

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

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Indestructible Fraternal Friendship of Two Great Peoples

It is with profound satisfaction that the progressive public of all countries is receiving the news of the results of the visit to India of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The sojourn in India of leading statesmen of the Soviet Union became a powerful and moving demonstration of the sincere fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Indian peoples. Everywhere the Soviet delegation went, it heard and read the warm and heartfelt words: "The Indian and Soviet peoples are brothers!"

And this really is so. The Indian and Soviet peoples are brothers, whether in good times or in times of severe trial. They are drawn together not only by their community of purpose in the past in the struggle for freedom and independence but also by a community of purpose now and in the future. They are in agreement, above all, on the main question, that of war and peace; on their undeviating desire to live in friendship, to preserve and strengthen peace throughout the world, to help ensure that the peoples may live untroubled about the future.

The world public rightly assesses the visit to India of prominent leaders of the Soviet state as one of the most important, historic events of recent times.

The Joint Statement by N. A. Bulganin, N. S. Khrushchev and Jawaharlal Nehru, signed in Delhi, provides vivid confirmation of the stability of Soviet-Indian friendship and testimony of the bonds between these two great countries, bonds that are becoming stronger every day. It is a document of truly immense international significance, a new and important contribution to the cause of consolidating peace, mutual understanding and friendship among peoples. It sets out the views of statesmen of the Soviet Union and India on very important questions concerning the relations between the two countries, and also on very important international problems. The Joint Statement convincingly shows that peaceful coexistence and fruitful co-operation between countries with different political and economic systems is not only essential and possible, but is becoming an undeniable fact.

The Soviet Union and India are traversing different paths of development; they have different social systems. But this presents no obstacle to their friendship, for both states are sincerely working for peace and co-operation. They are building and will continue to build their relations on the basis provided by

Certain elements in the capitalist countries, in the U.S.A. and Britain in particular, find it unpalatable that the Soviet Union warmly supports the peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke and are advancing along a road of their own.

The imperialist oppressors apparently still cherish hopes that the days when colonial violence could be resorted to with impunity have not yet passed for them. But these hopes are vain. We live at a time when colonial regimes are collapsing and passing into oblivion. Having thrown off the yoke of colonial oppression, the peoples of countries which were backward in the past are making striking progress in the development of their national economy and culture. Having won her national independence, India is playing an increasingly important part in the solution of international problems; she is a great power and should occupy a leading place in the ranks of the great states of the world. But the colonisers do not want to recognise India as a great power, they seek to belittle the Indian people.

Certain politicians in the West would like to deprive China too of the rights of a great power. But the Chinese People's Republic exists and is flourishing, and only people who are hopelessly tied up in the past could wish to ignore this historical fact. No matter how the opponents of international co-operation may try to deprive the great Chinese people of their legitimate rights, their efforts are doomed to failure.

The Soviet, Chinese, Indian and other freedom-loving peoples are linked by inviolable bonds of selfless friendship. This splendid friendship is one of the great historic achievements of mankind.

In the present international situation there are still many complicated, unsolved problems. There are forces of imperialist reaction which do everything possible to bury the Geneva spirit, revive the cold war to the full and frustrate the cause of peace. Fighters for peace and all decent people will have to exert much energy, perseverance and patience to avert the possibility of a new war. There is no doubt that the cause of peace will triumph, for peace and friendship among peoples are urgent historical necessities.

The peoples in the countries of the mighty camp of democracy and Socialism, led by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, have always steadfastly and persistently stood for peace. Together with the peoples of India and other peace-loving states, they constitute the majority of the world's population. This is a great factor for peace and security.

JOINT STATEMENT

by N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,
N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the USSR, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India

At the invitation of the Government of the Soviet Union, the Prime Minister of India visited the USSR in June 1955. He was accorded a warm welcome there and his trip strengthened friendship and understanding between the peoples of the two countries. At the conclusion of that visit, on June 22, 1955, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Prime Minister of India issued a Joint Statement.

At the invitation of the Indian Government, N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and other official representatives of the Soviet Union visited India in November-December 1955. The population of this country enthusiastically welcomed them wherever they went. Their visit strengthened the ties of friendship binding the two countries and their peoples. N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev visited various agricultural, industrial and hydro-engineering projects, and also agricultural reconstruction areas, state-run firms and other centres of economic development in India.

The visit to India of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the visit to the Soviet Union of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, gave them the opportunity of making personal acquaintance with the peoples of each other's countries, of getting first-hand knowledge of their way of life and learning about the problems, achievements and aspirations of each country; it resulted in the achievement of mutual understanding between them and the peoples of these countries, based on mutual respect, good will and tolerance.

In the above-mentioned Joint Statement of June 22, 1955, they expressed their firm adherence to the Five Principles, which are also known as "Panch Shila".

These principles proclaim that countries differing from each other in their political, social and economic systems can and must co-operate on a basis of mutual respect and non-interference in one another's internal affairs, and abide by a policy of active and peaceful coexistence in the common striving to attain the ideals of peace and betterment of man's conditions of life.

Since these Five Principles were proclaimed, a number of countries have subscribed to or expressed their agreement with them. The countries represented at the Bandung Conference unanimously adopted a declaration confirming these principles, which have now won general recognition as a solid basis for co-operation between countries.

During the present visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev to India a free and frank exchange of opinions on questions concerning the international situation took place between them and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. This exchange of opinions confirmed their unshakable confidence that international relations must be based on the Five Principles and that everything possible must be done to ease international tension and promote the strengthening of peace and co-operation between countries.

The Conference of heads of government held in Geneva last July resulted in recognition by the Great Powers represented there of the senselessness of war which, owing to the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons, can only bring disaster to humanity. This basic recognition—to exclude war as a method of settling international disputes—was received with profound approval by the peoples of the world and led to a considerable relaxation of international tension. Although the main problems of Europe and Asia still await solution, the natural consequence of excluding war as a method of settling outstanding issues was a change in the approach to them and represented a striving to settle them through negotiation. Diplomatic relations were established between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. Negotiations were started and are still continuing at the highest level between the United States of America and the People's Republic

of the Korean question solved on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Korean people and in conformity with the interests of peace in the Far East.

The statesmen of the USSR and the Prime Minister of India acclaimed the Geneva Conference held last year on the question of Indo-China. That Conference ended the devastating war in Indo-China and outlined the procedure for resolving the problems of the Indo-China states.

They note with regret that obstacles are being placed in the way of carrying out the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and that there are also difficulties blocking the path to the fulfilment of those relating to Laos. The violation of these Agreements would have exceptionally dire consequences both for Indo-China and for the whole world. That is why the statesmen of the USSR and India wish to appeal to all those who are parties to the Agreements and to other interested states to eliminate the obstacles now in the way of translating the Geneva Agreements into reality, and to co-operate fully in carrying out these Agreements in the letter and in the spirit.

They are deeply convinced that the principle of universality must be applied in dealing with the question of Uno membership. Until this principle is observed, Uno will not represent all the countries of the world. For this reason they welcome the recommendation of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation to simultaneously accept 18 countries into Uno and sincerely hope that this recommendation will shortly be adopted and implemented by the Security Council.

To establish world peace and to eliminate conditions leading to the ruinous devastation of another world war, there is no way other than that of disarmament. A rise in or even the maintenance of the existing level of armaments constitutes a permanent threat of war and a source of fear, and gives cause for a race in the manufacture of new types of mass annihilation weapons. The urgent need for disarmament grows in direct proportion to the invention and stockpiling of weapons with ever-increasing destructive potentialities. The widely current desire for the danger of war to be completely removed calls for positive, constructive and rapid measures in the direction of disarmament. A great measure of agreement has already been achieved on this question and there is clearly no reason why the remaining obstacles should not be quickly surmounted if the aim is to establish enduring peace. In particular, the statesmen of both countries wish to state their firm conviction that prohibition of the production, use and testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons should be carried out unconditionally. At the same time there must, without fail, be a considerable reduction in conventional armaments and the establishment of effective international control designed to ensure strict implementation of such prohibition and disarmament. So long as this is not achieved, the whole world will be darkened and oppressed by the fear of war and the peoples will doubt the sincerity of the desire for peace.

The statesmen of the USSR and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that the establishment of military alliances or regional military blocs is not a means of safeguarding peace and security. Such alliances have extended the boundaries of the cold war and introduced an element of instability in the areas concerned; they have increased fear and tension and created additional obstacles to the peaceful development of the countries concerned. Peace and the genuine security of the peoples can be safeguarded only through the collective efforts of states.

One of the most effective means of reducing fear and tension in international relations is to eliminate the barriers to mutual co-operation and understanding. To this end cultural and economic relations between countries should be encouraged. The statesmen of both countries noted with satisfaction the ever-increasing opportunities for the peoples of the two countries to get to know each other better through regular exchanges of visits

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The Soviet Union and India are traversing different paths of development; they have different social systems. But this presents no obstacle to their friendship, for both states are sincerely working for peace and co-operation. They are building and will continue to build their relations on a firm and reliable basis provided by the well-known Five Principles. These principles have by now won world-wide recognition.

The Soviet Union and India jointly declare that they are striving to resolve the major problems of Europe and Asia by peaceful means, that they stand for disarmament and the prohibition of the production, testing and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, that they are against military alliances and blocs, against the cold war, for the removal of barriers to co-operation and mutual understanding.

The statesmen of both countries have expressed their conviction that a lasting peace in Asia is impossible unless the People's Republic of China is granted its lawful place in Uno. They have expressed the hope that there will be a speedy settlement, along the path of agreement, of such Far Eastern and Asian problems as the return to the People's Republic of China of Taiwan and the offshore islands—its territory from time immemorial—and likewise a settlement of the Korean question.

Relations between the Soviet Union and India are not confined to joint statements and vigorous actions in the international arena. They are becoming increasingly diversified in character, embracing the fields of culture, science, technique, economics and trade, enriching the peoples of the two countries materially and spiritually.

