer who a few days before had threatened France and the GDR with "resolute action" immediately the 2,000,000-strong West German army was raised. The objective of this "resolute action" was unambiguously explained by Prinz zu Löwenstein, Bonn Bundestag Deputy from the so-called Free Democratic Party, who called for the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the annexation of part of Switzerland, and the liquidation of Luxembourg and Holland as independent states!

That the West German militarists do not mean to limit themselves to an army of 500,000 is also evident from the words of General Heusinger, former Hitlerite general. This general has been in uniform for 40 years now and it is no mere accident that he is marked out for the position of Chief of Staff of the future West German Wehrmacht. And now he is aspiring to the role of Adenauer's military adviser. "If, with the 100,000-strong army stipulated by the Versailles Treaty, Germany succeeded in training the cadres it needed", pointed out General Heusinger, "how much more quickly can this be done on the basis of a 500,000-strong army."

German militarists are prepared to guarantee that they will be strong enough within the next two years to snap their fingers at any guarantees. This all the more so since the Paris agreements will provide them with atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons. Bonn Chancellor Adenauer is trying might and main to pro-

vide the necessary material prerequisites for this purpose too. He proposes to expend 25,000 million marks more on West German arms than Hitler did on building up the Wehrmacht over a space of six years.

Adenauer depends upon such an experienced adviser as Professor Kaufmann, who as long ago as Wilhelm II's time was an "expert on international law", to provide the legal "grounds" for the aggressive plans of German militarism. As far back as 1911 this savage in scholar's clothing wrote: "The scope of the rights of any state depends on its strength to dictate its will. That is why, in the conflicts between states, force will decide which side is in the right if threats are of no avail. Thus war is in no way an infringement of law but the sole ultimate proof from the point of view of international law."

In 1914 the German militarists acted on this monstrous misanthropic "theory". A similar "interpretation" of international law was also the "justification" for Hitler's attack on the peoples of Europe. Now Bonn Chancellor Adenauer is also guided by Kaufmann's advice.

Professor Kaufmann spoke at the Karlsruhe trial of the Communist Party of Germany as an Adenauer Government expert. His statements in court were an attempt to supply grounds for the future aggressive acts of the West German militarists. Kaufmann tried hard to prove that the Potsdam Agreement, envisaging the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany, is not an international treaty and is not binding on Germany.

The West German revenge-seekers would like to declare invalid the Potsdam Agreement which protects the peoples from the restoration of German fascism and militarism. They would like to do this so that after ratification of the Paris agreements they would be able to go ahead right away with their aggressive designs. And at the same time they intend to ignore any guarantees contained in the Paris agreements.

The real guarantee against the revival of German militarism is the system of general European collective security proposed by the Soviet Union and unanimously approved by the peoples, who are prepared for decisive, joint struggle to stop ratification and implementation of the Paris agreements and to ensure peace and security in Europe.

Jan MAREK

## FIGURES TALK

### I. INCREASING POPULAR WELL-BEING IN GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

★ The average monthly earnings of the workers in the publicly-owned industrial enterprises of the Republic have increased from 216 German marks in 1950 to 366 marks in 1954.

★ There is a systematic growth in government expenditure on social and cultural measures. Last year 5,800 million marks went on social insurance alone and 3,200 million marks on the development of science, culture and the arts.

★ In 1954, 452,606 working people and children spent their holidays in sanatoriums alone, not counting those who went to rest homes. This year the number of places in sanatoriums is expected to increase by 150 million marks in the 1955 budget.

### II. DETERIORATING LIVING STANDARDS OF WORKING PEOPLE IN WESTERN GERMANY

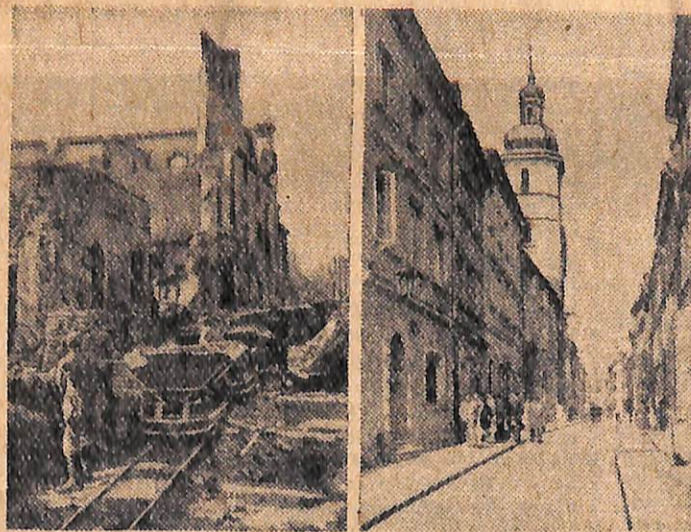
★ According to information published by the UN Economic Commission for Europe the cost of living in Western Germany in June 1954 was 8% above the 1950 level. The wages of a considerable section of the workers are below subsistence level.

