

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

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The 38th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Report Made by Comrade L. M. KAGANOVICH at a Celebration Session of the Moscow Soviet Held on November 6, 1955

I.

Comrades! It may be said without fear of exaggeration that world history has not known an event of greater moment for the destinies of mankind than the October Revolution. Never had the class struggle been of such a profound character and never had the wave of the struggle risen to such a high crest as in October 1917.

Bourgeois revolutions, wrought by the hands of the masses and at the cost of their blood, brought them little benefit. One form of exploitation was replaced by another, but exploitation itself remained, because exploiting private ownership of the instruments and means of production remained unchanged.

To do away with exploitation it is not enough to protest against it, it is not enough, it is not enough to protest against it, it is not enough, merely to make plans for the socialist transformation of society, as the great Utopian socialists did. It is necessary to destroy the roots of exploitation.

That is why the great Marx and Engels stressed that for Communists "the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its abolition, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one".

Today, on the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we Communists and all the people of the Soviet Union are proud that we have fulfilled with credit this behest of Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the proletarian Party, of its brilliant leader Lenin, the proletarian and the labouring peasantry.

Under the guidance of the proletarian and the labouring peasantry, the proletarian and the labouring peasantry destroyed the landlord and capitalist ownership and destroyed the state of the landlords and capitalists; they won Soviet power, transformed society on a basis new in principle and successfully built Socialism in our country.

The 38 years' experience of the multi-million Soviet people has proved in practice the advantages of socialist public ownership over capitalist ownership which has historically outlived itself.

Tens and hundreds of times the enslaved millions tried to overthrow the exploiters but were defeated. History knows the uprisings of slaves and plebeians in the ancient world and peasant uprisings and other revolutionary movements, but all of them were defeated; rivers of blood poured forth but victory was not achieved. The lot of the people remained difficult and dear, their suffering continued and there was no deliverance from slavery.

The main cause of these defeats was that the working people had no real, strong class force in the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

It was only when the industrial proletariat—the most oppressed and exploited but at the same time the most united and revolutionary class of modern society—appeared on the historical arena that the revolutionary movement and leading the scattered and backward sections of the exploited population.

This year, when the peoples of the Soviet Union are observing the glorious 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1905, which was the "dress rehearsal" for the October Revolution, it is especially necessary to stress the very great importance of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat.

The great service of the teachers of the working class, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the Party of Communists they created, lies in the fact that they developed their teaching on the role of the working class as the leader of all working people and exploited masses, above all the peasantry, to the logical end, to the teaching that the "class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Marx). "Only he is a Marxist", Lenin wrote, "who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is where the profound difference lies between a Marxist and an ordinary petty (and even big) bourgeois." (Russian Ed., Vol. 25, p. 384.)

This is the main thing in Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental thing in the October Revolution. The indefatigable work of the Party in preparing the proletariat for the winning of power, and the implacable struggle against all shades of opportunism and treachery in the ranks of the proletariat ensured that the dictatorship was brought to the point of the conquest of power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. This made secure the gains of the October Revolution and ensured the building of Socialism and the victory of the peoples of our great socialist homeland.

In the struggle against the internal and external enemies of the revolution the dictatorship of the proletariat manifested its first aspect—the coercive. But the dictatorship of the proletariat is not limited to coercion and is not mainly coercion. By bringing into play the second and the third aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat the working class used its power to build Socialism, to win over finally to its side all the working masses, especially the peasantry, and strengthened its alliance with the peasantry, which has been and remains the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletarian dictatorship has also fulfilled its role with regard to all the oppressed nations and peoples of former tsarist Russia and has ensured them national freedom and the building up of new, socialist nations.

The October Revolution, like a great, deep river, brought together three streams: the mighty stream of the struggle of the peasantry against the landlords, the struggle of the oppressed nations against the tsarist "prison of the peoples" and the mighty stream of the socialist proletarian revolution.

During the thirty-eight years of Soviet power our homeland has been transformed from an economically underdeveloped, agrarian land into a mighty industrial-collective farm socialist power, a country of advanced science and culture. Our homeland has become the beacon and hope of the peoples of the whole world. (Stormy applause.)

II.

Labour productivity in industry has this year risen to double the 1940 figure and 44% above the 1950 figure. However, we are not making use of all reserves for increasing labour productivity.

The main reason for this is that apart from production being inadequately equipped with new machinery, there are serious shortcomings in the organisation of production and labour, and advanced methods of work have not been introduced on a sufficiently wide scale.

It is necessary to improve the actual organisation of labour and the further development of socialist emulation. The methods of the front-rankers whose productivity is double that of an average worker must become widespread. All this holds good not only for industry, but for the transport services and agriculture as well.

Our transport services—rail, marine, inland waterway and road transport—have considerably expanded in the Five-Year Plan period and are fulfilling the plans. This year rail freight carriage is 60% higher than in 1950. However, there are serious flaws in the fulfilment of the programme as regards the range of goods transported. Despite the growth of traffic capacities, they are still being used insufficiently, and the technical level of the transport services lags behind the rapidly growing requirements.

The basic task for the immediate future, along with the better utilisation of existing capacities and the elimination of a serious shortcoming—the carriage of goods over extra long distances, without good reason—is to re-equip the transport services technically, to step up the electrification of the railways, to introduce still wider automation, to develop the production of powerful up-to-date diesel and electric locomotives, new types of marine and river vessels, large-capacity railway wagons and trucks for the transport services. We are certain that the transport workers will further advance the transport services.

Our socialist agriculture is meeting the thirty-eighth anniversary of the October Revolution with new victories. The collective farm peasantry is working hard to fulfil the tasks set by the Communist Party.

In recent years the Party has adopted important decisions and taken intensive measures to advance agriculture, the results of which have already made themselves felt.

Including the 30 odd million hectares of newly-cultivated virgin soil, the crop area in the USSR has increased 27% as against 1950. The area under maize has increased more than four-fold as compared with 1954. Stockbreeding is pushing ahead.

It is clear to everyone now that maize is an important crop which has a great future in our country, primarily for the development of animal husbandry. Despite adverse weather conditions, especially in Kazakhstan, the 1955 harvest was on the whole higher than last year—by the first of November 129 million poods more grain had been supplied to the state than in 1954.

However, we are not satisfied with these results because the present level of agriculture does not meet the growing requirements for the foodstuffs and raw materials that are necessary to expand output of fabrics, footwear and other mass-consumer goods. There are still serious defects in the production and utilisation of farm machinery, in the economical organisation of labour and, what is most important, in the struggle for higher crop yields.

Every effort must be made to eliminate existing shortcomings.

But shortcomings in the work of the trading organisations, for instance, inadequate study of the requirements and needs of the working people and the tardy delivery of goods to the consumers, stand in the way of a better supply of goods to the population. The real wages of factory and office workers in industry are this year 39% higher than in 1950 and 91% higher than in 1940; the peasants' incomes (per working person) are 50% higher than in 1950 and 122% higher than in 1940.

State appropriations for social and cultural services—free tuition and scholarships, free medical assistance and health resort accommodation, and paid holidays—have risen more than 3.5 times since 1940.

The Party and the Government do not shut their eyes to the fact that in all these matters we have not yet attained the level we need, that is the maximum satisfaction of the material requirements of the Soviet people. But year by year we are forging ahead and the main thing is that there are all the possibilities inherent in our system for an uninterrupted rise of the material well-being of the people. These possibilities must be turned into reality.

The C.C. of the Party and the Council of Ministers are working unflinchingly to ensure the further growth of the material well-being of the people. This refers particularly to the housing problem. Under the Five-Year Plan 150 million square metres of housing space have been made available. Yet our housing situation is still unsatisfactory; one of the most important tasks to be accomplished under the sixth Five-Year Plan is, therefore, to improve house building. The builders must carry out this task with credit, side by side with other construction tasks. They must bring down costs and improve standards of construction.

Our country greets the 38th anniversary of the October Revolution with fresh achievements in the field of cultural development. The number of schools is growing and the number of those attending secondary and higher educational establishments is on the increase. Soviet art and literature, the most striking evidence of the general cultural progress of the people, are in a flourishing state.

We now stand before the new plan, the sixth Five-Year Plan. There are still greater tasks to be solved by the state in the field of national economic administration. For this reason the operation of the state machinery must be improved.

The maintenance of constant, indissoluble bonds with the people, with the wide masses of the working people and the participation of the people in running the state are the all-important means of improving the state machinery. In this respect a big part is being played and a still greater part must be played by the trade unions, by the women, who hold an important place in our work of construction, and by our glorious youth who have never known capitalism in our country but who know very well how to build Socialism successfully.

It is necessary for us to strengthen our state in every way if both our internal and our external tasks are to be carried out successfully. The countries of people's democracy are benefiting from its experience, from its practical work. Our economic relations and trade with these countries are being extended.

Our contacts and relationships are built on the new principles of comradely mutual assistance and on co-ordination of economic development plans coupled with mutual respect for the sovereignty and equality of the peoples.

Under the guidance of the proletarian vanguard, the great teachers of the proletariat in the benefit of Marx leader Lenin, the proletarian and the labouring peasantry abolished landlord and capitalist ownership and destroyed the state of the landlords and capitalists; they won Soviet power, transformed society on a basis new in principle and successfully built Socialism in our country.

The 38 years' experience of the multi-million Soviet people has proved in practice the advantages of socialist public ownership over capitalist ownership which has historically outlived itself.

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The main cause of these defeats was that the working people had no real, strong class force in the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

It was only when the industrial proletariat—the most oppressed and exploited but at the same time the most united and revolutionary class of modern society—appeared on the historical arena that the revolutionary movement of the working people acquired a real guiding force, uniting and leading the scattered and backward sections of the exploited population.

Lenin, the brilliant strategist of the proletarian revolution, creatively developing scientific Communism in conditions of the victorious October Revolution, worked out a great, bold, scientifically sound plan for building Communism. History has borne out the correctness of this plan.

The Party relied first and foremost on internal resources and count on help from without; at that period the only thing the imperialists exported to Soviet Russia was intervention and money they supplied lavishly only for counter-revolution.

The electrification of the country was one of the most important aspects of Lenin's plan for building Communism. He called the famous GOELRO plan the "second party programme", "Communism", whole." By the electrification of the country Lenin meant the creation of the material base of Communism, the development of large-scale and, above all, heavy industry on the basis of advanced techniques and high productivity of labour. It was with this that Lenin's plan for the co-operation of millions of small peasant households and the realisation of the cultural revolution was linked.

Lenin, the architect of this plan, was not destined to live to see it carried through to completion. Following his death, the Bolshevik Party he had created successfully worked, under the leadership of his loyal comrade-in-arms, the great Stalin, to put Lenin's plan into effect.

Our country was one of the most backward in the generation of electric power. Today it holds second place in the world. The output of electric power is being increased by 84% under the fifth Five-Year Plan. Over 300 large and medium power stations, including 90 hydro-electric stations, have been built and put into operation in the years of Soviet rule.

The Kuibyshev hydro-electric station alone will generate 11,400 million kilowatt hours of electricity, that is, six times as much as the whole of pre-revolutionary Russia produced in 1913. The first turbines of the Kuibyshev hydro-electric station are to start operating before the end of this year.

We shall continue to develop electrification on a still greater scale. The next five-year period will see the first units of the "Bratsk" hydro-electric station—the largest in the world—built and put into operation on the Angara River.