The friendship of these two great peoples, representing as it does a truly classical example of the peaceful coexistence of two great states—the Soviet Union and India—is not to the liking of the opponents of international co-operation. Reactionary imperialist elements and their press meet every new fact which attests to the strengthening of friendship between the USSR and India with animosity and malevolent sneers. Why are they so upset and so venomous? Why is it that the bourgeois press engages so shamelessly in slanderous fabrications about the Soviet leaders' visit? Because friendship of the peoples prevents the formation of aggressive blocs and groupings, is an obstacle to the arms drive, atomic blackmail and the fostering of the cold war.

Bulganin and Khrushchev Arrive in Kabul

On December 15 N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and their party arrived in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, on the invitation of the Government of Afghanistan.

The guests were met at the Kabul airport by Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud, members of the Government and others.

At the airport Bulganin made a statement.

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For more than three weeks the attention of hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world has been focused on the tour of the Soviet leaders in India and Burma. In the course of numerous meetings of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev with prominent Indian statesmen, scientists, intellectuals, workers and peasants, there took place a sincere and frank exchange of opinion on fundamental, vital questions which deeply concern all progressive mankind. In their speeches, statements and talks N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev gave a profoundly scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the vital problems of the present day. They thoroughly elucidated the questions of peaceful coexistence of states with different social and economic systems, of strengthening the mutual understanding, friendship and security of the peoples and of the ways to ease international tension. They gave an exhaustive characterisation of the profound changes in the political situation in the countries of Asia and the whole of the East, whose peoples are experiencing a great historical process of awakening and are coming more and more into active political life. They emphasized with great forcefulness the need to abolish the survivals of the rotten colonial system and to ensure conditions for the all-round development of all the material and spiritual forces of every nation.

Of exceptionally great significance are Bulganin's and Khrushchev's statements on strengthening and developing the international co-operation of the working class and on the international co-operation of the Communist and Workers' Parties. True to Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist and Workers' Parties have always striven and will continue to strive for the full realisation of the great slogan of international solidarity long ago proclaimed by Marx and Engels—"Workers of all lands, unite!"—a slogan which corresponds to the vital interests of all working people. Now, as in the past, they consider it their duty tirelessly and daily to rally the working class and unite around it all the forces fighting for peace and progress, for a radiant future.

Almost all the residents of the capital came out into the streets, which were decorated with slogans and the flags of the USSR and Afghanistan, to welcome the Soviet leaders. All along the four-mile route from the airport the Soviet guests were warmly greeted by the people of Kabul.

In honour of Bulganin's and Khrushchev's arrival, December 15 was declared a holiday in Kabul.

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With the object of further settling disputed questions through negotiation, the Four Power Conference of heads of government held in Geneva last July pointed to the necessity of convening a Foreign Ministers' Conference. This Conference recently took place in Geneva. It did not lead to agreement on the problems under consideration and thus the great hopes aroused as a result of the Four-Power heads of government Conference have not so far materialised. The Conference, however, contributed to a clearer understanding of the problems facing the world, and it is an indisputable fact that all these problems can be solved only by peaceful methods and through peaceful negotiation, if war is to be excluded, as according to the general opinion it should be. Disappointment over the results of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference, therefore, can only be of a temporary nature, and it is necessary to exert every effort to ease international tension, seeing negotiation as the only method of settling disputed issues. The statesmen of both countries express the hope that the negotiations at ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China will lead not only to the solution of the problems under consideration but also to broader mutual understanding through conferences at a higher level. They are convinced that lasting peace in Asia is unthinkable without the People's Republic of China being given its lawful seat in the United Nations. They express deep regret at the delay in the recognition of this indisputable fact. They sincerely hope that the other Far Eastern and Asian problems will be solved without delay through negotiation, namely: the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China to the offshore islands and Taiwan must be satisfied and

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR
N. A. BULGANIN

Prime Minister of India
Jawaharlal NEHRU

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

Press Conference Given by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev in Delhi

N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Su-

preme Soviet of the USSR, gave a press conference for Indian, Soviet and other journalists in Delhi on December 14. The

conference was attended by over 150 correspondents representing important agencies and newspapers of India,

the Soviet Union and other countries. The statement made by N. A. Bulganin follows.

STATEMENT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN DELHI

We came to India on a visit of friendship at the invitation of the Indian Government. Our visit to India, like Mr. Nehru's friendly visit to the USSR last June, is of great importance for the further improvement of friendly relations between our countries and for the consolidation of world peace.

You are already aware of the Joint Soviet-Indian Statement signed yesterday, formulating the views of Soviet and Indian statesmen on major questions of the relations between our two countries and also on major international problems. This

statement is of great importance for the further strengthening of the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. It is also of great international significance.

During our stay in India we have visited a number of cities and areas, large construction projects and industrial establishments in Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore and Madras. We have paid visits to agricultural development centres, a number of Indian scientific institutions and some magnificent monuments of ancient architecture. We have learned about the life and work of the multinational Indian people, about their achievements in the years of their inde-

pendence, and have also gained an idea of India's vast natural resources and potentialities. The biggest and most indelible impression has been made on us by the great Indian people, by their lively children and young people, their talent and industry, their inflexible will for peace and friendly co-operation with all countries. Everywhere we have met with hospitality and cordiality from the Indian people, a fact which testifies to their profound sympathies and friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We have also been profoundly impressed by the efforts of the Indian people to

develop their national economy, particularly their industry, which is the keystone of economic progress and the prime requisite for the independence of any country. The Damodar Valley and Bhakra Nangal construction schemes, the projected iron and steel works and the preparation of a new Five-Year Plan are, unquestionably, important measures taken by the Indian Government for the development of the country's economy.

India has everything necessary for the successful development of her national

(Continued on page 2)

Press Conference Given by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev in Delhi

(Continued from page 1)

economy: huge natural resources, vast expanses of fertile land and, what is most important, the inexhaustible creative powers of the talented and industrious Indian people, who through the many centuries of their history have created immortal cultural monuments. We Soviet people, who have some experience in planning a national economy, are forming the opinion that, given her present efforts to develop her economy and make full use of her material resources and manpower, India will quickly succeed in substantially increasing her agricultural and industrial output and, thereby, in considerably raising the well-being of her people.

The friendly relations that have now developed between our peoples offer favourable opportunities for close economic, scientific and cultural co-operation between our countries. The Soviet Union, as we have already said, is ready to share its scientific and technological experience on mutually advantageous conditions, to share its experience in economic planning and building industrial enterprises and hydro-electric projects. It would also be happy to draw on the Indian people's experience in various branches of economy, science and culture. We believe that the expansion of cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union will help to further strengthen their friendly relations. We are happy to note that, as a result of our visit to India and the talks held with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders, agreement has been reached on a number of important questions pertaining to the further expansion of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India.

Our stay in India has convinced us that the people of India are ardently striving for peace and are prepared to fight resolutely for its preservation and consolidation. India is now playing an increasingly important part in the settlement of international problems and the establishment of friendly relations between states. No important problem in Asia—and not only in Asia—can now be solved without the participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic. Among the striking examples of the active and fruitful participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic in the solution of international problems is the well-known part they played in the question of terminating the war in Indo-China; and their active participation in the Bandung Conference, which played an outstanding role in easing international tension and promoting co-operation between Asian and African countries.

The Soviet Union and India build and will continue to build their relations on the basis of the famous five principles of peaceful co-existence inasmuch as these accord with the interests of all peace-loving peoples, with the interests of strengthening peace. These principles fully

The present arms race, the continued manufacture and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons are fraught with danger to peace and place a heavy burden on the working people, who bear the whole weight of military expenditure. We know that reduction of armaments and the complete and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons are the imperative tasks facing the nations and, above all, the Great Powers today. It goes without saying that so long as there is no agreement on this matter, the Soviet Union will have to continue its efforts to strengthen its defences and produce atomic and hydrogen weapons. Under the circumstances, there is no alternative.

Now, leaving the hospitable land of India, we feel deeply grateful to the Indian people, their Government and the administration of the states which we visited for the exceptionally warm welcome given us everywhere. This cordial welcome is evidence of the true friendship the Indian people have for the peoples of the Soviet Union. We assure our Indian friends that our Soviet people entertain just as warm sentiments for the great people of India. We take this occasion to extend cordial fraternal greetings to the entire people of India from the people of the Soviet Union.

We trust that the friendship and co-operation between our countries will steadily gain in strength and scope for the sake of the prosperity of our peoples and in the interest of world peace.

In summing up the results of our journey and speaking of our impressions of it, I should like to touch upon two more questions which for reasons obvious to us are of deep concern to the Indian people. We have in mind the question of the Indian territory of Goa, illegally held by Portugal, and the so-called Kashmir problem.

In the statements made in the course of our trip we have expressed the Soviet Union's attitude on both these questions. The Soviet Union resolutely stands for the abolition of the vestiges of the rotten colonial system. The Soviet Union considers that the peoples inhabiting territories illegally seized and ruthlessly exploited by colonisers for decades must settle their destinies themselves.

That Goa is part of Indian territory is known to all. Everyone knows, also, that the people of this territory, who are linked with their motherland by vital, inseparable bonds, cannot conceive of living divorced from India. We feel certain that this question will be settled in favour of the Indian people, whether the colonisers like it or not. The colonisers will have to clear out of territory that is not theirs.

As for Kashmir, we have seen during our visit there with what great joy the Kashmir people welcome their national liberation regarding their territory as

visit to Afghanistan. What hasn't been written about what we said by some of your none too discriminating colleagues, how they have misconstrued it! But we Soviet people are not lacking in equanimity. Abuse will never hurt us, and we are unruffled by these scribbles. It has been rightly said: "Slander will not smear a good name."