★ Taxes, which are primarily used for the colossal military expenditure, are estimated to increase by 150 million marks in the 1955 budget.

their sons, the former Hitlerite officers and generals and the former SS-men are again preparing to stand at the head of the aggressive German army, evoke the most sacred, the most heartfelt wrath and indignation in the hearts of Warsaw mothers? Can the millions of mothers of Coventry and Stalingrad, Oradour and Reims, Lidice and Oslo reconcile themselves to this fact? The mothers of Hamburg and Düsseldorf, who have lived through the horrors of the war devastation and extreme sufferings at the death of their children, likewise cannot reconcile themselves to it.

Still greater wrath and indignation are called forth by the attempts of those who advocate the restoration of German militarism to place in the hands of the butchers of the European peoples a weapon that is a hundred times more powerful than any they have ever had—the atomic weapon, with its vast destructive power. Nor can the inhabitants of Paris and Moscow, Rome and Stockholm, London and Prague, Warsaw and Berlin and all cities in the world, but give vent to a most determined protest against the danger of using this means of mass extermination!

We must spare no effort to save the world, our towns, their population and all the invaluable cultural treasures of mankind from the threat of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.



The Polish people are enthusiastically raising their capital—Warsaw—from the ruins. Photos: left—section of Pivna Street in 1946; right—the same street after rehabilitation.

industry is turning out 3.5 times more, the food industry 2.5 times while the consumer-goods factories of local industry have raised output six times.

We have been able to restore or build more than 220,000 habitable rooms in the capital, including more than 90,000 in new districts. Although this does not cover the steadily mounting needs of a rapidly growing population, the working people of Warsaw are now living in better conditions than before the war. If the cubic capacity

splendid testimony of the tireless aid the Soviet land is giving our capital, will be handed over for the use of the working people in 1955. This year about 25,000 new dwellings should be built and 80,000 repaired for the use of Warsaw residents.

The rebuilt Warsaw is the result of the selfless labour of the inhabitants of the Polish capital and of all our people. For the Polish people it has become a real symbol of the triumph of life over death, of peace over war, of real humanism over nihilism.

We have enough strength and will-power to bring about an ever-greater flourishing of free Warsaw in the new decade. We shall spare no efforts to ensure that Warsaw, as hitherto, should always be the pride of each one of us.

Warsaw, the city beloved by the Polish people, has won for itself sincere sympathy far beyond our borders. We warmly appreciate these sentiments and on our part experience the most sincere feelings for all those peoples, who, like us, are longing for happiness and peace.

The messengers of peace who visited us in 1950 from all corners of the earth called Warsaw the city of peace. Warsaw will remain true to this noble name. Its inhabitants, like the whole Polish people, will devote all their efforts to the cause of peace and happiness.

The youth of the Bydgoszcz shoe-making factory have introduced 30 rationalisation suggestions.

Thousands of boys and girls are joining the ranks of the Union. Some 700 young people joined the Union in the Szczecin region during December.

Much attention is paid by the Polish United Workers' Party to the work of the Polish Youth Union. Meetings of Party activists have been held in regions, districts and towns to discuss the tasks of improving the education of Polish youth in the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

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In 1955 the volume of construction work in Sofia will further increase. There will be an allocation of 147 million leva for urban improvement in Sofia, 39% of which are for housing. New flats with 85,000 square metres of dwelling space will be completed for the working people.

They will be strong enough within the next two years to snap their fingers at any guarantees. This all the more so since the Paris agreements will provide them with atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons. Bonn Chancellor Adenauer is trying might and main to pro-

the Soviet Union and unanimously approved by the peoples, who are prepared for a decisive, joint struggle to stop ratification and implementation of the Paris agreements and to ensure peace and security in Europe.