It is interesting to recall in this connection what H. G. Wells, the British author, wrote in 1920. He said that Lenin, although repudiating, as an orthodox Marxist, all "Utopias", had in the end got into an electrical Utopia himself. He was supporting with all his might a plan for organising giant electric stations in Russia. Could one fancy a bolder project in this vast flat country with its endless forests and illiterate muzhiks, with its scarcely developed technique and dying industry and trade... It was only by the greatest stretch of imagination that one could dream of electrification being applied in Russia. Wells said that he for one could imagine nothing of the kind.

A respected author of entertaining Utopian novels, Wells was capable of writing fantasies about Mars but proved incapable of visualising the future on actual Russian soil. How limited these gentlemen appear to be now and what a titan of scientific revolutionary thought and great revolutionary daring is our genius, our ever beloved father, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, towering over the ages. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

All this should give considerable food for thought to those who today look down upon the efforts of the Chinese people and their Government to industrialise and electrify the whole of their country. We are certain that these supercilious gentlemen will make as great a laughing-stock of themselves as those who used to scoff at us. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great Chinese people will

achieve the victory of Socialism just as the Soviet people have done. (Stormy applause.)

Lenin's prediction has come true. What was produced in a whole year in 1920 is put out in a matter of days in 1955: electricity—in one day; pig iron—in a day and a half; coal—in eight days; oil—in twenty days; sugar—in seven days.

The Leninist plan of building Communism has become the militant programme of our Party, and the Soviet people and is being successfully carried out. The Soviet people are meeting the thirty-eighth anniversary of the October Revolution by fulfilling the fifth Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

The level of industrial production in 1955 will be 184% of that in 1950 and 318% of that in 1940; the production of the means of production will be 189% of that of 1950 and production of consumer goods 176%.

However, in summing up our successes we must remember the behest of Lenin, who said that "the best way to celebrate the anniversary of the Great Revolution is to concentrate attention on its unresolved tasks". These unresolved tasks have been set us in a number of decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

With regard to agriculture, the C.C. of our Party has, through the reports of Comrade Khrushchev, criticised shortcomings in this sphere at a number of its plenary meetings and adopted a number of important decisions.

With regard to industry, a report by Comrade Bulganin was discussed last July, and a detailed decision taken exposing the basic shortcomings preventing our industry from making more rapid progress, and important measures were adopted for improving its work.

Our industry, especially heavy industry, which we have reared like a beloved child, as the very foundation of Communism, of the defence and independence of our motherland, has acquitted itself with honour and will continue to do so.

The successes attained cannot satisfy us, however. Our country is a vast one, requirements are growing constantly, and we are still lagging behind the principal capitalist countries economically. We must not, therefore, become conceited. We must boldly bring to light our shortcomings in order to liquidate them as quickly as possible. A rising class does not fear criticism or self-criticism. It is the declining class that fears criticism.

Our shortcomings are many. First of all there is the slow mastering and introduction of new machinery, new technology, the insufficient utilisation of capacity reserves, non-rhythmical work, shortcomings in the distribution of productive forces. There are also serious shortcomings in the quality of industrial output.

The task is to ensure the successful liquidation of shortcomings on the basis of the decisions of the July plenary session of the C.C.

Since the October Revolution created new socialist relations of production, the main problems of advancing our economy have been the ensuring of technical progress and better organisation of production and labour.

It is necessary, first and foremost, to step up the output of technically advanced equipment for the complex mechanisation of arduous and labour-consuming work, in order to ease the work of the people and to make it more productive. This refers, for instance, to foundry, smithing, pressing, hoisting and mining equipment.

To fall behind in the present epoch of rapid scientific and technical development would mean to fall behind in economic competition with capitalism. Only by making rapid and extensive use of the latest achievements of home and world science and technology can we achieve that higher degree of labour productivity, as compared with capitalism, which is essential for the victory of Communism.

Without good reason—is to improve the electrification of the railways, to introduce mechanically, to step up the electrification of the railways, to introduce still wider automation, to develop the production of powerful up-to-date diesel and electric locomotives, new types of marine and river vessels, large-capacity railway wagons and trucks for the transport services. We are certain that the transport workers will further advance the transport services.

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Every effort must be made to eliminate existing shortcomings. It is necessary first of all to raise yields of grain and industrial crops per hectare, to ensure an advance in stockbreeding and to make better use of machinery. This will ensure greater prosperity for the collective farmers and satisfy the growing requirements of the country for raw materials and foodstuffs.

We are convinced that our mighty collective farm system can cope with these tasks. (Prolonged applause.)

This year, as in the past, our Party and Government have striven to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people. Along with the growing purchasing power of the population and the lowering of prices, trade in the country also expanded. The five-year plan for retail trade has been fulfilled in four years.

The results of our national economic development are a striking demonstration of the immense advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist one. The indices of the economic development of the two systems are poles apart.

In 1954 the industrial production index of the capitalist world, taking 1929 as 100, stood at 176. In the same year the industrial production index of the USSR was 1,785 as compared with 1929, i.e., nearly 18 times as high.

The average annual rate of growth of industrial production in the Soviet Union was, throughout those years, more than 5 times greater than that of the capitalist world during the same period. As a matter of fact, incidentally, out of those 38 years our development covered only 20 years because 18 were swallowed up by the wars that were imposed upon us and in subsequent recovery. We know that we are, for the time being, second in the world to the United States for general volume of industrial production, that we lag behind the United States in many respects; but we feel certain that with our rate of development we will, once we have eliminated the existing shortcomings, fulfil the behest of Lenin—we will overtake and outstrip it economically too, that is in per capita production.

The Soviet socialist economy is developing according to plan, uninterruptedly and without crises, without unemployment; the United States is rich, it has a powerful industry, but capitalist economy develops in fits and starts, from crisis to crisis.

The capitalist system has experienced three world crises during the past 38 years: in 1920-21, 1929-33 and 1937-38. Since the second world war there have been crisis phenomena in the United States' economy in 1948-49 and in 1953-54. It is true that these crisis phenomena have not become world wide; but even today there is no reason to speak of the serious restoration of a certain equilibrium.

The increase of industrial output in capitalist countries after the second world war is explained first and foremost by such factors as the militarisation of the economy, which is without precedent in peacetime, and the arms drive. The sum total of direct military expenditure of the NATO countries rose from 18,500 million dollars in 1949 to 65,000 million dollars in 1953. Prior to the second world war the very same countries spent only 3,400 million dollars on armament, that is, only one-twentieth of the sum expended in 1953.

Such measures are not a salvation from crises, they drive them deep inside and sharpen all the contradictions in the capitalist world, above all, the class contradictions. It is no accident that since the second world war the strike movement has been at a much higher level than before the war.

In the United States, for example, there were 43,700 strikes between 1945 and 1954 involving 27,300,000 workers and a loss of 445 million working days, compared with 20,000 strikes, involving 9 million workers and a loss of 142 million working

days between 1930 and 1939. The strike movement has also grown in Britain, France, Western Germany, Italy and other countries.

By the end of 1954 the number of officially registered totally unemployed in the United States was 3,230,000, and according to trade union figures there were over 5 million jobless, not counting 13,400,000 on short time.

Life shows that no panaceas can alter the laws of development of capitalism, or remove the ever-sharpening contradictions inherent in capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage.

That is why the most reactionary and rabid elements of imperialism look for "a way out" in the aggravation of the international situation, in military gambles. It is these elements that have exerted, and in one degree or another continue to exert, influence on the policy of the Western capitalist powers. The result was the exceedingly tense international situation in 1953 and 1954, which was fraught with danger.

Suffice it to recall only a few facts of these two years: the Paris agreements on the remilitarisation of Western Germany and its integration in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc; the establishment of the SEATO aggressive alignment in South-East Asia; the conclusion of the Turkish-Pakistani military treaty which has now become a bloc of five countries, including Iran, Iraq and, strange as it may seem... Britain; the military agreements between the United States and South Korea, between the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has taken cover, under the wing of the American navy, on Taiwan, which belongs to the People's Republic of China, and also the agreements between the United States and Japan on the acceleration of Japan's militarisation.

True to its policy of struggle for peace and coexistence of different social and political systems, the Soviet Union, together with the great People's Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, has cut right across these developments which threatened peace. Steps designed to ease international tension have been taken one after another. Today it is generally admitted that important results have been achieved. The cessation of hostilities in Korea and the end of the war in Indo-China were the first serious steps in this direction.

Let us recall the most important measures taken by the Soviet Government and the governments of the countries of people's democracy this year alone: the historic proposals of the Soviet Government on May 10, 1955, on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of another war;

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II.

III.

The 38th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

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the restoration of friendly and fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and People's Yugoslavia and the further successful development of these relations in all spheres—political, economic and cultural—all this is of great importance not only for Soviet-Yugoslav relations but also for strengthening the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism;

the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty;

the visit to the Soviet Union of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India and the consolidation of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India;

the visit to the Soviet Union of Prime Minister U Nu of Burma and the further consolidation of the good relations between the Soviet Union and Burma;

the conclusion of the treaty on the development of relations between the sovereign friendly states—the USSR and the German Democratic Republic; the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the German Federal Republic;

the prolongation for twenty years of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland;

the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Port Arthur naval base and also the abolition of the Soviet naval base in Porkkala Udd.

These are not merely diplomatic actions of the usual type but real and important deeds of the Soviet Government, of our Leninist Party and its C.C. in the struggle for peace. (Stormy applause.)

The broad masses, not only in our country but also far beyond its borders, ardently approve this policy. It is a continuation of the policy of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We have done and are doing everything for peace and, of course, not out of weakness, as the trumpeters of imperialism claim, but because we are aware of our growing strength and might. We do not advise anyone to test our strength, especially those who have already tested it.

We are more than ever confident of the indestructible, ever-growing might of the Soviet Union and the whole camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. (Applause.)

Today we can say that the forces of peace have grown. The force of the peoples is the decisive one and the peoples, including those in the imperialist countries, do not want to lay down their lives and suffer for the interests of the imperialists. That is why the wisest section of the bourgeoisie, sensing that their policy is arousing the increasing resistance of the peoples, have agreed to a certain easing of international tension.

Whereas until recently it was impossible to ascribe to the Western powers any really serious steps for the relaxation of international tension, today we can with satisfaction put down to the credit of the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France their effective and beneficial participation, together with the Soviet Union, in the Four-Power Conference of heads of government in Geneva last July. We consider it our patriotic duty to stress the particularly outstanding part for peace played at the Geneva Conference by our Soviet delegation, which discharged with credit the mandate of our people. (Prolonged applause.)

The Geneva Four-Power Conference of heads of government was a big and important event in international life as a whole. All peace supporters acclaimed it with satisfaction.

But whereas after the Geneva Conference the Soviet Government, by its deeds, gave substance to the Geneva spirit—we can mention, for example, the important measure of reducing the strength of the army by 640,000 men—the other participants in the Geneva Conference, far from taking serious steps in the matter, even carried out retreats from the spirit of Geneva.

We are of the opinion now, as previously, that although a more favourable situation for the struggle for peace has emerged after the Geneva Conference, it does not represent a stage of tranquil existence, in which the enemies of peace are unable to disturb the peaceful life of the peoples.

The attention of world public opinion is now focused on the Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva. The Soviet Government considers the question of collective security in Europe to be an important issue facing this Conference.

The peoples of Europe have the right to insist that practical steps be taken at last to prevent new wars, to ensure the security

The entire Soviet people will stand as one behind their Government and say: It was not in order to rebuild German imperialism with our own hands, to the detriment of all peoples, including the German people, that we and other peoples of Europe shed our blood and routed German imperialism in the Great Patriotic War. (Prolonged applause.)