As for the substance of the matter in question, we believe that the "spirit of Geneva", born of the fruitful meetings of the heads of the Four Great Powers in Geneva last summer, has had a beneficial effect and cannot be buried. We stand for the maintenance and expansion of international co-operation, for the peaceful co-existence of all countries. And if the recent Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva failed to produce the results expected by the peoples of the world, this, we say, probably only happened because the time for this is not yet ripe. This is to be seen in the fact that certain powers have not yet abandoned the long-since condemned "positions of strength" policy. It should be said with all firmness that no talks will yield results as long as this policy is followed.

In any case the Soviet side, as you know, put forward a whole series of urgent and practicable proposals at the Geneva Conference for collective security, the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, for the expansion of international contacts, etc. And we are not, therefore, to blame for the failure to achieve agreement so far. We shall continue to be unsparing in our efforts to bring about the solution of these all-important problems.

In this connection many correspondents have put the question: Hasn't the time come to call a new, Geneva-type Great Power summit conference to discuss the most important Far Eastern problems? We believe this idea is worth supporting. Naturally, such a conference can only yield positive results if all its participants, in approaching the problems placed before them for discussion, discard the notorious "positions of strength" policy. It goes without saying that among those taking part in such a conference must be the People's Republic of China and India.

Many questions have been put to us about the problem of disarmament. We do not think we need repeat in detail our position on this problem. You know it very well. The Soviet proposals, put before the United Nations this year, offer the ways and means for an early and effective solution of the disarmament problem. And were it not for the change in the attitude of the U.S., which suddenly repudiated its own previous proposals, the solution of this problem might well have been not far distant. Some correspondents put the question this way: Would not the Soviet Union agree to reduce its armaments unilaterally and thus set an example to the Western partners?

We think you will agree that this is not a serious way of putting the question.

There was the party of the capitalists, the party of the landlords, the kulak party, which bombastically called itself the party of socialist revolutionaries (S.R.s), and there was the party of the working class, the Bolshevik Party, founded by the great Lenin. This Party succeeded in rousing the working class to fight the capitalists and landlords, the tsarist regime. It succeeded in securing the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. It succeeded in winning over the progressive sections of the intelligentsia to the side of the working class; it was under its leadership that the Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out, that the exploiting classes were routed and eliminated and that a new, socialist society was built. Today the Soviet people are successfully building a communist society. Whom could a party of capitalists and landlords represent in the USSR today? There are no capitalists or landlords in our country—which means that the question of having such a party is pointless. Whom could a kulak party represent in our country today? Having built up the collective-farm system we did away for all time with the old economic system in the countryside, which engendered capitalism daily and hourly. Today our youth know about kulaks only from books and from the stories of their elders.

Soviet society is a society of the working people: of workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The Communist Party, as recorded in the Constitution of the USSR, is the vanguard of the working people in their efforts to build a communist society, the leading force of all organisations of the working people, both public and state.

Such is our society; such is our system. We do not impose it on anyone but, to be frank about it, we do consider it the best system. Some people try to picture the situation as though the spread of communist ideas throughout the world is due to intrigues of some sort on the part of the USSR. It is generally known, however, that Communism existed in Europe long before the Great October Revolution, and the communist teaching created by Marx and Engels struck deep root among the working masses.

In this connection we would also like to touch on the question put to us by several correspondents concerning the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, or the "Cominform" as it is sometimes called. The activities of this organisation, which includes the Communist Parties of a number of European countries and which has as its purpose the exchange of information and experience of the working-class struggle for liberation, disturb all those who would preserve forever the old system of exploitation of man by man, which has outlived its time.

The question is sometimes put this way:

N. A. BULGANIN'S Speech Over the Indian Radio

Dear friends,

I am very grateful for the opportunity of broadcasting over the Indian radio.

Tomorrow we are leaving hospitable India. We shall keep forever in our memories many pleasant recollections of your country and your people. We shall never forget the friendly meetings with the people and their wholehearted greetings.

During our sojourn in India we visited many cities and regions of your country. We have seen the construction sites and enterprises of Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Madras and Sindri, visited the centres of agricultural development, got acquainted with a number of scientific institutions and seen wonderful monuments of ancient architecture. We have also become acquainted with the life and activities of your multinational people and with their culture.

It is the people, their enthusiasm and energy, their joyous youth, their talent and industry, their unswerving desire for peace and co-operation with all peace-loving nations that has left the deepest and most indelible impression on us. Wherever we went, we always met with hospitality and a cordial welcome from the Indian people. Everywhere we saw expressions of sincere and warm feelings of friendship towards the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We have visited your country at a very important moment in her history. After a long period of colonial oppression, the Indian people have for the first time obtained the right to decide their own destiny.

Big strides have been made by India in the few years that she has been enjoying political freedom. She now plays a big part in the solution of the most important international problems.

As we could see with our own eyes, the Indian people have also made great headway in developing their economy, in industrial construction.

The friendly relations which have been established between our countries make it possible to develop economic, scientific and cultural co-operation in an all-round way. We are always ready, if India needs it, to share with her our scientific and technical experience, our experience of construction.

Our visit to India facilitated the reaching of agreement on a number of vital questions of the further development of economic, scientific and technical co-operation between our countries. It enabled us to continue our talks with Mr. Nehru, the Prime

Minister, and to establish contacts with other leaders of the Indian state. These personal contacts once more confirmed that our countries have one common aim—to live in friendship, to preserve and strengthen world peace and to help the peoples to feel sure of the future.

You know well that relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India are based on a stable and reliable foundation, on the well-known Five Principles, Panch Shila.

The Soviet Union unswervingly adheres to the Leninist principles, which are based on respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states, and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India are a striking example of friendship and co-operation between states with different political systems.

The exchange of views between us and Mr. Nehru and a number of other leaders of the Indian Government revealed that between the Soviet Government and the Government of India there is complete mutual understanding on all questions of Soviet-Indian relations, as well as many similar views on the most important international problems. We are confident that the neighbourly relations and friendship between our countries will grow and become stronger. And this will have a beneficial influence on both the development of our countries and the strengthening of world peace.

In conclusion I would like to mention the extremely warm welcome we were accorded in India whatever region or city we were visiting. I would like once more to thank your Government, to thank personally Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, who did everything to ensure that our stay in your country was most pleasant and beneficial.

I also would like to thank the governments of the states and the authorities of the cities which we visited for the splendid organisation of our tour and for the very cordial reception they gave us.

I also express our sincere gratitude to the public organisations and individuals who warmly welcomed us and sent us sincere and heartfelt greetings. I am very sorry that because we were short of time we could not answer all the friendly invitations and greetings.

Once more, heartfelt thanks to you, our dear friends. Goodbye!

N. S. KHRUSHCHEV'S Speech Over the Indian Radio

Our dear friends,

Citizens of the Republic of India,

For more than three weeks we have been staying in your country as guests, visiting many states, towns and villages of India, getting acquainted with your wonderful people, with your rich and ancient culture.

We were deeply moved and affected by the friendly and very cordial welcome which we representatives of the Soviet Union were

electric projects. With what pride our Indian friends showed all these to us!

We understand their pride because in these undertakings can be seen the shape of the future powerful industry of India, the stronghold of its independence and national might.

To build such an industry it is necessary to have one's own cadres, cadres

Asia—can now be solved without the participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic. Among the striking examples of the active and fruitful participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic in the solution of international problems is the well-known part they played in the question of terminating the war in Indo-China; and their active participation in the Bandung Conference, which played an outstanding role in easing international tension and promoting co-operation between Asian and African countries.

The Soviet Union and India build and will continue to build their relations on the basis of the famous five principles of peaceful coexistence inasmuch as these accord with the interests of all peace-loving peoples, with the interests of strengthening peace. These principles fully correspond to the Soviet Government's foreign policy which it has consistently pursued ever since the foundation of the Soviet state. They have already been approved by a whole number of countries and were taken as the basis for the decisions of the Bandung Conference. Their acceptance by all other countries, including the United States, Britain and France, would be an important step towards the further easing of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence between peoples. As for the Soviet Union, it has pursued and will continue to pursue a policy of peace and respect for the sovereign rights of peoples, a policy of non-aggression, equality and mutual advantage, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, a policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems. This policy flows from the very essence of the Soviet state, which has invariably and consistently followed a policy of peace.

It is common knowledge that many very pressing Far Eastern problems are still awaiting solution. For one thing, it is only on the basis of the Geneva Conference's decisions on Indo-China that a complete and final settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem can be achieved. It is impossible to put off any longer the solution of so important a question as that of giving the Chinese People's Republic her rightful place in the United Nations, or the solution of the question of Taiwan and the other offshore islands—which are an integral part of her territory—in conformity with the national rights of the Chinese people.

The Soviet Government has always opposed the setting up of all kinds of military blocs in various parts of the world and the building of military bases on foreign territories, since the formation of such blocs and the building of such bases constitutes a serious threat to peace and raises additional barriers to the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace. We hold that the genuine security of the peoples can be ensured not by lining up military blocs but by the joint collective efforts of the countries to strengthen peace. It is by these considerations that the Soviet Government was guided when it submitted its well-known proposal for a European collective security system.

The Soviet Union is resolutely standing for the abolition of the vestiges of the rotten colonial system. The Soviet Union considers that the peoples inhabiting territories illegally seized and ruthlessly exploited by colonisers for decades must settle their destinies themselves.

That Goa is part of Indian territory is known to all. Everyone knows, also, that the people of this territory, who are linked with their motherland by vital, inseparable bonds, cannot conceive of living divorced from India. We feel certain that this question will be settled in favour of the Indian people, whether the colonisers like it or not. The colonisers will have to clear out of territory that is not theirs.

As for Kashmir, we have seen during our visit there with what great joy the Kashmir people welcome their national liberation, regarding their territory as an integral part of the Republic of India. And it is our profound conviction that the people of Kashmir will complete the adjustment of their affairs without any interference from outside. This question will be settled in accordance with the will of the Kashmir peoples themselves.

We believe that our present statement answers many of the questions submitted to us by journalists yesterday and today. There were quite a few questions, but they can all be divided into several groups.