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★ In 1954, 452,606 working people and children spent their holidays in sanatoriums alone, not counting those who went to rest homes. This year the number of places in sanatoriums and rest homes of a similar standard should increase by 27,000.

★ In 1953, 23,042 tractors were already working in the fields of the GDR. By the end of 1953 the working peasants were able to build 100,000 new houses, more than 100,000 cattle-sheds and about 38,000 other buildings.

### II. DETERIORATING LIVING STANDARDS OF WORKING PEOPLE IN WESTERN GERMANY

★ According to information published by the UN Economic Commission for Europe the cost of living in Western Germany in June 1954 was 8% above the 1950 level. The wages of a considerable section of the workers are below subsistence level.

★ Taxes, which are primarily used for the colossal military expenditure, are estimated to increase by 150 million German marks in the 1954-55 financial year. According to official data taxes should account for 62.7% of the total budget revenue, as against 59.2% in the last financial year.

★ Expenditure for the upkeep of the state and police apparatus is estimated to increase in the current financial year by 385 million German marks, i.e. 20%.

## BOOK REVIEW

# FRANCE AND THE TRUSTS\*

Economie et Politique—Marxist Economic Journal

The object of *Economie et Politique*, a new monthly which made its first appearance in Paris some months ago, is designed to throw light upon the main political and economic problems of contemporary France from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. A special number was recently published with the title "France and the Trusts".

In an introductory article Jacques Duclos defines the objective of this issue as follows: "Since the appearance of Lenin's works, it has become the thing to speak of the latent power of the trusts and even to denounce the machinations of certain persons, financiers as a rule. But this is not enough. It is essential to see how the concentration of industry operates in each country, to study the role of finance capital, to discern the common and contradictory interests obtaining in financial circles. It is necessary to disclose the international ties of the monopolies, to try to determine the share of profits they appropriate to themselves and the influence they exert on the state."

The issue of *Economie et Politique* devoted to these problems is the fruit of lengthy and deep research, the result of the collective efforts of the whole editorial board.

★ If one is to believe the advertisements for thousands of goods of different brands and names, then one would think that France of our day is a country in which the output of innumerable small and medium enterprises makes up the essential part of the whole of industrial production. In reality this is far from being the case.

There are about 1,800,000 industrial and trading enterprises in France, but 50-60%

of the industrial output of the country is supplied by only some hundreds, at the most 1-2,000 trusts. So emphasises the journal, "... a characteristic feature of contemporary French economy, like the economy of other capitalist countries, is that industry and trade—in varying degrees and depending on the branch—are dominated by a small number of trusts, which in turn depend on a still smaller number of groups of finance capital."

Examining the situation in all branches of activity, from metallurgy to the press, radio and the cinema, the journal shows that in France, too, the concentration of industry and trade is an irrefutable fact.

Just as was the case before the second world war the greatest concentration is taking place in the iron and steel industry. At present, five of the main monopolist groups—De Wendel and Co., Usinor, Sidelor, Lorraine-Escaut and Schneider—provide about 66% of the output and control, in fact, 75% of the country's total steel production.

The notorious economic programme of the Mendès-France Government, which constitutes an aggregate of fiscal and administrative measures, credit facilities and subsidies of all kinds aimed at "ridding" French economy of thousands of small, "unprofitable" enterprises and at giving the biggest profits to the trusts, accentuates this process still more. Recent Government measures providing for reduced prices to industrial enterprises—6% off coal and 10% off electricity—mean an annual increase in profits for the Fives-Lille Co. of 24,840,000 francs.

It should be added that the first victims of these government measures are the small employers, artisans and traders.

But the domination of monopolies in the various branches of industry, transport and commerce does not give a complete idea of the degree of the concentration and dominance of a handful of monopolists in the entire economic and consequently the political life of the country. As a matter of fact a few financial groups are influencing the entire economy not only of the country, but of the colonies and foreign countries too.

★ In the chapter, "French Trusts in the Colonies", the journal vigorously exposes the attempts to pass off the export of capital to the colonies as aid to develop these countries. It writes that if the trusts export capital, it is for the exceptionally high profits which capital investments in France would not yield. The export of capital enables the trusts to reinforce their power and to use it to strengthen their domination over the French working people, as well as over the peoples in colonial and dependent countries. But there is the reverse side of the medal: this increasing exploitation is bringing about even greater unity between the working people in the metropolitan country and the colonies in the struggle against their common enemy.