We stand for the re-establishment of the unity of Germany as a peace-loving and democratic state. This is the firm position of the Soviet Government and we shall not budge an inch from it.

We have agreed that the discussion of the two questions should be linked, but linking does not mean subordinating the more important question of European security to the German question, as the representatives of the three Western Powers would like to have it at Geneva.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic has set out, in its statement in connection with the Geneva Conference, its views and suggestions regarding the ways and means of solving the German problem. The Soviet Government supports this programme. (Applause.)

The reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons is today one of the most urgent demands of the peoples in their struggle to strengthen peace. The proposals of the Soviet Government are known. Representatives of the United States are urging that things should be confined to the establishment of control over armaments.

We stand for control over disarmament, and not for control over continued armament. We cannot give up the proposal for putting an end to the arms race and banning atomic weapons.

It is not words but deeds, not declarations on disarmament but real disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons that the peoples are waiting for. We feel sure that the peoples of the whole world will give us their active support in our struggle for disarmament. We will be supported not only by the peoples of Europe but also by those of Asia and Africa, who are playing an ever-greater role in world politics. (Applause.)

The October Revolution and victory in the second world war played a historic role in the development of the national liberation

movements and the liberation in colonial and dependent countries of the East.

Since the second world war many of the countries of Asia and Africa have gained independence for the first time. The Bandung Conference of 29 nations of Asia and Africa played an important role in the struggle for strengthening universal peace. The Soviet Union and our Party have always stood by the peoples of those countries in their struggle for freedom and independence and have given them their moral and political support.

It is our conviction that the forthcoming visit of Comrades N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev to great India, to Burma and Afghanistan will contribute to the further consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan, and with the peoples of the East in general. (Prolonged applause.)

The experience of the development of international relations in 1955 has shown that the line taken by the Soviet Union that differences between nations should be settled through negotiation has been fully justified. (Applause.)

There are all the possibilities in the world today for ending the cold war and establishing lasting and stable peaceful relations. If this is to be achieved the reactionary imperialist forces must be forced to retreat still further and governments must in reality ensure peace for the peoples.

The balance sheet we are drawing up as we celebrate the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution attests to the impressive achievements gained in the battle for peace and for coexistence of the two systems. The peace movement is growing in scope. The peoples are cementing their unity in the fight for peace.

However, those who prize peace and friendship of the peoples know that there is no cause for complacency, that the struggle for peace calls for vigilance, for exposure of aggressive policies, for strengthening the front of peace.

The peoples and working folk of all countries can rest assured that the Soviet state, brought into being by the October Revolution, is, as it always has been, a reliable bulwark of peace, friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the whole world. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

IV.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has raised our homeland to an immense height on the world scene. It has elevated it in the eyes of the whole world and turned it into the leading revolutionary force, into a bright beacon which illumines for

nationalists. That is why no one will ever succeed in breaking the close ties binding the Soviet people with the broad masses and with the working class of all countries. (Applause.)

This of course does not mean that our state brought into

which develop as the class contradictions engendering revolution become more acute". (Russian Ed., Vol. 27, p. 49.)

The impelling force of revolutions is imperialism itself, as the class contradictions grow sharper within each country the working class and the labouring peasantry cement their unity, national leaders are brought to the fore—national leaders and not "exported" from elsewhere, as the slanderers claim—and the advanced force of the class, the revolutionary party, becomes organised and tempered in the struggle.

Revolutionary ideas recognise no boundaries, they travel all over the world without visas and without being fingerprinted. (Animation in the hall.)

When Marx and Engels issued the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" there was neither radio nor telephone nor planes. But the immortal ideas of Marx and Engels penetrated to all corners of the world and into the minds of the working masses of all countries. All the more so now, in the twentieth century, the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which have gripped the masses, have triumphed and will triumph. (Applause.)

Whereas the nineteenth century was the century of capitalism, the twentieth century is the century of the triumph of Socialism and Communism. (Prolonged applause.)

It is the force of these ideas that explains why in October 1917 our Party, which had only 240,000 members, a drop in the ocean of people, led the millions of workers and peasants to the victorious assault on capitalism. (Applause.)

The working class and the whole of our people know very well to what inspiring and organising force they are indebted for victory in the October Revolution and for all their victories. They know that this force is the great, heroic Communist Party of Bolsheviks.

The experience of our revolution has demonstrated that if the centuries-long struggle of the oppressed and exploited working people could not be victorious without the proletariat, then even with a working class there could be no victory without a revolutionary Communist Party, armed with advanced Marxist-Leninist theory and closely linked with the masses.

The strength of our Party lies in its adherence to principle, in that it has always been with the workers, with the working people in their sorrows and joys, that it has taught the working people and learned from them. It required an iron will, indomitable faith in the justice of its cause, a faith based on scientific Communism and the greatest devotion to the working class and the whole people in order to traverse in some 50 years such a glorious, triumphant path as our own Party has done. (Applause.)

That is why the whole Soviet people speak of our Party in the words of the great Lenin: "In it we believe, in it we see the mind, honour and conscience of our era." (Applause.)

If we recall the hard lot of the working man throughout the centuries, what the ordinary man was like, how it was taken for granted that he was a "drudge" so created by God and doomed to remain that way for all time; if we look at our Soviet man who has become a cultured forward-looking master of the country, imbued with a sense of his own dignity and pride in his beloved socialist homeland, it will become clear why all the common people so ardently love and revere our great Communist Party. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The Party is approaching its XXth Congress. The whole of the people are preparing to mark the occasion in a worthy fashion. Socialist emulation of the people in its honour is spreading throughout the Soviet Union.

The people, the Party and its C.C. are confident that the decisions of the XXth Congress will inspire and rally our people for fresh glorious victories of Communism.

The Party, headed by its wise and battle-seasoned Central Committee, is approaching its Congress united and monolithic. (Applause.)

The unity of the Party with the people, the unity of the Soviet people, the fraternal alliance with all the countries of people's democracy and the friendship of the working people of all countries—here is a mighty force which is afraid of no enemy, which will crush all obstacles in its path to the victory of peace and Socialism. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades, the October Revolution is a vivid, powerful manifestation of the colossal strength of the people accumulated

discharged with credit the mandate of our people. (Prolonged applause.)

The Geneva Four-Power Conference of heads of government was a big and important event in international life as a whole. All peace supporters acclaimed it with satisfaction.

But whereas after the Geneva Conference the Soviet Government, by its deeds, gave substance to the Geneva spirit—we can mention, for example, the important measure of reducing the strength of the army by 640,000 men—the other participants in the Geneva Conference, far from taking serious steps in the matter, even carried out retreats from the spirit of Geneva.

We are of the opinion now, as previously, that although a more favourable situation for the struggle for peace has emerged after the Geneva Conference, it does not represent a stage of tranquil existence, in which the enemies of peace are unable to disturb the peaceful life of the peoples.

The attention of world public opinion is now focused on the Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva. The Soviet Government considers the question of collective security in Europe to be an important issue facing this Conference.

The peoples of Europe have the right to insist that practical steps be taken at last to prevent new wars, to ensure the security of all European countries and, first of all, of those who suffered from the Hitlerite invasion. This is just the aim of the Soviet proposals.

What have the representatives of the three Western Powers had to say to these proposals? Strange though it may seem, they proposed that the first thing was to restore militarism throughout the whole of Germany and to incorporate a unified, remilitarised Germany in the North Atlantic bloc, which is spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. The Soviet Government has rejected such proposals and will continue to do so.

ament. We cannot give up the proposal for putting an end to the arms race and banning atomic weapons.

It is not words but deeds, not declarations on disarmament but real disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons that the peoples are waiting for. We feel sure that the peoples of the whole world will give us their active support in our struggle for disarmament. We will be supported not only by the peoples of Europe but also by those of Asia and Africa, who are playing an ever-greater role in world politics. (Applause.)

The October Revolution and victory in the second world war played a historic role in the development of the national liberation

The Great October Socialist Revolution has raised our homeland to an immense height on the world scene. It has elevated it in the eyes of the whole world and turned it into the leading revolutionary force, into a bright beacon which illumines for mankind the path to the building of a new society, free from oppression, enslavement and exploitation.

That is precisely why the October Revolution was and is of the greatest international significance. It has exerted, and continues to exert an increasingly decisive influence on the course of world events, on the historic destinies of mankind, and first and foremost of the working class. Today hundreds of millions of common people throughout the world wholeheartedly perceive the grandeur and historic significance of the October Revolution.

Soviet men and women are patriots who love their country, and at the same time will never cease to be proletarian inter-

the two systems. The peace movement is growing in scope. The peoples are cementing their unity in the fight for peace.

However, those who prize peace and friendship of the peoples know that there is no cause for complacency, that the struggle for peace calls for vigilance, for exposure of aggressive policies, for strengthening the front of peace. The peoples and working folk of all countries can rest assured that the Soviet state, brought into being by the October Revolution, is, as it always has been, a reliable bulwark of peace, friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the whole world. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

IV.

nationalists. That is why no one will ever succeed in breaking the close ties binding the Soviet people with the broad masses and with the working class of all countries. (Applause.)

This, of course, does not mean that our state, brought into being by the October Revolution, interferes in the internal affairs of other states. Those who spread such allegations ought to know what our great teacher Lenin had to say about "the export of revolution": "There are people who believe that the revolution can break out in a foreign country to order... These people are either mad or they are provocateurs." (Russian Ed., Vol. 27, p. 441.)

Exposing those who from "left" positions argued that we should wage a "revolutionary war" Lenin wrote as far back as in 1918 that "such a 'theory' would mean a complete break with Marxism which has always denied the 'impelling' of revolutions,

the Great October Socialist Revolution attests to the impressive achievements gained in the battle for peace and for coexistence of

socialist revolution and people so ardently love and (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The Party is approaching its XXth Congress in a worthy fashion. The whole of the people in its honour is spreading Socialist emulation of the Soviet Union.

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Comrades, the October Revolution is a vivid, powerful manifestation of the colossal strength of the people accumulated throughout the centuries, which will radiate energy for centuries to come. And, reviewing every year the path of struggle traversed, we draw from this deep wellspring of the people's energy, creative endeavour and wisdom, fresh strength for the further struggle, for the coming victories of Communism.

Under the banner of the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee we have won and will continue to win victories, we have marched and will continue to march forward to the complete victory of Communism! (Stormy, prolonged applause, rising into an ovation, Cheers: "Long live our own Communist Party!", "Hurrah!")

The Soviet people, the working masses in the People's Democracies, and all progressive mankind have celebrated, as a date of great significance, the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the eve of this great holiday the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies, together with representatives of Party and public organisations and of the Soviet Army, held a celebration meeting in the Bolshoi Theatre.

Enthusiastic and prolonged applause broke out as Comrades N. A. Bulganin, K. E. Voroshilov, L. M. Kaganovich, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, N. S. Khrushchev, A. B. Aristov, P. N. Pospelov and D. T. Shepilov took their seats in the presidium.

The meeting was opened by M. A. Yasnov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. Those in attendance warmly greeted L. M. Kaganovich, member of the Presidium of the C.C. of the CPSU and first Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who delivered the report on the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. (The full text of his report is given in this issue.)

The report was heard with keen attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause. Cheers rang out in the hall in honour of the CPSU, the inspirer and organiser of all the victories of the Soviet people.