First, many of you are interested in a number of concrete aspects of Soviet-Indian economic co-operation. We are asked what the possibilities of such co-operation are, what fields it will embrace, and so on. We can say in this connection that we are conducting appropriate talks with the Government of India. You are aware of the initial results of these talks from the Joint Indian-Soviet Communiqué on Economic Relations between India and the USSR that was signed yesterday. It can be said with certainty that there is good ground for the development of our economic relations on the basis of mutual respect and mutual advantage.

Secondly, many non-Indian journalists express false apprehension about the possibility of the USSR making the strengthening and development of its friendly relations with India conditional upon India's rejection of businesslike co-operation with the United States and other Western countries. It is only those who are eager to sow distrust between India and the Soviet Union that can put the matter in such a way. We have said, and we repeat, that we stand for peaceful co-operation and friendship with all countries, including the United States, Britain and France. The obviously invented fear of the possibility of Indo-Soviet friendship impairing India's or the Soviet Union's relations with other states is not worth a straw.

Thirdly, many correspondents asked us about the prospects for the further development of international relations. Some of them show concern over the fact that certain quarters, and you know what quarters, have begun to assert that the "spirit of Geneva" is dead and that the time has come for restarting a full-scale cold war and so on.

You see for yourselves that some people are trying to get back to the cold war in connection with our sojourn in India and Burma and our forthcoming

people's Republic of China and India.

Many questions have been put to us about the problem of disarmament. We do not think we need repeat in detail our position on this problem. You know it very well. The Soviet proposals, put before the United Nations this year, offer the ways and means for an early and effective solution of the disarmament problem. And were it not for the change in the attitude of the U.S., which suddenly repudiated its own previous proposals, the solution of this problem might well have been not far distant. Some correspondents put the question this way: Would not the Soviet Union agree to reduce its armaments unilaterally and thus set an example to the Western partners?

We think you will agree that this is not a serious way of putting the question.

How can the Soviet Union agree to unilateral disarmament at a time when our partners in negotiations, far from announcing their intention to cut their armed forces, are on the contrary advertising their plans to build up their armaments still more? For us to disarm unilaterally in these circumstances would be stupid and harmful not only to the Soviet Union but to all peace-loving nations.

We stand for disarmament on the clear-cut and indispensable condition that our partners agree to disarm together with us. We stand for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons provided our partners agree to this simultaneously with us. We stand for the establishment of strict international control over the implementation of these measures provided a realistic approach is taken to the solution of this problem.

The fourth group of questions concerns the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. We welcome the interest displayed by the Indian public in the life of our country. In this connection we would welcome the appearance of permanent press correspondents from India in Moscow, a question some of you have raised. We think it should not be hard to iron out the technicalities which, as is said, so far make it difficult to have permanent Indian correspondents in the USSR. To judge by the questions put to us, objective information about our life, about the peculiarities of our economic, social and political system is still lacking here and in a number of other foreign countries.

Some, for instance, ask: Why is there only one party in the USSR? Such a way of posing the question is apparently due to an inadequate understanding of the fundamentals of our socialist society.

As you know, it is peculiar to the bourgeois class state to have many parties—parties reflect and uphold the interests of the respective classes and that is why each class naturally has its own party. In the Soviet Union, as a result of the victory of Socialism, a completely new, socialist society has been built in which there are no antagonistic classes, no groupings with conflicting or contradictory interests. We now have a homogeneous society, powerful in its unity and solidity.

In pre-revolutionary tsarist Russia there were many parties.

Communist teaching created by Marx and Engels struck deep root among the working masses.

In this connection we would also like to touch on the question put to us by several correspondents concerning the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, or the "Cominform" as it is sometimes called. The activities of this organisation, which includes the Communist Parties of a number of European countries and which has as its purpose the exchange of information and experience of the working-class struggle for liberation, disturb all those who would preserve forever the old system of exploitation of man by man, which has outlived its time.

The question is sometimes put this way: Can't the "Cominform" be abolished somehow? But, strictly speaking, on what grounds must the Communist Parties give up a generally accepted form of international contact and co-operation? Why, for example, do those who raise the question of liquidating the "Cominform" make no objections to the activities of the Socialist International, which unites the Social Democratic Parties? Why does it seem natural and legitimate to them for the capitalists to unite in international monopoly associations and to meet regularly to transact their business together, yet when it comes to the working class they would like to deny it the opportunity of realising the great slogan of international solidarity: "Workers of all lands, unite!" which was proclaimed long ago by Marx and Engels and which accords with the vital interests of all the working people?

We have always stood and always will stand for the consolidation and development of international working-class co-operation aimed at defending the vital interests of all the working people, at fighting for the cause of peace.

The Communist Parties, which stand guard over the interests of the working class and all the working people, follow the most advanced and humane teaching—the teaching of Marxism-Leninism—which has splendidly justified itself in practice, having been applied in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies.

This teaching is becoming more and more widespread over the whole globe. We oppose the "export of revolution", as Lenin said, because to put the question this way is unscientific. Progressive ideas inevitably blaze their own trail and triumph over old, obsolete ideas. This has always been and always will be the case as far as the development of human society is concerned.

These are the remarks we wanted to make in connection with your questions.

Permit us in conclusion to thank you for your attention.

Goodbye.

At the conclusion of the press conference Khrushchev thanked the Indian newspapermen for their objective and truthful coverage of Bulganin's and his stay in India and said that such objective reporting helped to strengthen the friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union.

between our countries. It enabled us to continue our talks with Mr. Nehru, the Prime

N. S. KHRUSHCHEV'S Speech Over the Indian Radio

Our dear friends,
Citizens of the Republic of India,

For more than three weeks we have been staying in your country as guests, visiting many states, towns and villages of India, getting acquainted with your wonderful people, with your rich and ancient culture.

We were deeply moved and affected by the friendly and very cordial welcome which we representatives of the Soviet Union were accorded both by the leaders of the Republic of India and by her people. We shall never forget it.

We were already aware of the friendly sentiments of the Indian people towards the Soviet Union. But what we have seen and felt here has exceeded all our expectations. There have been meetings which defy description and it is difficult to express in words the feelings with which our hearts are overflowing.

In all towns and villages, wherever we have been, we have heard and seen slogans of greetings in honour of friendship between India and the Soviet Union. What we heard most of all were the simple and heartfelt words: "Hindi, Rusi—bhai, bhai!"

We were particularly deeply moved by these words because they completely express our own feelings too, the sentiments of the peoples of the Soviet Union toward the peoples of India. Yes, our peoples are brothers, brothers both in good times and in times of severe trial.

The friendship of our peoples is a great historic achievement. It must be highly valued and strengthened by all possible means because it is beneficial to both our peoples.

We are filled with the desire to strengthen in every way this friendship between our countries, which was formed in the course of history and is ever growing. But we understand that in order to safeguard peace throughout the world it is necessary to strengthen friendship not only with one, although a great people, but with all peoples. It is necessary that friendship among all peoples of the world should steadily grow and broaden, which is the sincere and wholehearted desire of the peace-loving peoples of all countries and continents. And we shall do everything in our power for the achievement of this great and noble aim.

We hope that the expansion of friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union will serve the cause of preserving peace throughout the world, of the development of our countries.

The development of industry is necessary for the quickest possible advance of the economy of your country. It is impossible to ensure true independence of the state without a national industry. We are well aware of this from our own experience.

We have visited a number of Indian national plants and factories, including some big industrial undertakings and hydro-

electric projects. With what pride our Indian friends showed all these to us!

We understand their pride because in these undertakings can be seen the shape of the future powerful industry of India, the stronghold of its independence and national might.

To build such an industry it is necessary to have one's own cadres, cadres developed in one's own country, especially technicians and engineers. Such cadres are developing in your country. We have seen young engineers and technicians, skilled builders who come from the Indian intelligentsia. They are eager to work for the benefit of their motherland.

But to enable you to have more such people we are ready to share with you our own knowledge and experience so that your country may more rapidly traverse that complicated and difficult path of building its industry, the path along which our country has advanced.

We tell you this not because we want to teach you something. No, we want to give disinterested help to the Indian people and the Republic of India, because we desire to see the development and strengthening of the free and sovereign Republic of India.

The Soviet Union and India are advancing along different roads of development. We have always taken the line that the path of development for any country is exclusively the internal affair of the people of that country.

Our relations with other states are based on the well-known Five Principles, to which many countries now subscribe. Peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems is now an indisputable fact.

During our sojourn in India we received many warm greetings and invitations to visit various cities and states of India. To our regret our comparatively short stay in your country did not permit us to do so. That is why I would like to use this opportunity to thank all our friends in India—those whom we met and those whom unfortunately we were not able to meet—for their friendly words of welcome and warm wishes.

We shall be glad to see in our country as many as possible of our Indian friends. Come to us, acquaint yourselves with our life and work, with our experience. Our people will always give you a most hospitable welcome. The mutual exchange of delegations will promote the further strengthening of friendship between our peoples.

Once again we express our gratitude to Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and to the Government of India for the honour of being able to visit your wonderful country, for the opportunity given to us to see with our own eyes your country and its industrious and talented people.

Goodbye, dear friends, until the next friendly meeting!

Bulganin and Khrushchev Meet Members of Indian Parliament Belonging to Parliamentary Association for Development of Hindi Language

On December 13 N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, met some members of the Indian Parliament who belong to the Parliamentary Association for the Development of

the Hindi Language. This Association was organised in 1952 for the popularisation of the Hindi language which, according to the Constitution, is the state language of India. Most of the Ministers of the Indian Government are members of it.

The Association's President, Seth Gowind Das, greeted Bulganin and Khrushchev on behalf of its members.

The poet Maithili Sharan Gupta greeted the Soviet guests in verse.

Then N. S. Khrushchev spoke.

Speech by N. S. Khrushchev

Dear friends,
Allow me to thank you who heartedly on behalf of Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and myself for your warm, cordial welcome. We greet your society and think that its activities are very useful and fruitful for the Indian people, for their cultural development.