Stressing that the drive for maximum profit is the main motive force of modern capitalism, the journal cites examples which disclose the origin, distribution and use of the profits amassed by the capitalists. The profits of Peugeot alone—one of the four big automobile trusts in France—rose from 77 million francs in 1947 to 1,206 million francs in 1953; these are only the admitted profits, which are far from representing the total.

The journal examines in detail the relations between the financial oligarchy and

the state. Noting that under imperialism the state has become an instrument of the domination of a handful of representatives of the ruling class, the financial oligarchy, the journal shows how the monopolists are subordinating the state apparatus to their interests. This is carried out, for the most part, by means of placing people who are linked by family ties with the big bourgeoisie in the key positions in the state apparatus. The "personal union" between the monopolies and the state is also manifest in the fact that the majority of the politicians—deputies, senators etc.—are in this or that way linked with big business. This largely explains the constant aid given by the state to the trusts to help them increase their profits, to fight against the working class and other sections of the working people.

"The seizure of the state machine", writes the journal, "the ever more systematic use of this machine in the interests of the financial oligarchy evokes stronger and stronger reaction. Reflecting the contradictions and the struggle between the different sections of the bourgeoisie and the monopolies themselves, meeting with powerful pressure from the working class and other social sections of the population, the state is experiencing severe tension. This tension becomes still sharper when the monopoly groups pursue, solely in their own interests, a policy contrary not only to the interests of the nation but also to the interests of its sovereignty and to its very existence, a policy which gives rise to resistance among all sections of the nation and even among the trusts themselves."

★ Much space is devoted in the journal to the question of the penetration of American imperialism in France. Exposing the bluff of American "aid" the journal writes that the notorious "aid" was utilised in the final count to strip France of her independence and to facilitate the penetration of the French

economy by American capital. The annual report of the French branch of the American Chamber of Trade (1951-1952) points out that at least 1,200-1,500 French enterprises are to a greater or lesser degree under the influence of American capital. In 1953 alone the American monopolies took out of France practically 175 million dollars in profit of 61.2 billion francs, according to the present rate of exchange.

In certain basic branches of French industry, American trusts have a virtual monopoly. The American oil trusts Esso Standard, Socony Vacuum and Caltex have set up their installations for refining and processing oil throughout the country; at present they control not less than 25% of this business. Esso Standard has the exclusive right of prospecting for oil in the south-west of the country, and seeks to grab the rich oil deposits recently discovered in Landes. The Americans occupy the important positions in the automobile industry, in the agricultural implements and tractor industries etc.

American penetration in France is carried out in the main by two trusts—Westinghouse (Mellon) and General Electric (Morgan). For its activity in France General Electric relies on the Thompson-Houston group under whose name some ten factories operate in the country and which possesses shares in other enterprises to the tune of at least 4,000 million francs, which enables it to control capital totalling several tens of billions. It can be said without fear of being mistaken, writes the journal, that 200-300 billion francs of American capital invested in France in fact enable it to control capital to the order of 900-1,000 billion francs.

After the end of the second world war the American monopolies have been seeking, by means of the so-called "economic aid", to turn France into their colony. In this they are assisted by the French financial oligarchy.

However, everything is not going so smoothly in this criminal "collaboration" directed against the people. The contradictions between the French and American monopolies grow from day to day.

The more the monopolies concentrate their power, says the journal, the more will they arouse, multiply and unite gigantic forces against themselves. This is precisely what is happening today in France. The working class and its Communist Party, and behind them the whole French nation, have come out against the anti-national policy of collusion with the American imperialists and of West German rearmament and are taking action for peace and national independence.

This special number of *Economie et Politique*, "France and the Trusts", has substantial shortcomings, however. For example, it insufficiently relates the problems examined to the present situation in France and to the daily struggle of the working class against the trusts, it inadequately shows the ties existing between the French and German monopolies. In the meantime the latest events show once more that the anti-national policy of the present Prime Minister of France, Mendès-France, directed at reviving militarism in Western Germany, is inspired precisely by the interests of the biggest French monopolies who are hoping to amass profits from war orders in connection with the arming of the new Wehrmacht. Mendès-France's recent tour to Rome and Baden-Baden and his proposal to create a so-called "arms pool" is evidence of this. An understanding of these events is of great importance in the struggle against the London and Paris agreements.

But, in spite of these drawbacks the journal is a valuable aid to all to whom the future of their country is dear, to all working people who want to know their enemy in order to fight against him better and to defeat him.

René LOUIS

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