Anniversary meetings and concerts were also held in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Riga, Tallin, Petrozavodsk, Baku, Frunze, Yerevan, Kishinev, Ashkhabad, Stalinabad, Vilnius and other towns in the Soviet Union.

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On November 7, a military parade and a demonstration of working people's representatives were held in Moscow on Red Square. The stands along the Kremlin wall were filled with members of the C.C. of the CPSU, deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR, Ministers, trade union leaders, members of the C.C. of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, Heroes of the Soviet Union and

Heroes of Socialist Labour, generals and admirals, model workers from Moscow enterprises, innovators in the field of agriculture, scientists and men and women prominent in the world of culture and art.

Many visitors from the countries of people's democracy, as well as friends from other countries, members of the diplomatic corps and military attachés, were also present.

The parade was reviewed by Marshal G. K. Zhukov, Minister of Defence, who then addressed those present from the Mausoleum. The Soviet people, he said, could rest assured that their armed forces would continue persistently to perfect their fighting efficiency, master up-to-date military technique and reliably safeguard the state interests of their socialist homeland and the peaceful labour of the Soviet people.

The parade was followed by a demonstration of representatives of the working people of the capital. For several hours hundreds of thousands of Muscovites marched through Red Square. It was a stirring and powerful demonstration of the monolithic unity of the working people and of the staunch determination of the Soviet people to go forward, to Communism, under the tried guidance of the Communist Party and its Central Committee, under the glorious and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The Great October Revolution was celebrated all over the country in an atmosphere of patriotic enthusiasm in which the keynote was the still closer unity of the working people around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

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This memorable date was widely celebrated in the countries of people's democracy. On the initiative of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society a celebration meeting was held in Peking. In the Huajientang Hall there

assembled representatives of Peking enterprises, state institutions, men and officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, workers in the fields of science and the arts, diplomats from a number of countries and journalists, 1,500 people in all. The meeting was addressed by Comrade Wu Yui-chang, Deputy Chairman of the Central Board of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society. On behalf of the Chinese people, he conveyed warm greetings to the ally of the CPR, the great Soviet Union, powerful bulwark of world peace. He cordially congratulated the great Soviet people who were successfully building Communism. A speech was then made by P. F. Yudin, Soviet Ambassador to the CPR.

In Warsaw a celebration meeting devoted to the anniversary of the Great October Revolution called by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party was held in the conference hall of the J. V. Stalin Palace of Culture and Science. It was opened by Comrade Boleslaw Bierut, First Secretary of the C.C. of the PUWP. The report on the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was delivered by Comrade Edward Ochab, Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP.

A holiday mood prevailed in the streets and squares of Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. More than 50,000 working people gathered for a meeting on the ancient Staromestsk Square. It was addressed by Comrade V. Siroky, Prime Minister. O. Gomola, Secretary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, read out the text of a "Message of Friendship and Peace from the People of Czechoslovakia to the People of the Soviet Union", which was unanimously adopted.

An anniversary meeting was held in Budapest. On Freedom Square, crowded with thousands of working people, wreaths were laid at the foot of the monument to the

Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles to liberate Hungary. Wreaths were also laid on memorials to the Soviet soldier-liberators in other parts of Budapest, as well as in provincial towns and villages throughout the country.

Thousands of the inhabitants of Bucharest assembled in the festively arrayed Republica Stadium. On the central rostrum were Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Petru Groza, Chairman of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, Comrade Chivu Stoica, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade I. Chisinevski, Secretary of the C.C. of the RWP, and other Party and Government leaders. A speech of greetings was made by Comrade Gheorghe Apostol, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the RWP and Chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Rumania. A. A. Yepishev, Soviet Ambassador to Rumania, conveyed fraternal greetings from the Soviet people to the people of Rumania.

In Sofia, capital of Bulgaria, there was a demonstration of 250,000 working people on the September 9 Square lasting several hours.

Celebration meetings, socials, talks and lectures devoted to November 7 were held throughout Albania on the eve of the holiday. Amateur art groups performed in the squares and streets of Tirana, Durres and other cities.

Present at the celebration meeting in Berlin were deputies to the People's Chamber and the Länder Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, Ministers, representatives of democratic parties and mass organisations, leading production workers, prominent personalities in the fields of science and culture, together with their Soviet colleagues who were on a visit to the GDR in connection with German-Soviet Friendship Month. A

report on the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was made by Comrade Paul Wandel, Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG.

Anniversary meetings were held in Ulan-Bator (Mongolian People's Republic). In the Korean People's Democratic Republic, on November 7, the inhabitants of Pyongyang assembled on the Moranbon Mountain and laid wreaths at the foot of the Memorial of Liberation.

A celebration meeting was held in Hanoi's city theatre (Democratic Republic of Viet Nam).

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A celebration meeting, sponsored by the France-USSR Society, was held in honour of the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Pleyel Hall, Paris, and an anniversary meeting of working people, organised by the French Communist Party, took place at the Winter Velodrome. The chair was taken by Comrade Maurice Thorez, the Party's General Secretary, who made a brief speech. The report on the 38th anniversary of the October Revolution was delivered by Comrade Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Party.

The people of Italy marked the anniversary with big demonstrations and meetings, at which speakers from the Communist and Socialist Parties explained the significance of the Great Revolution. Members of the Secretariat of the Communist Party, Giorgio Amendola, Giancarlo Pajetta, Edoardo D'Onofrio and Arturo Colombi spoke in Milan, Turin, Frosinone and Livorno respectively. Socialist Deputy Mario Berlinguer spoke in Padua and Socialist Deputy Alberto Jakomelli in Genoa. Meetings were also held in Udine, Brescia, Venice, Cremona, Taranto, Piacenza, Catania, Verona, Siena and other towns. There was a special issue of the newspaper

PUnita, two pages of which were devoted to the anniversary.

A meeting in honour of the anniversary and to mark the opening of Anglo-Soviet Friendship Month was held in the Soviet Theatre, one of the biggest in London. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, was in the chair. Greetings were read out from Jacob Malik, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, and from prominent British personalities, including the philosopher Bertrand Russell, Lord Boyd-Orr, and Conservative M.P.s Boothby and Baxter.

A celebration meeting was held in Vienna sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria. The report was delivered by Franz Honner, Secretary of the C.C. of the CPA. Among those present at a celebration meeting in Helsinki, sponsored by the Finland-Soviet Union Society, was J. K. Paasikivi, President of Finland, U. Kekkonen, Prime Minister, and prominent public and political figures. Sylvi Kyllikki Kilpi, Chairman of the Finland-Soviet Union Society, made a speech.

Celebration meetings of branches of the Norway-USSR Society took place in Oslo and other towns. A report on the 38th anniversary of the October Revolution was delivered in the biggest concert hall in The Hague by a member of the Dutch Parliament, Jan Gaken. Celebration meetings were also held in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and many other towns in Holland.

Anniversary meetings, rallies and socials were held in India, Switzerland, Syria, Indonesia, Belgium, Argentina and other countries.

Receptions to mark the anniversary were given at the embassies and legations of the Soviet Union.

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On the occasion of this outstanding date many messages of greetings were received by the C.C. of the CPSU and the Soviet Government from the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties, and from governments, politicians, public personalities and statesmen of many countries.

SOCIALISM AND PEACE ARE INSEPARABLE

*
Nicolae Ceaușescu
Secretary,
C.C., Rumanian Workers' Party
* *

Working people all over the world celebrated the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in an atmosphere of enhanced struggle for a further international détente and for peace.

Since its very inception the Soviet Union has based its foreign policy on the Leninist principles of the struggle for peace, for coexistence and peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist systems. The "Decree on Peace", drawn up by Lenin, was the first to be issued by the young Soviet state.

The Leninist principles of the struggle for peace have become the main principles of the foreign policies of all the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The policy of peace pursued by the camp of Socialism and democracy, at the head of which stand the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, stems from the very nature of the socio-economic system of these countries, where attention is centred upon man himself, from the fact that the Soviet Union, after building Socialism, has embarked upon the path to Communism, and from the fact that the People's Democracies are successfully building Socialism.

The entire experience of the existence of the Soviet state and of the People's Democracies convincingly and indisputably proves that the keynote of the foreign policy of these socialist states is the struggle for peace and international security and that they pursue this policy, which accords with the interests of all nations, with exceptional steadfastness and persistency.

Guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism, of fraternity among all working people, the peoples of the socialist camp are pursuing a policy of friendship and peace. This testifies to the fact that peace and Socialism are inseparable, for, as was pointed out by Marx, "in contrast to the old society, with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—Labour!"

The countries of the socialist camp have established among themselves relations of a new, socialist type, based on equality, on genuine friendship and fraternal co-operation in political, economic and cultural spheres, relations of mutual assistance in building a new life. These relations are based upon the ideology they hold in common, Marxism-Leninism, and upon their common aim, the building of Socialism and Communism.

This friendship and fraternal co-operation among the countries of the socialist camp ensures the further flowering of their socialist economies.

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The Rumanian people, who have once and for all thrown off the yoke of the capitalists and landlords, have taken power in their own hands and, led by the Rumanian Workers' Party, have begun to build a new, socialist life.

Guided in all its work by Marxism-Leninism, our Party has been paying special attention to developing heavy industry—the basis for the development of the entire national economy.

As a result of the fulfilment of the first

volume of industrial output envisaged by the first Five-Year Plan will be reached before the end of the year.

These achievements are due to the labour enthusiasm of our splendid working class, engineers and technicians. They are explained by the fact that Party organisations have creditably played their leading part in organising production and in mobilising the working people to fulfil and overfulfil their planned assignments.

In these years, a steady advance has also been seen in our country's agriculture. As a result of the development of heavy industry, in particular machine building, our agriculture has been supplied with a large number of tractors and other agricultural machines. More than 29,745 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p.), 15,259 threshing machines, 1,572 combines and thousands of other machines are working on the fields of our homeland. The country's 222 MTS are playing an important role in mechanising agricultural work, in increasing agricultural output and in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

An increasing number of working peasants are becoming convinced of the superiority of socialist agriculture and are joining collective farms and agricultural associations. There are now more than 5,700 of these in the country.

The toiling peasantry enthusiastically responded to the Party's call to raise crop yields and the output of livestock products, and to harvest 10 million tons of grain this year.

Working with animation, carrying out field work in good time and applying advanced agrotechnical methods skilfully, the vanced working peasants have obtained higher yields of basic agricultural crops. Our state and collective farms have raised yields per acre by an average of 20-30%.

The carrying out of the tremendous tasks for developing industry and agriculture has become possible thanks to the fraternal assistance rendered to our country by the Soviet Union, and to the many-sided co-operation of the people's-democratic countries.

While building a new life, the Rumanian people are taking an active part in the struggle for peace. They are determined to make their contribution to the cause of safeguarding peace.

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The Leninist foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy has played a decisive part in bringing about successes in relaxing international tension.

The Soviet Union's proposals on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war are considered as fully feasible by broad sections of people, even in Western countries. The peace-loving nations see in these proposals the genuine desire of the USSR to find a basis for agreement, with the object of removing the threat of war.

The Geneva Conference of the heads of

are helping to further ease world tension and safeguard peace. For example, the Soviet Union is reducing its armed forces by 640,000 and the Rumanian People's Republic is making a cut of 40,000. Similar action has been taken by the other People's Democracies.