I must tell you frankly that when we started out for India we had an inadequate knowledge of your country. We felt this very acutely upon our arrival. Our stay in India, although brief, has helped us to fill this gap to a considerable extent.

Bulganin and I have discussed the point and have agreed that upon our return we must do everything necessary to enable the Soviet people to have more opportunities for studying Indian languages, Hindi in the first place. And we promise you to do so.

To know each other better, to develop economic and cultural relations between our countries more fully, direct intercourse is necessary and a third language as a means of contact between our two great peoples will hardly be acceptable for long. We will see to it that an educational establishment is founded in our country in which the finest, most gifted young people will study Hindi and other Indian languages. This will facilitate still better understanding between our peoples and make it possible to know each other more and better.

British and American journalists are very much offended at the statements made by Bulganin and myself in your country and in Burma against the colonial system. They have no reason to be offended. I think that there is nothing in our speeches against colonialism to set some peoples against others. They should be understood as statements against colonial plunder and the colonial order of things. If some people do not like our statements, that is a matter for their conscience, but we will neverthe-

less say always and everywhere that we are opponents of colonialism.

We do not want to set anyone quarrelling with the United States of America and Britain, nor do we ourselves intend to quarrel with them. The Soviet Union wants to live in friendship with these countries. But this does not mean that we must hide the truth, that we must tell everyone, including the defenders of the colonial system, only things that please them. How can we say that the centuries of British rule in India benefited the Indian people? Why, we could not bring ourselves to say this. It would be a crime to do so.

We speak of colonialism as a historical fact. I am surprised that our speeches against colonialism, in particular against the continuation of Portugal's colonial rule in Goa and other Portuguese possessions on Indian soil, have prompted certain statesmen of the United States to come out in defence of the Portuguese colonisers on the grounds that these possessions have been in the latter's hands for about four hundred years. No matter how many years pass, stolen property remains stolen property and it must be returned to its rightful owner. Stolen goods should be returned and, moreover, with interest. Providing, of course, one has a conscience. (Stormy applause.)

I should like to dwell on one more question. If I am not mistaken, the Republic of India has a population of 370 million. Thus, after China, India has the largest population in the world. This means that India is one of the most powerful states in the world. (Applause.) The literature and art of the Indian people are on a very high level. India is one of the oldest centres of world civilisation. The talents of the Indian people and the level of their culture are reflected in the numerous historical monuments which can be seen in any part of India. Many of these were built several

thousand years ago. All this bears witness to the greatness of India and her people. But so far India is officially not considered a great world power. The Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France and China are usually classed as the world's great powers. Even so, certain Western politicians would like to deprive China too of the rights of a great power. Speaking of China they, ludicrous though this is, usually mean the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has entrenched itself on Taiwan. And so five countries are considered great powers. But if the matter is examined objectively the question involuntarily arises: Why is India not considered a great country? Evidently, it is because the colonisers want to belittle your state, to belittle your people. To recognise India as a great power would mean their having to change their attitude. But we believe that India is a great power and should occupy a foremost place in the ranks of the great states of the world. (Stormy applause.)

I should also like to say something on the following point. Bulganin and I are accused by some people of counterposing the East to the West. That, of course, is a crude fabrication. Our country represents both Europe and Asia. We have been and are against any counterposing of one part of the world to another, we are against the domination of one continent over another. (Applause.)

We want all people to be independent and to develop as they themselves desire, we want them to advance their economy and culture in every way, to live in peace and friendship. (Applause.)

We wish you success. We, on our part, will do everything so that the friendship between our peoples, between our countries grows stronger and flourishes. (Stormy applause.)

Departure of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev from India

On the morning of December 14, N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the other members of their party left India for Afghanistan.

Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev were seen off at the airport—which was decorated with the state flags of the Soviet Union and India—by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan, Ministers

of the Indian Government and other officials. Some 10,000 people were present at the send-off.

N. A. Bulganin made a brief farewell speech.

Speech by N. A. Bulganin

We have also seen the India of today—your towns and rural localities, and the efforts the people and the Government of India are making to develop their country's industry and agriculture.

With all our heart we wish you success. The most important result of our visit to India has been a further strengthening and development of friendship between our peoples. The friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples is a great historic achievement.

Nehru and other members of the Government of the Republic of India. These conversations have been cordial and friendly. Yesterday we signed a Joint Statement. This is a document of great historic importance. It is an important contribution to the strengthening of peace.

Permit me to express our profound gratitude to you personally, Mr. Prime Minister, to the Government of India and to the Indian people as a whole, for your hospitality and affection for us.

Long live Indian-Soviet friendship!

Mr. Prime Minister, friends,
The hour has come for us to leave your hospitable land.

We have seen and learned many, very many, good things during our tour of India. There is no describing all the impressive events that were part of our stay here. But the most unforgettable for us will be our meetings with the people of India, who have expressed their sentiments of friendship

Triumphal Progress of Great Friendship Between Peoples of India and Soviet Union Bulganin and Khrushchev in India

With Warmth and Cordiality

After their six-day stay in the Union of Burma, N. A. Bulganin, N. S. Khrushchev and their party returned to India on December 7. They landed at the Asansol airport, where they received an enthusiastic welcome.

From the airport the guests went to Chittaranjan. There they visited the state locomotive plant, the biggest in the country, and then the Maythou Dam on the Barakhar River.

The Soviet delegation then returned to Asansol and left by plane for Jaipur, capital of Rajasthan State in north-west India.

The arrival of the Soviet guests in Jaipur was celebrated as a real holiday by the residents of that ancient city. A mass meeting in honour of the Soviet delegation was held in Ramniva Park. It was attended by no less than 300,000 people.

Early in the morning of December 9, the Soviet plane carrying the guests from Moscow took off from Jaipur airport for Kashmir. At the airport of Srinagar—the capital of Kashmir—the guests were met by Yuvraj Karan Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat (head of Kashmir); G. M. Bakshi, Prime Minister of Kashmir; Ministers of the Kashmir Government and high-placed government officials. The Sadar-i-Riyasat welcomed the guests and Comrade Bulganin made a speech in reply.

After a friendly talk between the guests and those who had come to meet them, which was held in a special government pavilion at the airport, the line of cars started for the town. People from the surrounding villages warmly greeted the welcome guests all along the route.

At a landing stage on the River Jhelum the guests embarked on boats manned by oarsmen and a traditional Srinagar procession of boats moved off, right through the city. Bunting bearing slogans of welcome was stretched across the river. Scores of thousands of Srinagar residents crowded the riverbank and balconies, roofs and windows of houses, to welcome the guests with joyful shouts.

The Basis of Friendship— Panch Shila

On the morning of December 10 Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev, accompanied by the Prime Minister of Kashmir, G. M. Bakshi, visited the Srinagar state emporium, where the products of Kashmir handicraftsmen are sold, and examined an exhibition of skilfully wrought embroidery, shawls, carpets and the work of jewellers, engravers and wood-carvers.

Y. K. Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat, gave a luncheon at his residence in honour of the Soviet delegation, at which he and Bulganin exchanged speeches.

He pointed out that the visit of the Soviet leaders to India was of great national and international significance.

"A tradition of friendly, good-neighbourly relations between our two countries has been in existence for a long time", he said, "but until recently, for historical reasons, close cultural relations did not develop between us. But now that we have become a sovereign and independent republic, bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between India and the Soviet Union have been established on the basis of the noble Panch Shila.

N. A. Bulganin, who spoke next, pointed

"The facts show", continued Comrade Khrushchev, "that the population of Kashmir does not want Kashmir to become a pawn in the hands of the imperialist forces. And that is precisely what certain powers are striving for under the pretext of supporting Pakistan on the Kashmir question."

It Is Not a Matter of Differences in Religion

"If I may be allowed", N. S. Khrushchev went on, "I would like to express my opinion in general about the division of India into two states. We friends of India were distressed by the fact that the imperialist forces succeeded in dividing India into two parts—India and Pakistan. Before the Indian people won their independence, there existed a united India. Its division into two parts was not carried out in the interests of the Indian people. And it is precisely for this purpose that passions were stirred up around the differences in religion among the peoples of India, although questions of religion have never been of major importance in the creation of this or that state.

"Let me quote my own country as an example. In the Soviet Union there are more than 15 million Moslems, as well as followers of other religions; yet, despite differences in religion, the peoples of our country live in fraternal friendship. They have built and are constantly strengthening their united state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the land of Socialism.

"It is our profound conviction", added Comrade Khrushchev, "that when passions have died down and the peoples have realised the full meaning of this artificial division of India's territory they will regret it."

N. S. Khrushchev then stressed that very good friendly relations had developed between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India, because the relations between these two states were being built on the basis of the five well-known principles of peaceful coexistence.

Pakistan Government in the Wake of the Foreign Monopolists

"The independent and sovereign Republic of India is a young and growing state", said N. S. Khrushchev. "The fact that she actively fights for world peace draws us closer together."

"If, in the Republic of India", he continued, "we see an ally in the fight for peace and for the peaceful settlement of unsolved problems, it is, regrettably, impossible to say the same about Pakistan."

"Pakistan is also a young state. But the policy of this country's ruling circles arouses our anxiety. The facts show that their policy is based not on the vital interests of their people, and of their state, but is dictated by the monopoly groups of other countries. The present Government of Pakistan is outspokenly advertising its special affinity with American monopoly groups. It was one of the first parties to and one of the sponsors of the notorious Bagdad Pact which has by no means been concluded in the interests of peace. It permits American military bases to be set up on its territory and this in the immediate

chev, in a speech of greeting, pointed out that the Soviet Union has shown in practice how quickly the peasant can develop, given the proper conditions. He conveyed the best wishes of the collective farm peasantry of the Soviet Union to the assembled peasants, and through them to all the peasants of India, for the full development of their spiritual and material forces. He underlined the fact that the road to the material and spiritual advancement of the peasantry lies through the development of machine production, through the equipment of the countryside with machines, and wished the people of India success in this matter.