The proposals of the People's Republic of China on the necessity for negotiations to settle problems which endanger the peace of Asia have met with a powerful response, and have been supported by the Asian peoples, who see in them the path towards removing the danger of war in that part of the world and a contribution to preserving world peace.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp are steadily extending their economic and cultural ties with all countries, irrespective of their social systems. These ties are based on equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and respect for the independence and national sovereignty of all states. They bear witness to the desire of these countries to persistently promote the easing of world tension by concrete deeds.

This cannot be said about the actions of a number of Western countries. The speeches of certain statesmen about the relaxation of international tension have not as yet been accompanied by appropriate deeds in this direction.

A situation in which the Chinese People's Republic, one of the Five Great Powers in the world, is still being deprived of the opportunity to take its lawful place in Uno and in which a large number of other countries, including ours, have been kept out of Uno for a number of years, is quite unnatural and undermines the international prestige of that organisation.

That is why, in the words of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej: "Our people, who took part in the rout of Nazism and are actively contributing to the strengthening of peace in Europe, demand their rightful seat in the United Nations Organisation."

The Rumanian People's Republic pursues a consistent policy of peace and of developing economic and cultural ties with all countries on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Our country trades with 55 different states and maintains scientific, cultural and sports contacts with a large number of countries.

The Rumanian people, who have suffered from the aggression of German imperialism in both world wars and who are deeply interested in preventing a resurrection of German militarism and in establishing a system of collective security in Europe, actively support the Soviet Union's proposals on this question.

The peoples of Europe and the whole world expect all participants in the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva to strive to promote the "Geneva spirit" and settle outstanding issues through negotiation, taking into account the interests of European security and of preserving world peace.

But one should not for a moment forget that the foes of peace have not abandoned their activities in preparing for a new war, their activities that are hostile to the interests of the peoples. They are continuing the arms drive, setting up new military blocs, especially in the Middle East, making warmongering speeches and striving to bury the "Geneva spirit".

Therefore, it is essential constantly to enhance the vigilance of the peoples, ex- our people, a desire stimulated by the mem- ory of the Popular Front and its achieve- ment of peace. The

For a Change of Policy Desired by the Country*

*
Maurice Thorez
General Secretary,
French Communist Party
* *

Comrades!

The National Assembly has fixed for December the parliamentary elections that were to have been held next spring. Our Party made no protest against this decision inasmuch as we consider that it is always good to let the people have their say.

Why are the Government and its majority in such a hurry with these elections? Because they would like to evade their responsibility for a policy whose bankruptcy, already more than apparent, cannot but be aggravated in the next six months.

Notably, the avowed intention of the government majority to persist in its policy of violence and war in North Africa can only lead, as the Ministers concerned have admitted, to more sacrifices of human life and fresh financial burdens, and, we may add, to the disintegration of the French Union.

We favoured giving the electors their say once again precisely in order that the reactionary majority might not continue its pernicious activities for another six months. We do not want the young soldiers now serving and those who have been recalled to the colours to remain in the shadow of death when by their vote the people can demand their immediate return to France.

For millions of French men and women, working and living conditions are steadily growing worse. The proletarians, who are being forced to work at an inhuman pace, are obliged to fight for bread for their children and families by means of strikes.

Civil servants see the satisfaction of their legitimate demands being postponed all the time; the relevant statute is not observed. The working peasants are meeting with increasing difficulties.

Hundreds of thousands of homeless people hope in vain for a roof over their heads. The old are dying of poverty, while the young can find no work.

The secular schools are under attack and their teachers are being sacrificed. Essential funds for scientific research are refused.

Emergency laws are imperilling democratic liberties. Encouraged by the tolerance of the police and the impunity enjoyed by high-ranking army officers who aim for a dictatorship, factious groups are again bestirring themselves.

In the sphere of foreign affairs the disastrous results of government policy are no less evident: militarism has been revived in Western Germany, the Saar has again become a bone of contention between France and Germany; the atrocious and ruinous war waged for many long years in Indo-China has resulted in U.S. domination in South Viet Nam.

Such are the bitter fruits of the Atlantic policy initiated in 1947 with the removal of the Communist Ministers from the government.

Dissatisfaction and protests against the present rulers and their policy are mounting in the country from day to day. No wonder they have hastily called for earlier elections in an attempt to avoid giving an account of themselves to the nation.

They are trying to obstruct the desire for change that is spreading among our people, a desire stimulated by the mem- ory of the Popular Front and its achieve- ment of peace. The

tion of democratic liberties and republican law?

The hopes and the will of the workers and other democrats are as great as are the fears expressed by the henchmen of the big bourgeoisie at the possibility of a new Popular Front being formed.

It is perfectly certain that the forces necessary for a change of policy exist in the country. The task at the present moment is to ensure the unification of all these forces.

The working class and all the working people well understand that the present situation is the direct result of the division of their forces. The representatives of five million Frenchmen, whose votes it was decided to ignore, were ostracised. Once again the triumphs of the reactionaries were the fruit of the disunity of the working people and the democrats.

Nevertheless, some people, who claim to be of the left, persist in their vulgar anti-Communism and continue their splitting activities. They forget that even in the outgoing National Assembly it was only the participation of Communists that made possible the adoption of decisions of benefit to the country. And, on the other hand, such pernicious measures as the anti-secular laws would never have been passed had not the fraudulent bloc system robbed the Communists of 60 or 80 seats. It was this law on bloc representation that put the reactionaries in power for five years.

The question arises: is the whole thing about to begin all over again?

Can the Socialist workers, in particular, again permit themselves to be used to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for reaction? Can they, by not accepting an alliance with the Communists, put themselves in the position of being told, the day after the elections, as they have been told through these past five years: "There is no democratic majority. Let the reactionaries rule and we will prepare for the next elections"?

Is it not time to put an end to all fraudulent electoral systems, to return to the ideas of Guesde and Jaurès and, as the Socialists and Communists of Pontreux jointly demand, "apply an electoral law that gives each party just representation"?

As for us, we showed during the recent debate in the National Assembly that we intend to remain true to the system of proportional representation. Under the leadership of Jacques Duclos our parliamentary group has put up a vigorous fight for this system. Moreover, we were the only ones to vote for a bill providing for the abolition of the bloc system.

However, if despite the will of the people the monstrous bloc system remains in force, we will do everything we can to turn it against the reactionaries. In twenty departments Socialists and Communists together poll a majority of the votes; we could win all the seats in the proletarian constituencies in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais Departments, in Marsailles and the Aisne Department and also in many rural departments in the Centre and South of France. Moreover, we would

democratic and national forces join together.

Socialists and Communists find themselves in agreement on the question of including in their election programmes the minimum programme of the National Committee of Secular Action, which may be accepted by other parties as well. We Communists and Socialists have undertaken to put this programme into effect within the first few months of the operation of the next National Assembly. Is it not necessary for Socialists, Communists, Radicals and other republicans to give joint consideration to measures capable of guaranteeing the fulfilment of our promises?

Are not Socialists and Communists equally in agreement that wages must be raised, wage zones abolished, and the social security system defended and extended? Are we not in agreement that the working peasantry must be protected against the big capitalists and middlemen, against the big landowners who condemn them to ruin and expropriation?

Have we not already demonstrated our agreement regarding a policy of negotiation with the peoples of North Africa and the creation of a real French Union?

Are we not in agreement on disarmament, the destruction of atomic weapons and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes?

Are we not in agreement on promoting and supporting any steps tending to ease international tension?

Naturally, on certain questions we still hold different opinions.

But at the present moment it is not so much the differences that are important as the reasons for our uniting and the first agreements reached.

And then, has not the situation changed? This is no longer 1947 nor even 1951. While the majority formed as a result of the bloc system of elections fell apart, there came into being new regroupings of forces for the struggle against reaction: the idea and practice of unity spread; joint actions by Socialist and Communist Party activists and organisations multiplied all over the country.

In the international sphere the imperialist policy of aggression has suffered a defeat. Thanks to the moves for peace made by the Soviet Union and the efforts of the world peace movement, the danger of war has receded. What struck the Socialist delegates most during their visit to the USSR, Edouard Depreux has declared, was "the desire for peace which animated both the population and the leaders".

The existence of the conditions and forces for a change of policy is thus a fact and it would be criminal blindness not to see this.

For our part, we solemnly declare our readiness to come to an agreement with the Socialist Party immediately after the elections on jointly carrying out a policy conforming to the will of the people and the interests of the country and on giving the nation the sort of government it expects.

We are equally prepared to reach agreement with representatives of other parties and groups that adhere to the same trend.

As we have always said, we are prepared to support every step forward, every measure favourable to the working class

has upon the ideology they hold in their common aim, the building of Socialism and Communism. This friendship and fraternal co-operation among the countries of the socialist camp ensures the further flowering of their socialist economies.

The Rumanian people, who have once and for all thrown off the yoke of the capitalists and landlords, have taken power in their own hands and, led by the Rumanian Workers' Party, have begun to build a new, socialist life.

Guided in all its work by Marxism-Leninism, our Party has been paying special attention to developing heavy industry—the basis for the development of the entire national economy.

As a result of the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan, output in the machine-building and metal-working industries will by the end of this year be more than 280% of that in 1950, and in the chemical industry more than 300%. Compared with 1938, the amount of electricity generated has increased 3.8 times. This year our oil industry will have produced over 10.5 million tons of oil, thus surpassing the target set by the Five-Year Plan.

Considerable progress has been made in producing articles for mass consumption—the 1955 figure will be double that of 1950.

The successes achieved in a number of important industries indicate that the gross

production of the people's democratic countries. While building a new life, the Rumanian people are taking an active part in the struggle for peace. They are determined to make their contribution to the cause of safeguarding peace.

The Leninist foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy has played a decisive part in bringing about successes in relaxing international tension.

The Soviet Union's proposals on the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war are considered as fully feasible by broad sections of people, even in Western countries. The peace-loving nations see in these proposals the genuine desire of the USSR to find a basis for agreement, with the object of removing the threat of war.

The Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France was of historic significance. It promoted confidence among states, a lessening of international tension and particularly a relaxation of tension in relations between the Great Powers. The success of the Geneva Conference would have been impossible without the struggle of the peoples for peace; it is an indisputable success for the forces of peace.

Since the Geneva Conference the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp have taken fresh steps which

from the aggression of German imperialism in both world wars and who are deeply interested in preventing a resurrection of German militarism and in establishing a system of collective security in Europe, actively support the Soviet Union's proposals on this question.

The peoples of Europe and the whole world expect all participants in the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva to strive to promote the "Geneva spirit" and settle outstanding issues through negotiation, taking into account the interests of European security and of preserving world peace.

But one should not for a moment forget that the foes of peace have not abandoned their activities in preparing for a new war, activities that are hostile to the interests of the peoples. They are continuing the arms drive, setting up new military blocs, especially in the Middle East, making warmongering speeches and striving to bury the "Geneva spirit".

Therefore, it is essential constantly to enhance the vigilance of the peoples, expose the activities of the instigators of a new war and strengthen the international solidarity of all fighters for peace. The peoples are resolved to prevent any resumption of the cold war.

The Rumanian people, who are successfully building a new life, will continue to play their part in the peoples' noble fight for peace, for continued relaxation in international tension and the elimination of the threat of a new war; for the triumph of the cause of peace in Europe and all over the world.

of the police and the imperialist high-ranking army officers who aim for a dictatorship, factious groups are again bestirring themselves.

In the sphere of foreign affairs the disastrous results of government policy are no less evident: militarism has been revived in Western Germany, the Saar has again become a bone of contention between France and Germany; the atrocious and ruinous war waged for many long years in Indo-China has resulted in U.S. domination in South Viet Nam.

Such are the bitter fruits of the Atlantic policy initiated in 1947 with the removal of the Communist Ministers from the government.

Dissatisfaction and protests against the present rulers and their policy are mounting in the country from day to day. No wonder they have hastily called for earlier elections in an attempt to avoid giving an account of themselves to the nation.

They are trying to obstruct the desire for change that is spreading among our people, a desire stimulated by the memory of the Popular Front and its achievements. How can the oppressed working people fail to recall such social gains of 1936 as higher wages, the forty-hour week, paid holidays, collective agreements, the establishment of a "Grain Committee", the restora-

* Report by Comrade Maurice Thorez at a meeting of the C.C. of the French Communist Party on November 4, 1955.

five years: "There is no democratic majority. Let the reactionaries rule and we will prepare for the next elections"?

Is it not time to put an end to all fraudulent electoral systems, to return to the ideas of Guesde and Jaurès and, as the Socialists and Communists of Pontrioux jointly demand, "apply an electoral law that gives each party just representation"?

As for us, we showed during the recent debate in the National Assembly that we intend to remain true to the system of proportional representation. Under the leadership of Jacques Duclos our parliamentary group has put up a vigorous fight for this system. Moreover, we were the only ones to vote for a bill providing for the abolition of the bloc system.

However, if despite the will of the people the monstrous bloc system remains in force, we will do everything we can to turn it against the reactionaries. In twenty departments Socialists and Communists together poll a majority of the votes; we could win all the seats in the proletarian constituencies in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais Departments, in Marseilles and the Aisne Department and also in many rural departments in the Centre and South of France. Moreover, we would not hesitate to invite certain other republicans to join this militant alliance, which could then be victorious in most of the constituencies.

The Socialist workers cannot but proclaim with us that there can be no popular policy, no policy of progress and peace unless the whole working class unites, unless all

over the country. In the international sphere the imperialist policy of aggression has suffered a defeat. Thanks to the moves for peace made by the Soviet Union and the efforts of the world peace movement, the danger of war has receded. What struck the Socialist delegates most during their visit to the USSR, Edouard Depreux has declared, was "the desire for peace which animated both the population and the leaders".

The existence of the conditions and forces for a change of policy is thus a fact and it would be criminal blindness not to see this.

For our part, we solemnly declare our readiness to come to an agreement with the Socialist Party immediately after the elections on jointly carrying out a policy conforming to the will of the people and the interests of the country and on giving the nation the sort of government it expects.

We are equally prepared to reach agreement with representatives of other parties and groups that adhere to the same trend.

As we have always said, we are prepared to support every step forward, every measure favourable to the working class and the people, every initiative serving the cause of liberty, peace and national independence.

We are aware of the gravity of the moment. And we are determined to spare no effort to unite all working-class and democratic forces and to effect the change of policy desired by the country.

Women Communists Fight for Regeneration of Italian Society*

It was not to consider the inner functioning of our Party or of any one of its parts that this conference was called, but to discuss general themes and problems relating to all our activity in general and to indicate means and forms of work which would enable our Party, and especially the women in it, more effectively to contribute to the solution of problems relating to the entire political trend of our country.

There is no question that concerns only one particular section of the Party's activity and is not related to problems of a general nature, to the orientation and movements of the working masses, to economic or political transformations which have either taken place or are maturing. This maxim applies particularly to the women's organisations in the Party, for it is a particularly grave mistake to consider these organisations as something divorced from the general life and struggle of the Party, from the movements taking place throughout the country.

We set ourselves several basic aims in 1945-46, when we put an end to the terrible period of fascist tyranny, emerged victorious from the war of liberation and made our decisive contribution to the establishment of Italian democracy. The first of these was to win over the great majority of Italian women for democracy, converting them into a force fighting for the social and civil progress of Italian society and its regeneration. Hence, it was our desire to make an effective contribution to the abolition of the backward customs still existing in Italy in the relations between women and men and, consequently, in the organisation of all our civil life.

Palmiro Togliatti
General Secretary,
Italian Communist Party

Secondly, we wanted to win over to the side of the Communist movement the militant and numerous vanguard of the women, this being a necessary condition for concrete efforts to achieve our first aim and the other aims we set at the same time. Further, we wanted, together with other democratically-minded women belonging to other parties and supporting different trends, even those far removed from us, to help give life to a mass women's organisation based on unity which would be a great school capable of awakening the majority of Italian women for political and democratic life and of educating them so as to bring them into the struggle for their basic demands and for the democratic demands of the entire people.

How did we work to get these results and what have we achieved?

Let us begin with figures: In 1945, when the First National Women's Conference was held, there were 80,000 women in our organisation, although, incidentally, this figure did not cover all the regions of Italy. Now 575,000 women belong to our Party. To these we must add the nearly 100,000 girls belonging to the Italian Communist Youth Federation. These figures alone give a picture of a real and big party.

The existence of this large, organised force in our organisations, led for the most part by women cadres and also by leading cadres of our Party, is in itself an element making for the transformation and regeneration of Italian society. The fact that there are more than 650,000 Communist women and girls in Italy, a country where for many

years immense reactionary pressure was brought to bear upon the masses of women to hold them aloof from political life, fill them with horror of Communism and continue to keep them in the old conditions of servitude, is not only a fact whose importance no one can disregard, but also one that in itself changes something in the very structure of society.

However, we must think of quality as well as quantity. The Communist woman, the Communist girl—what does that mean? What is a Communist woman?

The Communist woman is a woman whose mind, will and feelings are undergoing profound development. The mind of such a woman is indeed directed not only to discerning the defects of our society, not only to studying how it is organised and how it develops, but also to understanding how to work in order to build a new society; her will is such that it prompts her to organise, to act, to work to remove the causes that now make life so unhappy for the majority of men and women in the capitalist countries; and the feeling that tends to prevail is one of solidarity and unity between all people who live by their work and who, working and fighting together, want to build a world founded on respect for the laws and interests of labour.

Someone—I don't remember exactly who—once said that three different things could bring a person to Socialism: need, heart and feeling, and reason. Need impels people to fight for their immediate demands; heart and feeling inspire a sense of solidarity and fraternity between all working people; reason perceives wherein lie the defects of capitalist society and how from its womb springs the new society. There is a grain of truth in this saying, but what I want to stress is that in the man or woman who is a Communist by conviction these three impulses supplement and

assist each other, constituting one whole. This gives rise to a new type of personality different from those who, although they are honest citizens or the most wonderful women, have no part in our movement. That is what Communist women are like and should be like: able to shed the light of a better future on all around them, for they are capable of explaining why things are as they are and how they can be changed; able to build up and inspire an organisation of people determined to demand respect for their rights, to defend their interests and remake the world; able to inspire a sense of solidarity and fraternity, to give scope and enthusiasm to a broad movement advancing along the path of regenerating society. That is what Communist woman should be like qualitatively.

The success we have achieved in educating women of this new type has already made itself clearly apparent at this conference, in the way it has conducted its work and in the resolutions it has adopted.

The fact that the old and idle reproaches that men took no interest in work among women, etc., have not been made now is highly commendable. These reproaches never had much value and cannot have until they lead to the concrete formulation of definite demands regarding political orientation, organisational activity and concrete work. The problems that arise before such a Party as ours, which summons women to fight for their emancipation and wants to organise in its ranks the most advanced section of the women who live by their labour are not solved by complaints and reproaches, but by work. It is in the course of work that problems requiring solution must be brought to light in all their aspects, and in a manner conducive to their solution.

On the whole we may say, therefore, that we now have in our Party a united vanguard of women who have already developed or are developing the new type of character necessary to those who want to fight for the emancipation of all women and the progress of the whole of society.

However, a vanguard is a vanguard only if it is part of an army and only if it is connected with the rest of the army. Any

detachment that isolates itself from its army, that loses contact with the main forces of the army of which it forms a part, ceases to be a vanguard, for it has lost this characteristic. A vanguard must always be connected with its army. If they want to be considered a vanguard, the women who belong to the Communist vanguard of the working class and of all the working people must be closely connected with the large masses of working women and also with the women who do not work.

Great progress has been achieved in making women more deeply conscious of their rights, in setting up women's organisations such as never existed before and, hence, in building up an extensive women's emancipation movement. This signifies a considerable awakening among the masses of women. Italian women, in going by this path toward their emancipation, if by no other, are beginning to enter into collective and active political life; they are making their voice heard, insisting on the satisfaction of their demands and beginning to exert a certain influence on the march of events.

The situation in the cities differs from that in the countryside. In the former the number of women studying, working and consequently striving for an independent life, has increased. In the urban districts, furthermore, the traditional reactionary conception of the family—which has weighed and still continues to weigh upon women, and impedes their taking action for their emancipation and regenerating their conditions of existence—is tending to change.

In the countryside, on the other hand, the advance in this direction is felt less, but there is a substantial increase in the number of women who are participating or have participated concretely in a down-to-earth struggle for their economic interests, in defence of the interests of their families and in support of the demands of the working people's organisations. Naturally this progress is more felt in places where the organisations of the working class, labourers, peasants and working people in general are stronger.

As regards the economic situation, we can say, of course, that there are groups of women who have to some degree improved their living conditions. On the whole, though, there appears to be a tendency for things to get worse, and this tendency is accentuated by the effect on the entire national economy of millions of unemployed, and of the closing down of enterprises in those industries which are of particular importance to women as, for instance, the textile industry, by the crisis symptoms appearing in the countryside and certain specific facts as, for instance, the alarming spread, through whole regions of Italy, of women doing out-work, a phenomenon that is accompanied by the closing down of factories and workshops in which women formerly worked. It makes the position of women worse, as it compels them to do two jobs—their housework and work for their employer. Consequently the position of women is deteriorating, even if they are able to augment the family's income somewhat.

It seems to me that it is becoming clear from the general picture I have attempted to draw what the struggle for the emancipation of women in Italy actually is. I mention Italy because in other countries things may appear differently. With us the struggle for the emancipation of women is becoming and actually is, on the one hand, essentially a struggle for rights, i.e., for legal equality with men, and for a new way of life, in other words, for equality in fact and, on the other hand, a fight against poverty, for improving the living standards of the broad masses of working people in town and countryside. These two aspects combine and constitute a movement for the emancipation of women, as the main part of the common struggle for the democratic regeneration of Italian society.

You have done well to underline during the conference the rights of women to work and to equal pay, as this is an essential element for the emancipation of

(Continued on page 4)

* From the speech made by Comrade Togliatti on October 23, 1955, at the final session of the Second National Conference of Italian Women Communists.

TRUTH ABOUT USSR REACHING ALL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Most of the Communist Parties in the Latin American countries were founded under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, as a result of the increased maturity of the working class.

The proletariat of Latin America is steadily gaining a better understanding of the scientific validity of Socialism. The decisive reason for this is the very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union, whose brilliant successes, and the building of socialist society in that country have proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching; the Soviet Union has been a powerful mobilising example for the popular masses in our countries, especially the working class in the struggle for its emancipation.

Thanks to the great assistance the USSR rendered to all mankind in the fight against fascism during the second world war, thanks to its great achievements in socialist construction both before and after the war, thanks to the wise policy of peace—a policy of peaceful coexistence—it has invariably pursued in contrast to the aggressive plans of the imperialist circles, the anti-Soviet campaign of slander and calumny, launched chiefly by U.S. imperialist circles, is meeting with inevitable failure.