India—a Great World Power

Upon their return to Delhi Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev visited Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in his residence and had a talk with him.

In the evening the Soviet leaders gave a reception in the Hyderabad Palace in Delhi at which Bulganin and Nehru both made speeches.

December 13 was crowded with exceptionally important events. The Soviet guests visited an Indian industrial exhibition occupying a great stretch of ground and comprising numerous state and private pavilions of India and 21 other countries. They paid tribute to the beginnings of the Indian Republic's technical progress.

After looking around the exhibition Bulganin and Khrushchev visited the All-India Radio broadcasting centre, where they were presented with recordings of Gandhi's speeches and of Indian music.

The Soviet leaders then met some deputies of the Indian Parliament who belong to a parliamentary association for the development of the Hindi language. Comrade Khrushchev made a speech at this meeting in which he stressed India's role as a great world power. His speech was acclaimed as an historic event.

In the evening the guests from Moscow attended a parade of the presidential guard, held in their honour on the square fronting the Rashtrapati Bhavan Palace.

At 8.20 p.m., local time, there took place the signing of the Joint Statement of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, which represents a genuine charter of friendship and peace. Following this Mr. Nehru gave a dinner in honour of the guests.

For the Sake of Mutual Benefit

On the same day a Soviet-Indian Joint Communiqué on "Economic Relations between India and the USSR" was published. It points out that to increase the volume of trade to the maximum proportions would be advantageous to both countries. As the first step in this direction it was agreed that the USSR would deliver and that India would purchase one million tons of rolled ferrous metal in a period of three years, beginning with 1956; that in the course of three years the USSR would sell and India purchase such oil-extraction, mining and other equipment and also such other goods as might be agreed upon by the two parties; that the USSR would substantially increase its purchase in India

Departure of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev from India

On the morning of December 14, N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the other members of their party left India for Afghanistan.

Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev were seen off at the airport—which was decorated with the state flags of the Soviet Union and India—by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan, Ministers

of the Indian Government and other officials. Some 10,000 people were present at the send-off.

N. A. Bulganin made a brief farewell speech.

Speech by N. A. Bulganin

Mr. Prime Minister, friends,
The hour has come for us to leave your hospitable land.

We have seen and learned many, very many, good things during our tour of India. There is no describing all the impressive events that were part of our stay here. But the most unforgettable for us will be our meetings with the people of India, who have expressed so sincerely their sentiments of friendship for the Soviet Union. We will treasure these friendly sentiments in our hearts.

During our tour we saw the past of India—the unforgettable relics of your ancient culture, created by the skilful hands of Indian craftsmen.

We have also seen the India of today—your towns and rural localities, and the efforts the people and the Government of India are making to develop their country's industry and agriculture.

With all our heart we wish you success. The most important result of our visit to India has been a further strengthening and development of friendship between our peoples. The friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples is a great historic achievement.

The personal contact between our Governments, which was initiated by the visit of Prime Minister Mr. Nehru to the Soviet Union, has grown still firmer and stronger as a result of our visit to India. We have had very useful conversations with Mr.

Nehru and other members of the Government of the Republic of India. These conversations have been cordial and friendly.

Yesterday we signed a Joint Statement. This is a document of great historic importance. It is an important contribution to the strengthening of peace.

Permit me to express our profound gratitude to you personally, Mr. Prime Minister, to the Government of India and to the Indian people as a whole, for your hospitality and affection for us.

Long live Indian-Soviet friendship!
Good-bye!
Namaste!

The next to speak was N. S. Khrushchev.

Speech by N. S. Khrushchev

Dear friends,

In a few minutes we shall be leaving the capital of the great Indian people.

The Government and the people of India accorded us an exceptionally warm and cordial reception. I wish to express once more my gratitude to the honourable Prime Minister of India Mr. Nehru, the President of the Republic of India Mr. Prasad, the Government of India and the great Indian people as a whole for all the kind and good things which were done for us during our stay in India.

As we toured the cities and states of India we constantly heard many good and warm words about the friendship of our peoples. This friendship will keep on growing stronger, for one cannot fail to see in it one of the factors for strengthening world peace.

We are glad that our visit to the Republic of India has helped to advance this noble cause. Yet our visit, our talks with the

leaders of India, would not have produced such tangible and valuable results had we not met with the necessary understanding on the part of our Indian friends.

The community of views between India and the Soviet Union on the further strengthening of friendship between our countries and on the major international issues has found expression in the Joint Soviet-Indian Statement signed yesterday.

Dear friends,

When Mr. Nehru, upon completing his tour of the Soviet Union, bade farewell to our country and its people, he said he had left part of his heart in our country. And today, as I say good-bye to you, the great people of India, I feel how right these simple yet extremely significant words are. Part of my heart, too, remains here in India. And there has grown and become firmly embedded in my heart an ardent feeling of love for India and her people. We are happy to have made so many great and good friends here and to see the

friendship between our two countries strengthened still further.

Never has the friendship of our peoples or of our countries been clouded by enmity or conflicts. We are profoundly convinced that this will never happen. We shall do everything within our power to make the friendship between the peoples of our countries grow ever stronger, to make it everlasting and unbreakable.

Good-bye, dear friends, till we meet again!
Namaste!

The speeches of Bulganin and Khrushchev were repeatedly punctuated with stormy applause. Their concluding words were drowned by loud cries of "Bulganin and Khrushchev zindabad!" (Long live Bulganin and Khrushchev!), "Hindi, Rusi—bhai, bhai!" (Indians and Russians are brothers!)

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru then made a speech.

Speech by Jawaharlal Nehru

"Honourable guests, dear friends", said Nehru.

"A few days ago Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev set foot on Indian soil for the first time. Today these guests are leaving our country. The few days they spent here are a great and historic event and much will be written about it in our history."

Nehru further said that India had entered upon a new stage in her development. "What is our aim?", he asked. "Our aim is to achieve progress for our country and our common people and to live in peace and concord with others. World peace is highly essential, highly important for the attainment of this goal. It is likewise absolutely necessary that our relations with the great country that is our near neighbour be close ones, founded on friendship and co-operation."

Referring to the speeches made by Bulganin and Khrushchev the day before, Nehru continued: "Yesterday you said that friendship between India and the Soviet Union was not directed against any other country. We wish to be friends with every country, with all countries, so that our circle of friendship may be enlarged and co-operation and peace may prevail. What friendship can there be if it presupposes hostility towards others? We must be friends with all and we extend our hand to all. That is why our rapprochement with that great

country, the Soviet Union, is very important. But this does not mean that we are drawing away from any other country. This is not the case now, nor will it be the case in the future. We have always desired, and desire now, co-operation between the countries of the world with the object of strengthening peace the world over."

The Prime Minister further said that an important factor in the friendship between India and the Soviet Union was their free and frank exchange of ideas. "Another important factor", he said, "is that we respect each other's ideas and methods of action, although sometimes we may hold different views or follow different paths. The cause of world peace will be consolidated if we show tolerance towards each other and strive for co-operation among all countries. In this way we set others an example of friendship with all countries, utilising their experience and following our own road. Therein lies the meaning of Panch Shila."

Referring to the Joint Statement, Nehru said: "If you read this document carefully, you will see that it contains nothing which would indicate hostility towards anyone. It is a document of friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union. It says that both India and the Soviet Union desire world peace and want to follow the road to peace, that they want important

issues to be settled peacefully. Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev have just described this document as a historic one. It is clear that it signifies rapprochement between the two countries. This is a very important thing."

"The Soviet leaders", Nehru continued, "saw many of the old and new sides of India during their tour. They got a glimpse of the hearts of hundreds of millions of Indians." "You were able", he said, addressing Bulganin and Khrushchev, "to form some idea not only of the old times but also of the aspirations of our people today and of how we want to realise these aspirations."

"On behalf of the Government of India, on my own behalf and on behalf of our people, I thank the Soviet leaders for coming here and expressing their friendship for the Indian people. I also want to thank them for expressing their desire to help us in different ways and to strengthen the friendship between our countries. These last few days will be memorable not only for me. India too will long remember them."

In conclusion Mr. Nehru said: "I want you to take back with you one precious thing—a message of love from India to your people. Good-bye."

Nehru spoke the last word in Russian. His warm farewell to the Soviet guests was met with stormy applause and cheers.

The Basis of Friendship—Panch Shila

On the morning of December 10 Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchev, accompanied by the Prime Minister of Kashmir, G. M. Bakshi, visited the Srinagar state emporium, where the products of Kashmir handicraftsmen are sold, and examined an exhibition of skilfully wrought embroidery, shawls, carpets and the work of jewellers, engravers and wood-carvers.

Y. K. Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat, gave a luncheon at his residence in honour of the Soviet delegation, at which he and Bulganin exchanged speeches.

He pointed out that the visit of the Soviet leaders to India was of great national and international significance.

"A tradition of friendly, good-neighbourly relations between our two countries has been in existence for a long time", he said, "but until recently, for historical reasons, close cultural relations did not develop between us. But now that we have become a sovereign and independent republic, bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between India and the Soviet Union have been established on the basis of the noble Panch Shila."

N. A. Bulganin, who spoke next, pointed out that in recent times co-operation between the Soviet Union and India had begun to develop in a particularly fruitful manner on the basis of the well-known Panch Shila.

On the same day, Prime Minister Bakshi held a reception in honour of the Soviet guests in the garden of the Srinagar government palace.

"The visit of Your Excellencies to our country", the Prime Minister said to the guests at one point, "testifies to the growing understanding and good will of the great Soviet Union in relation to India. The warmth and cordiality with which our people have everywhere welcomed you during your stay in India bears witness to the sentiments the Indians cherish for your country."

Why Has the So-called Kashmir Problem Arisen?

Enthusiastic applause broke out when Comrade Khrushchev rose to speak. Those present at the reception listened with keen attention to his words about the growing brotherly love between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. They listened with particular attention and gratitude when Comrade Khrushchev referred to the so-called Kashmir problem.

"Why then has the so-called Kashmir problem arisen?" asked N. S. Khrushchev. "It has not arisen from the people. Certain states find it to their advantage to foment hostility between the peoples of countries which are ridding themselves of colonial oppression and casting off their age-old dependence on foreign oppressors."

"The monopolists pursue only their own ends. They set one section of the peoples of a country against the other in order still more to subordinate these countries economically and to make them dependent on their will."

"Once", Comrade Khrushchev went on, "the Kashmir question was discussed by the Security Council and the representative of the Soviet Union clearly stated our Soviet point of view on this question."

"Our attitude on this question is extremely clear and obvious. The Soviet Union has always held that the settlement of the question of the status of Kashmir must be a matter for the people of Kashmir themselves, in accordance with the principles of democracy and in the interests of strengthening friendly relations between the peoples of that area."

basis of the five well-known principles of peaceful coexistence.

Pakistan Government in the Wake of the Foreign Monopolists

"The independent and sovereign Republic of India is a young and growing state", said N. S. Khrushchev. "The fact that she actively fights for world peace draws us closer together."

"If, in the Republic of India", he continued, "we see an ally in the fight for peace and for the peaceful settlement of unsolved problems, it is, regrettably, impossible to say the same about Pakistan."

"Pakistan is also a young state. But the policy of this country's ruling circles arouses our anxiety. The facts show that their policy is based not on the vital interests of their people and of their state, but is dictated by the monopoly groups of other countries. The present Government of Pakistan is outspokenly advertising its special affinity with American monopoly groups. It was one of the first parties to and one of the sponsors of the notorious Bagdad Pact which has by no means been concluded in the interests of peace. It permits American military bases to be set up on its territory and this in the immediate proximity of the Soviet Union's frontiers."

N. S. Khrushchev then declared: "We say frankly that we have never supported and never will support any of the parties to the Bagdad Pact, nor members of any other grouping directed against the Soviet Union."

In conclusion Comrade Khrushchev referred to the unfriendly act of the Pakistan Government, when the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan summoned the Soviet Ambassador and recommended that N. S. Khrushchev and N. A. Bulganin should refuse to visit Kashmir and should decline the invitation of the head of this State.

"This cannot but be qualified as an unprecedented example of interference in the affairs of others", said Comrade Khrushchev. "Never before has a third state allowed itself to point out to us where we should go and what for, and what friends we should choose."

"A spokesman for Pakistan's Foreign Ministry", added Comrade Khrushchev, "then told our Ambassador in that country that the Pakistan Government would not like us to visit Afghanistan, a country which is our neighbour. But this is a statement which goes too far, and people who make such recommendations take too much upon themselves."

At noon on December 11 the Soviet delegation returned to Delhi.

Visiting Indian Peasants

On the morning of December 12 Bulganin and Khrushchev drove from Delhi to the environs of Sonapat, where one of the centres of the Indian Government's community development programme for the countryside is located.

Along the way the guests were enthusiastically greeted by the residents of nearby villages. The Soviet delegation stopped in the village of Bhatgaon, where B. Sarchar, Chief Minister of the Punjab State, and other officials showed them around the streets of the village, the schools, medical establishments, handicraft shops, handicrafts exhibition, the plots demonstrating the best methods of sowing and cultivating sugar cane, wheat and other crops and then around an exhibition of the draught and dairy cattle bred in this area.

Several hundred thousand peasants gathered in a field beyond the village where a stand was erected and a demonstration of Punjab wrestling and other traditional gymnastic exercises was given by Sikhs. After this demonstration Comrade Khrush-

attended a parade of the presidential guard, held in their honour on the square fronting the Rashtrapati Bhavan Palace.

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On December 14, Bulganin and Khrushchev gave a press conference for Indian, Soviet and other correspondents in Delhi, at which Comrade Bulganin made a long statement.

Good-bye, Dear Friends!

The send-off given to the Soviet leaders when they left India on December 14 developed into a stirring demonstration of the growing friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples.

Early in the morning tens of thousands of citizens of Delhi and the surrounding towns and villages began to line the streets leading from the presidential palace of Rashtrapati Bhavan to Palam airport to see the departing Soviet guests off. At 10 a.m. the flower-strewn car carrying Bulganin and Khrushchev arrived at the airport. Those assembled there wholeheartedly greeted the Soviet leaders and through them the peoples of the Soviet Union, who have become very near and dear to the millions of Indians in these past three weeks. The applause rose to a powerful crescendo when Comrades Khrushchev and Bulganin, accompanied by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, ascended a platform to deliver their speeches of farewell. Above the thunderous ovation there rang out slogans in honour of the friendship of the two great peoples and in honour of the beloved guests.

The speeches made by Bulganin, Khrushchev and Nehru were listened to with keen attention and were repeatedly punctuated with stormy applause. The Soviet leaders warmly bade farewell to the Ministers of the Indian Government, members of parliament, eminent members of the public in the capital, and other citizens, took the salute of the guard of honour and then walked to the waiting plane.

The mission of good will on which the Soviet leaders visited India will go down as one of the most remarkable and significant pages in the history of the relations between the Soviet Union and India.

We Go Into Battle With Complete Confidence*

Dear friends, dear comrades!

For the eighth time the Communist Party has done me the honour of nominating me as candidate for your district. Nearly 30 years have passed since my candidature was put forward for the first time. On two occasions you voted in my absence: the first time when I was in hiding from persecution for action against the war in Morocco; the second time when I was stricken with illness: in those circumstances your confidence in the candidate of the Communist Party never wavered.

And now I am once again before you, after the long time during which I have had to conserve my efforts so as to set myself more and more surely on the road to complete recovery.

My presence here, it seems, does not please everyone. But you alone are the judges. And I am fully confident as to your opinion.

As you know, the National Assembly has been dissolved. The government, even before we wanted to precipitate the holding of the elections. And we said: "We are ready."

This attitude was motivated by two reasons: in the first place we are always prepared to report back to our electors. Secondly, we think that an end must be put, as soon as possible, to the policy of poverty, reaction and war, a policy that is now being pursued in the name of subordination to the American will.

The living and working conditions of industrial and office workers, civil servants and small peasants are becoming increasingly difficult. It is only rarely, and even then through a hard struggle, that women, young people and workers of Algerian origin succeed in getting the principle of "Equal pay for equal work!" observed.

The rising generation sees all prospects of a happy future disappearing. The aged die from poverty. There is no let-up in the housing crisis.

And it must be said that the responsibility for this state of affairs rests upon all parties with the exception of our own.

It rests upon the parties which are now in power and follow in the train of Edgar Faure and Pinay.

It rests too upon the adherents of the so-called Republican Front, grouped around Mendès-France, who for the past five years have either operated or supported, in all its essentials, the present policy.

Where and in what way did Mendès-France, Mitterrand and Chaban-Delmas differ from Edgar Faure and Pinay on such questions as wages, social security, old-age benefits, effective help to youth, and housing? On all these problems they voted throughout with the government in power.

The most pernicious act of the outgoing National Assembly was the decision on the rearmament of Western Germany and its admission into the aggressive bloc directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. It was precisely Monsieur Mendès-France who set the final seal on the re-establishment of German militarism.

If we are to speak of the attitude towards colonial wars, the politicians of the infamous Republican Front upheld the brutal devastating war in Indo-China for a long time, and it was only our Party that opposed this war; the conclusion of the armistice in Viet Nam was not the achievement of Mendès-France; he merely registered an accomplished fact: it was the achievement of the Viet Nam people and also of the working class.

★
Maurice Thorez
General Secretary,
French Communist Party

★ ★

helped them under the leadership of our Communist Party.

If we speak of Algeria, it was precisely Mendès-France who took it upon himself to send young soldiers there and to appoint Soustelle, the friend of Chaban-Delmas, as Governor. It was precisely Monsieur Mitterrand who declared there was no possibility of talks in Algeria, there was no one worth talking to, there was no way other than that of war.

If the dissident elements of the RPF in the Edgar Faure government left his government, it was not because they were opposed to the war in North Africa. That was far from being the case; they resigned because they were against negotiation and conciliation. They took part in the plot of the generals which was denounced at the time by the newspaper *Le Populaire*.

If we examine the question of secular education which, quite rightly, is agitating all sincere republicans, we see that when the Barangé law was proposed all the RPF representatives, including the three elected in our district, formed a single group and voted for it with the MRP and all the reactionaries.

Thus all the parties of whom we have spoken bear the responsibility for the disastrous situation in which the people of our country find themselves.

As for the Socialist Party, it also bears a heavy responsibility. It was this party that brought the reactionary majority to power by putting into practice the fraudulent bloc system by means of which 80 seats were stolen from our Party. As always, the victory of reaction was the consequence of the division of the workers and democratic forces.

That is why, if we wish to respond to the profound will of the people, who have had their fill and are demanding a real change of policy, it is essential to unite all the forces of the proletariat and of democracy, above all the Socialists and Communists.

We have said, and we repeat: we are ready to do everything in our power to ensure success for the Left forces in the elections and then to give them the opportunity of ruling the country.

Unfortunately, the Socialist leaders have rejected this offer and have once again earned the praise of the reactionaries, who have heaved a sigh of relief after being panic-stricken at the prospect of the formation of a new Popular Front.

The Socialist leaders prefer to ally themselves with a Bourgeois-Maunoury, a Chaban-Delmas, and the whole of the fascist and ultra-clerical gang of Gaullists.

Once again they are assuming a heavy responsibility. They do not hesitate in the face of the risk of leaving the present majority in power. On January 3 they will in all probability say—and in fact they have already said it in their latest appeal—"Let us get ready for the next elections!" That refrain could last for a long time.

But what pretext do they put forward to justify an attitude which looks like nothing else but a betrayal of the interests of the working class and democracy? It seems

Depreux refuse unity of the working people because of a wound to their pride?