During the Great Patriotic War against the Nazi invaders the Soviet Union disproved the false assertion that the socialist system was weak and that the people were not behind the government. It proved to the peoples of Latin America and the whole world that the socialist system was the stables of all, that it was able to emerge victorious from any trial. Its strength and invincibility lie in the mighty unity of the Soviet peoples, in the ardent support they give their government in creating a society, in which there are neither exploiters nor exploited, a society whose aim is to satisfy to the maximum the material and cultural requirements of the entire people, a society that is confidently following the road of building Communism.

Despite the frantic campaign of imperialism and its Latin American agents, the truth about the USSR is penetrating to all Latin American countries. Our peoples see ever more clearly that while the Soviet Union invariably pursues a policy of respecting the sovereignty of nations and of non-interference in their internal affairs, the U.S. monopolies are getting a grip on the main branches of our economies, with the connivance of the reactionary and pro-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie in the countries of Latin America, who sell the national sovereignty of their countries for a handful of dollars.

The chief means of this colonisers' policy is the investment of capital in the Latin American countries. Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower has estimated that in 1953 long-term investments of private U.S. capital in Latin America amounted to 6,000 million dollars—exceeding similar investments in any other part of the world with the exception of Canada—and constituted, in effect, nearly 30% of all long-term private U.S. capital investments abroad.

The biggest investments are made in the oil industry, followed by the public utilities, manufacturing industry, mining and agriculture. In other words, Yankee monopolies control a large part of the industrial and agricultural output of our countries. In Mexico, for instance, through Electric Bond

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Dionisio Encina
General Secretary,
Mexican Communist Party

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countries whose economy hinges upon one or several export items, is becoming increasingly economically dependent upon the United States. Cuba, for example, depends on her sugar exports, Guatemala and Colombia upon their coffee exports, Venezuela upon oil, Bolivia upon tin, Chile upon copper and saltpetre and Uruguay upon her export of livestock products, etc.

That is why the peoples of Latin America are gaining a better understanding with every passing day of just where the danger to them lies and who their enemies are. They know that the danger lies in the colonising policy of the U.S. monopolies and that it is the Yankee imperialists who are their main enemy; the workers and peasant masses, the people as a whole, know that anti-Sovietism is merely a screen for the policy of subjugation to exploitation and robbery pursued by the U.S. monopolies. That is why they are intensifying their fight against the foreign monopolies. That explains the fact that every day finds more and more people demanding a change in the foreign policy of all our countries, that every day sees more and more Mexicans, of all social sections, demanding normalisation of trade relations with the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies.

The trade and payments agreement between Argentina and the USSR testifies to the latter's desire to develop commercial relations on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. Many industrialists and businessmen understand this now and they make no secret of their readiness to do business with the USSR. As for Mexico, its manufacturing industry chamber recently came out publicly in favour of foreign trade with all countries.

The national bourgeoisie of Mexico and other Latin American countries are feeling, to an increasing degree, the harmful effects that the U.S. monopoly of Latin America's foreign trade is having on their incomes. At the same time the mutually advantageous trade transactions concluded by the Soviet Union with different Latin American countries convince them that it pays to trade with the USSR. There is a growing demand for an expansion of trade relations—particularly with the Soviet Union—among all sections of the people, while in some countries this demand is assuming a national character.

The masses of the people are displaying an increasing interest in the land of Socialism; they are anxious to get to know more about its economic and political system, about its successes on the economic front, about the development of Soviet science and art. Our workers, peasants, black-coated and professional workers are struck, for instance, by the fact that while the cost of living in our country is rising steadily, and wages are falling or at best marking time, in the Soviet Union wages are constantly rising and prices for consumer goods falling steadily. For the masses of the people this is irrefutable proof of the growing well-being of the Soviet people and the immeasurable superiority of the socialist system over the

At the moment a group of eminent medical workers in Mexico are preparing to set up a committee with the object of popularising and discussing the achievements and research work of Soviet scientists in the sphere of medicine.

Interest in Soviet arts is steadily growing; they are highly appreciated by the masses in our countries who see in them a profound humane content and an expression of the noblest feelings of man.

Soviet cultural and sports delegations that have visited various Latin American countries have aroused many manifestations of affection and admiration among the broadest sections of the people.

Finally, there are now many opportunities in our countries to see Soviet films, which reflect socialist reality and show how the living standards of the peoples of the USSR are steadily improving. Soviet films are in complete contrast, above all, to those of the U.S., which mirror the decay of the capitalist system, make gangsters into national heroes and pervert the cultural, democratic and patriotic traditions of our countries.

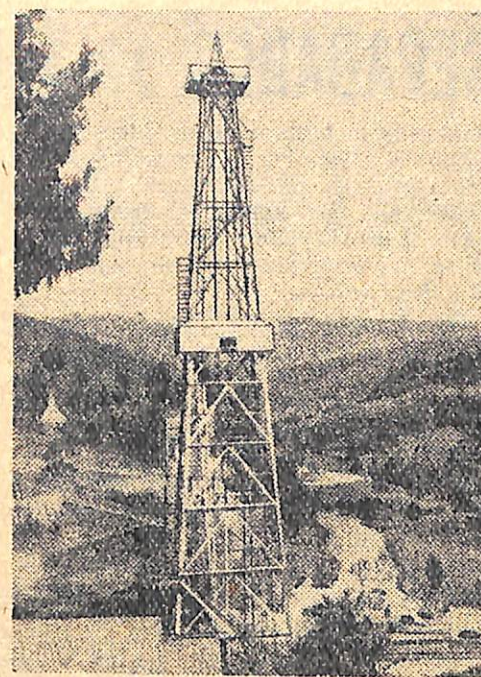
All over Latin America the workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and merchants are displaying increasing interest in the Soviet Union, as is reflected in the numerous visits being paid to the land of Socialism by delegations representing all social sections of the population. On returning home, members of these delegations deliver reports and lectures, hold talks, give interviews, write articles, pamphlets and books telling the truth about the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet campaign of slander has, in the past few years, been meeting with ever-increasing opposition from the masses of the working people. The workers and the masses of the people are refusing to swallow highly improbable lies about and calumny against the USSR.

To an ever-increasing extent the working masses of Latin America are realising that the Soviet Union is a country in which a new society has been built, that it is a model for all peoples fighting for their independence and sovereignty.

The genuine embodiment of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union holds high the banner of the struggle for independence, sovereignty and the rights of all peoples, and comes out as the unflinching champion of the struggle for peace and friendship between all nations.

In the battle for their national liberation from the yoke of imperialism, the peoples of Latin America and their vanguard, revolutionary force—the Communist Parties—have at their disposal the very rich, inexhaustible experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of its architect—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—and its great leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, under whose leadership the Russian working class established the world's first worker-peasant state.

The democratic and patriotic forces of Mexico and all Latin American countries understand that friendship with the Soviet Union and its people is closely linked with the battle for their vital interests, with the fight for independence and national sov-



Oil prospecting on a vast scale is going on in the Szechwan basin in Southwest China. Above: A trial bore-hole in one of the oilfields in the Szechwan basin.

Meeting of Central Committee, French Communist Party

On November 4, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party held a meeting in the House of Trade Unions in Paris.

The meeting opened with a report by Comrade Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Party, which was unanimously approved. Comrade Thorez said in this report that there existed in France the forces necessary to effect a change of policy, and that the task of the present moment was to ensure the unification of these forces.

The C.C. meeting passed two resolutions. The first urges all Party organisations and members to take Comrade Thorez' report as their guide in order to have a correct orientation in the election campaign and boldly advance the unification of the workers and the democratic forces so as to defeat the reactionaries and secure a policy of progress, liberty, national independence and peace.

With its second resolution the C.C. inaugurates a drive for collecting funds to finance the election campaign.

The meeting also adopted a decision stipulating that the Party's election lists were to be clearly and simply headed: "List of the French Communist Party".

Festival of the Younger Generation

On November 10 the youth of all countries marked World Youth Day in a big way. The keynote of this festival of the younger generation was the struggle for peace, the rights of young people and a happy future for them.

POLITICAL NOTES

Racist Raids in the Union of South Africa

Just lately, in the Union of South Africa, the powers-that-be have been fancying that they see "disturbers of the peace" everywhere they look. The authorities in Pretoria are catching the very old, the women and children in "illegal acts" and security police are making raids all over the country, whole areas being combed through. One of these raids was made by a detachment of police and Special Branch detectives on a local cultural club in Benoni.

With the blessing of the Minister of Justice himself, the police acted like the tough guys of the Hollywood gangster films; they broke into the premises, arrested the club leader and 17 children of school age, bundled them into the pick-up van and took them to the nearest police station. The charge against the boys and girls was one of "creating a disturbance". Later, under public pressure, the "delinquents" were released on £2 bail. The club leader was detained because in the opinion of the police he had committed a terrible crime in daring to teach the Bantu Africans to read and write.

Police have also swooped in a similar way on other cultural clubs in Benoni. As the chief of the Special Branch Police in Johannesburg stated, these raids must be regarded as "part of the Union-wide campaign for evidence of treason". Minister of Justice Swart explained quite frankly that the Government had taken the decision to put an end to "subversive activities" and so these raids had "become imperative". Police agents raided the premises of a number of organisations in many areas of the South African Union, among them the African National Congress and South African peace organisations. The police thugs, engaging in wholesale searches, were on the lookout for documents that might serve as a pretext for a charge of "treason or subversive activity".

The detectives know no bounds in their zeal to seek out sedition. One Cape Town university student had his books confiscated for the sole reason that they had red covers. As far as content goes, most of them could easily have earned their owner a certificate of loyalty. The punishment meted out to this student was a five-year ban on attending any gatherings. In Johannesburg police agents seized a Chinese silk dressing gown from a teacher at the Central Indian High School because, after all, who could know what meaning was hidden in the traditional Chinese motifs embroidered on it!

These police raids are a clear expression of the shameless racist policy pursued by the Strijdom Government, a glaring example of lawlessness, injustice and police outrage. A typical case in point is the forced eviction of 60,000 Africans and "coloureds" from the west of Johannesburg, ostensibly for the purpose of "slum clearance". Under this plan they had to leave the town and go into special locations situated 12 miles away. This mass eviction from Johannesburg and other industrial centres started this spring and is still continuing under strict police surveillance.

To ensure a tranquil life for the white bosses, the Government of the South African Union is trying to push through another "apartheid" law, which is aimed at taking "coloured" electors off the electoral register. To preserve "Western civilisation" tens of thousands of Africans and Indians are with impunity being driven from their homes without any compensation being given them. They have no right to protest, just as they have no other elementary democratic rights. Non-Europeans cannot own or rent land. There are special camps in the country for African juvenile "delinquents". To preserve "white civilisation" the authorities use "steam-roller" tactics in their legislative measures; if the Africans protest or declare an ordinary strike they receive savage punishment, including flogging.

It is difficult to believe that such inhuman racist methods are tolerated in a country making claim to the status of a democracy. But unrestrained racism in the Union of South Africa is no idle talk—it is a fact, it is reality. Intimidation, repressive measures, persecution of progressive leaders and open terror have become the usual methods employed by the South African authorities in their treatment of the non-European population. With the help of these methods the Strijdoms and their henchmen have, apparently, set themselves the aim of turning the country into a police, slave state and to bring the non-European population, which is awakening to conscious political life, to its knees.

It is perfectly clear that Prime Minister Strijdom is doing his best to cover up this ignoble aim. In an outburst of eloquence he even stated that South Africa was a state that was today progressing and developing as a "democratic country". But this is nothing but a lie that can no longer deceive anyone.

Jan MAREK

Facts Expose...

Victims of Poverty High prices and intensified exploitation of the working people in Japan are resulting in an increase in the amount of illness.

According to the figures of the Ministry of Public Health there are at present 2,920,000 cases of tuberculosis, only 36% of which receive treatment.

where, bursting into a clinic, they broke up chairs and tables, wrenched doors off their hinges, smashed windows and damaged all the medical instruments. Their "mission of civilisation" did not end here, however; on leaving the clinic, they kicked up another shindy in the street.

pro-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie in the countries of Latin America, who sell the national sovereignty of their countries for a handful of dollars.

The chief means of this colonisers' policy is the investment of capital in the Latin American countries. Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower has estimated that in 1953 long-term investments of private U.S. capital in Latin America amounted to 6,000 million dollars—exceeding similar investments in any other part of the world with the exception of Canada—and constituted, in effect, nearly 30% of all long-term private U.S. capital investments abroad.

The biggest investments are made in the oil industry, followed by the public utilities, manufacturing industry, mining and agriculture. In other words, Yankee monopolies control a large part of the industrial and agricultural output of our countries. In Mexico, for instance, through Electric Bond and Share Co., they control 68% of the total power generated and through American Smelting, Anaconda and American Metal 60% of all the mineral resources, 84% of the total capacity of the ore-dressing mills and nearly the whole of the iron and steel and metal-working industries. More than 85% of our foreign trade is conducted through the United States. Directly or indirectly, U.S. capital controls about 40% of all the finance capital of the country. Thus Mexico, like all the Latin American

relations—particularly with the Soviet Union—among all sections of the people, while in some countries this demand is assuming a national character.

The masses of the people are displaying an increasing interest in the land of Socialism; they are anxious to get to know more about its economic and political system, about its successes on the economic front, about the development of Soviet science and art. Our workers, peasants, black-coated and professional workers are struck, for instance, by the fact that while the cost of living in our country is rising steadily, and wages are falling or at best marking time, in the Soviet Union wages are constantly rising and prices for consumer goods falling steadily. For the masses of the people this is irrefutable proof of the growing well-being of the Soviet people and the immeasurable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, the inevitable concomitant of which is poverty and the exploitation of the working people by national and foreign oppressors.

Scientists are becoming more and more interested in Soviet achievements in medicine, astronomy and the use of nuclear power. There is a growing desire for an exchange of experience by means of reciprocal visits of delegations composed of representatives of various spheres of science.

Women Communists Fight for Regeneration of Italian Society

(Continued from page 3)

women. You have also done well to lay emphasis on this right in connection with the difficult economic situation in which Italy still finds herself, in connection with the fact that a sea of poverty extends before us, surrounding islands on which live prosperous, privileged sections. Poverty cannot be overcome by reducing the numbers of those who work. It can only be overcome by increasing their numbers. Consequently, the question of women's right to work is linked up with the entire problem of the economic regeneration of our society.

You have done well to link up this demand with other demands and the economic struggle, which are of interest to certain categories, groups and social sections. You have done well to emphasize the fact that the women's emancipation movement must raise questions of customs, culture, schools, questions in which one always comes up against one and the same question of relations between man and woman, of relations which must be refashioned, that is, elevated, put on a plane of equality, reciprocal liberty, honesty and sincerity.

The sphere of struggle for the emancipation of women which lies before us may at a particular time even appear infinite. But we are already a big movement; the democratic forces marching in our ranks, together with us and side by side with us, are so numerous, and the influence exerted by our correct political positions is so great, that all aspects of the movement for the emancipation of women can and must be clearly posed and resolutely discussed.

It must never be forgotten that the struggle for the emancipation of women has its own features and numerous aspects, in view of which the activity of women's

mass organisations on the basis of a single and common line necessarily tends to split up into many forms of concrete movements for partial and specific aims. Women from all walks of life, belonging to all social categories, can have the most diverse interests. But we must always recognise the fundamental element in this diversity, the element that can unite them all on the basis of the demand for their emancipation and in the movement to achieve this aim.

From this derives the necessity for a huge organisation of Italian women, one that would be united and solid, but at the same time would undertake numerous measures in the interests of women, their families and children, an organisation whose activities would consequently be diverse in form. Such an organisation exists, we belong to it, and we must continue to contribute to its activities. We must work in it with all our energy, so that it develops, giving rise to ever new forms of activity, so that it becomes a real organisation of the majority of Italian women united around the banner of their emancipation.

All the conditions obtain for this organisation to develop yet further, to become more authoritative and effective. All the conditions obtain for the masses of Italian women striving for their emancipation and advancing and solving all questions of the rights and economic demands linked with this, to be able to make a new and important contribution to the struggle for the democratic and political regeneration of Italian society.

That, therefore, is the main task we set before you, that is, before ourselves. If we succeed in fulfilling it, then we shall increase the might of the entire movement of the working masses of Italy for achieving a profound change in the country's policies.

struggle for peace and friendship between all nations.

In the battle for their national liberation from the yoke of imperialism, the peoples of Latin America and their vanguard, revolutionary force—the Communist Parties—have at their disposal the very rich, inexhaustible experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of its architect—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—and its great leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, under whose leadership the Russian working class established the world's first worker-peasant state.

The democratic and patriotic forces of Mexico and all Latin American countries understand that friendship with the Soviet Union and its people is closely linked with the battle for their vital interests, with the fight for independence and national sovereignty, for realisation of the peace-loving aspirations of our peoples.

On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, millions of working people—workers and peasants, intellectuals, women and youth—greet with enthusiasm and emotion the glorious Soviet people and their great Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of peace, democracy and Socialism.

In this situation we continue to demand a profound change in Italian policies, both in international and domestic relations. A détente—that is the concrete and restricted object we are advancing in both these spheres.

It is obvious that our demand for a policy of relaxation contains new elements in comparison with what we have said in the past. As a result of the progress achieved by the policy of détente on the international plane, a new and concrete peace policy is now clearly becoming possible. An end to the cold war against the working people is the only way out of the impasse in which Italian policy has been since June 7, 1953. But I particularly want to stress that a relaxation in domestic relations is impossible without an economic policy that does not thrust onto the broad masses of working people the consequences of the economic difficulties which Italy is at the present time undergoing. The broad process of easing international relations now developing in the world, and the process which we demand should be started within our country too, must be accompanied by concrete measures for ensuring social progress. When we speak of a "move to the left", therefore, our intention is to indicate such parliamentary action as would make it possible once again to move towards unity of the broad popular forces, on which a government respecting the Constitution and fully implementing it in the interests of all could rely.

Shall we succeed in making any progress in carrying out the aims we are now putting forward before Italian society? Yes, we shall achieve success precisely to the extent to which we can bring to life a broad popular movement for those demands, which the people consider their own and which they should make their own to a greater degree. That, consequently, is the Party's task in relation to the masses of the women. It is essential to draw ever-broader masses of women into the popular movement which is calling for a relaxation

in internal relations and a change in the policies followed in past years by the ruling elements.

Hence arises the especial significance of the work which the Communist women and the whole Party must carry on among the masses of working women; hence the especial importance of the work among particular sectors of the masses of working women, as, for instance, work among the masses of Catholic women.

Festival of the Younger Generation

On November 10 the youth of all countries marked World Youth Day in a big way. The keynote of this festival of the younger generation was the struggle for peace, the rights of young people and a happy future for them.

This year this red-letter day coincided with the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth—the strongest international youth organisation that has ever existed in the world. The ranks of the Federation are growing steadily. It now unites 85 million young boys and girls from 97 countries.

ing any gatherings. In Johannesburg agents seized a Chinese silk dressing gown from a teacher at the Central Indian High School because, after all, who could know what meaning was hidden in the traditional Chinese motifs embroidered on it!

Facts Expose...

Victims of Poverty High prices and intensified exploitation of the working people in Japan are resulting in an increase in the amount of illness.

According to the figures of the Ministry of Public Health there are at present 2,920,000 cases of tuberculosis, only 36% of which receive treatment. Every year, the number of tuberculosis victims in the country increases by an average of 330,000.

"Innocent" Diversions of U.S. Marines

The U.S. aircraft carrier "Bennington" recently arrived at the Chilean port of Valparaiso and a group of its marines decided to go ashore on the spree. Having knocked back a drink or two and started brawling in the port, they proceeded to the town

that was today presented as a "democratic country". But this is nothing but a lie that can no longer deceive anyone.

Jan MAREK

where, bursting into a clinic, they broke up chairs and tables, wrenched doors from their hinges, smashed windows and damaged all the medical instruments. Their "mission of civilisation" did not end here, however; on leaving the clinic, they kicked up another shindy in the streets.

It is Difficult to Live

For some time now suicides have been on the increase in South Korea. In Seoul alone 248 cases were registered between January and August, and the number rises every month. Sin Tkheyang, a South Korean journal, states that the main reason for so many suicides is that, because of Syngman Rhee's policy of preparing for war, life is very difficult.

service of all. We must do a great deal of work, put forward convincing arguments and examples in order to overcome these traditional notions which are a real hindrance to any fresh substantial progress in winning over the masses of women.

It should be noted, however, that, in addition to Catholics, among other sections there are also groups of women who do not yet tend to associate with us but with whom we must start a discussion, establish contact and co-operation. They may be women of social democratic leanings or sometimes even conservative. But often even these women, as well as others, are aware of the problem of their emancipation and on this ground there arises the possibility of rapprochement, discussion and co-operation.

There are very big opportunities for further extending the ranks of women who strive towards emancipation, for turning them towards progress and the reshaping of Italian society.

It is a good thing that the old positions which could have hampered the development of our work among women have been surmounted. We must always proceed from the conviction that work among women is an essential element of our policy and our work, but that it has its own specific features and should therefore be conducted in a specific way and through a specific organisation. The matter of the women's commissions, women's branches, cadres and propaganda, hinges upon this very point.

The women's commissions must continue to exist. It would be a serious mistake to give them up and deny their value, for they are organisational centres and give an impetus to all the Party's work among women. But it would be just as serious a mistake for the political and organisational leaders of the Party to cease to occupy themselves with this field of work just because there are women's commissions to take care of it. On the contrary, it must always be regarded as one of the basic fields of our activity.

The women's branches of the Party must continue to exist. But they should not restrict themselves to working only among women. They should engage in all the activity of the Party, for that is one of the conditions for women to develop their abilities and raise the level of their understanding and of their actions. The same may be said in regard to leading women cadres. We do not sufficiently popularise our active women—those brave fighters in the factories, offices, textile mills and in the fields—or treat them well enough. We must see to it that they become better known. It should be very clear to everyone that when they carry on work among women they are carrying out one of the basic tasks of our Party.

As far as propaganda is concerned, we are obliged to make the rather bitter observation that we do not yet have sufficiently effective means of carrying on propaganda among women. We hold meetings, but the women show no eagerness to attend them. We have l'Unita, and we have to multiply the number of families it reaches many times over. But for many people it is still a difficult thing to read l'Unita. How, then, do we reach the woman who can barely read a few words, who is unable to read an editorial, who does not go to meetings? We must find special forms of propaganda, for we must see to it that our words reach a much wider circle of women than hitherto.

In conclusion I should like to point out a few objectives for the future. I think that it would be good for us to set ourselves the task of drawing tens of thousands more women into the Party next year. However, we must make it our special aim to strengthen the women's mass organisations, to strengthen their activities for the emancipation of women, for the social and political regeneration of Italian society. That is our fundamental objective.

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