And then, have they never exchanged a few lively—shall we say—words with their new allies of the Republican Front, in particular with the Gaullists? Is it really to be thought that in this case it is justifiable to forget the insult because of the nobility of a cause which consists in defending capitalist interests and, as their ally Chaban-Delmas would say, in combating the republican "system"?

However, if Guy Mollet is to be believed, it is our Party that is not a democratic one. The Communist leaders, it is claimed, are not elected by the Party. Many of you who are here today were present at our last Congress in this same hall and had the opportunity to judge the atmosphere of trust and affection in which the Central Committee of our Party was elected!

There is a party in which the question of democracy really does arise and that is Guy Mollet's party: when were the Socialist workers consulted in the sections of this party about the alliance with Chaban-Delmas? They were not even consulted about the proposals of the Communist Party. We know that a real revolt against the policy of Guy Mollet and his company is now taking place in many sections of the Socialist Party. The Socialist workers are far from sharing the ideas of their leaders. For the first time one-third of the votes in the federation of the Nord Department were cast for unity with the Communists—that is a highly noteworthy event.

Finally, the Socialist leaders repeat the calumny that our Party is a "foreign agent", a calumny that in its time cost Jaurès his life. They look upon our affection for the Soviet Union as a crime, without being able—and for good reason—to show how our stand against Munich and EDC, for instance, was contrary to French interests. Let us repeat once more that in any event our affection for the Soviet Union existed 20 years ago and that it did not stand in the way of the formation of the Popular Front.

Let us repeat also that besides the many foolish things Depreux said upon his return from the Soviet Union he said at least one true thing, for which much will be forgiven him: he declared that he was most struck there by the desire for peace which animates the leaders as well as the population.

In lauding the Soviet Union in such a manner did Depreux act as a "foreign agent"?

The arguments against unity advanced by the leaders of the Socialist Party are nothing but a tissue of pretexts and lies.

An altogether different view is taken by the working people of our country. Altogether different is the view of all true republicans, who intend to close their ranks more firmly in order to assure the success of a policy of progress, peace and national independence.

Altogether different is the view of the supporters of secular education, who because they want the unification of all Left forces without exception have now become suspect in the eyes of Depreux and Guy Mollet.

For our part, we go into battle with full confidence.

We alone are marching with united ranks, while all other parties present a picture of division and amorality, allying themselves here with these and there with those, but in all cases against our great Party, which has the honour to be the

In Communist and Workers' Parties

C.C. MEETING, COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

At a recent meeting in Brussels, the C.C. of the Communist Party of Belgium discussed a report on organisational questions given by Comrade René Beelen, Secretary of the C.C.

The meeting decided to convene a National Conference of the Party from March 31 to April 2 next year.

C.C. MEETING OF THE DANISH COMMUNIST PARTY

At its recent meeting the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark elected an Executive Committee of thirteen. Comrade Alfred Jensen was elected Deputy Chairman of the Party and Comrade Torkild Holst its Secretary. The Central Committee appointed Comrade Berge Houman as Administrator to deal with the affairs of the Party press and various business matters.

The meeting appointed the editorial board of the newspaper, *Land og Folk*, with Comrade Martin Nielsen as Chief Editor.

MEETING OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

At the beginning of December the National Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, meeting in Montevideo, analysed the political situation in the country, the characteristic feature of which is the intensified struggle of the workers, peasants and all working people for united action. It passed a resolution calling for increased efforts by the Party to help the working people to struggle for their rights. It also discussed a number of key questions raised at the XVth Party Congress, including that of the growth of the Party and the strengthening of its ranks by means of increased activity on the part of its members and the recruiting of new ones from among the workers and peasants, together with the question of raising the ideological level of all Party members.

A commission to draw up a new Party Programme was then appointed.

HOW WE ORGANISED AN AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE

The agricultural co-operative in Ripéc village, Sobeslav District, is one of the youngest in Czechoslovakia. It was founded last July on the initiative of our Party branch.

A great deal of painstaking work went into its organisation. Even at the beginning of the year our Party branch was taking the question seriously. It talked the matter over at Party meetings again and again, and there was much discussion of the various types of co-operatives. At last we unanimously agreed to set up a co-operative of the third type in our village.

Once the decision was taken we plunged into agitation work. We called general meetings of the working peasants which were addressed by members of our own committee and of the district Party committee. The speakers brought out, among

C.C. MEETING OF BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, meeting on December 6-7, heard the following reports:

1. On sharp reduction of costs in state and co-operative trade—by Comrade Rayko Damyanov, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C.

2. On the forthcoming elections of people's councils, of judges and jurors to people's courts, on the tasks of Party organisations in connection with these elections and on the further improvement of the work of people's councils—by Comrade Boris Taskov, Secretary of the C.C.

The Central Committee passed resolutions on both reports, which were later published.

MEETING OF C.C. OF MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held in Ulan-Bator between December 5 and 8, heard and discussed a report by Comrade Damba, First Secretary of the C.C., on improving the leadership by Party organisa-

tions of agricultural associations, depots for hiring out horses during the hay-making season and state farms. A comprehensive resolution covering these questions was adopted.

FOR ELIMINATING RIGHTIST MISTAKES FROM HUNGARIAN LITERATURE

Tarsadalmi Szemle, the theoretical journal of the C.C. of the Hungarian Working People's Party, has published a C.C. resolution on rightist manifestations in Hungarian literature.

The resolution notes the big role played by literature, which in the past ten years has proved itself a sharp and effective weapon in the struggle for a new life.

However, the resolution stresses, we have come up against phenomena in our literary life that jeopardise our further development and even our achievements to date. Only in a few works is the life of the working class depicted in a worthy manner. Very many poems, short stories and articles about the peasantry, reflect and uphold views typical of small proprietors. Some authors, Party members included, have forgotten that only by supporting the Party's aims can they contribute to the success of their people and produce notable works of literature. They have lost the perspective of Socialism; their confidence in the working class has begun to waver and they have fallen a prey to pessimism. All this they

presented as something "new", as a victory over schematic writing. They did not perceive how for schematism, for superficial depictions in which conflicts played no part, they substituted a bourgeois distortion of the new life and, whether they willed it or not, became the mouthpieces of the dying classes and the most backward views.

Some writers, like Tibor Dery, Zoltán Zelk and Tamas Aczel, reads the resolution, refused to accept the resolution of the March C.C. meeting or accepted it only for the sake of appearances. The more successfully the Party and the entire people eliminated rightist mistakes after the March C.C. meeting, the farther behind did those who had slipped into the mire of these mistakes fall and the deeper did they sink in it.

The resolution further notes that it is in the field of literature that right opportunism today manifests itself in its most dangerous, open and organised form. For that reason it is necessary to radically improve ideological, political and all other Party work among Communist writers and artists.

one-third of the total ploughland in the village.

In the first half of July we held a meeting at which we officially founded our agricultural co-operative and elected a co-operative board with Y. Backa, a middle peasant, as its chairman.

Since then our co-operative has fulfilled its grain delivery plan and set aside appropriate quantities for its seed and fodder funds. Immediately after the harvest was gathered in we ploughed up the field boundaries, took steps to improve the land and organised two field teams and a building team. The co-operative members successfully carried out the autumn work and the sowing campaign. At present a new cowshed for 100 head of cattle is

housing? On all these problems they voted throughout with the government in power. The most pernicious act of the outgoing National Assembly was the decision on the rearmament of Western Germany and its admission into the aggressive bloc directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. It was precisely Monsieur Mendès-France who set the final seal on the re-establishment of German militarism.

If we are to speak of the attitude towards colonial wars, the politicians of the infamous Republican Front upheld the brutal devastating war in Indo-China for a long time, and it was only our Party that opposed this war; the conclusion of the armistice in Viet Nam was not the achievement of Mendès-France; he merely registered an accomplished fact: it was the achievement of the Viet Nam people and also of the working class and other democrats who

* Comrade Maurice Thorez' election speech in Ivry, Seine, on December 10, 1955.

Tunisian Communist Party Newspapers Resume Legal Publication

Following the lifting of the state of siege as a result of the Franco-Tunisian agreements coming into force, the Tunisian Communist Party has again resumed legal publication of its central newspapers—

At-Taliáa (in the Arab language) and l'Avenir de la Tunisie (in French), both of which were banned in February 1952. In the leading article published in the first issue of the weekly l'Avenir de la

Tunisie, the paper pledges that it will further illuminate the path leading to the country's independence and loyally serve the people.

The World-Historic Significance of the First Russian Revolution

M. Mitin

This year the peoples of the Soviet Union, the working people of the countries of people's democracy and progressive people throughout the world are widely celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the First Russian Revolution, which was an event of world-historic significance.

The powerful revolutionary movement of 1905, which embraced the whole of Russia, was a mighty, historic development. It undermined the foundations of tsarist autocracy, dealt a grave blow to the rule of the landlords and capitalists and left its imprint on the entire course of subsequent Russian and world history.

The events in Russia proved irrefutably that a new chapter had opened in the history of Russia, in the history of all mankind, a chapter of deep-going class upheavals and revolutionary storms. The 1905-1907 revolution, the first powerful people's revolution of the era of imperialism, raised to a new level the struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries for their fundamental, vital interests; it exerted an exceedingly powerful influence on the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia.

Without the three years of great political battles and the immense revolutionary energy displayed in the course of them, pointed out V. I. Lenin in assessing the events of 1905-1907, the Russian working class and the millionfold masses of the peasantry could not have won such a speedy victory in the second Russian revolution, could not have arrived at the victorious October of 1917. "Without the general rehearsal of 1905", wrote Lenin, "the victory of the October Revolution of 1917 would have been impossible."

At the beginning of the twentieth century Russia was the nodal point of all the contradictions of imperialism. It was the seat of oppression of all kinds. The centre of the world revolutionary movement had shifted there. In Russia the conditions had ripened for a people's revolution unparalleled

led in the previous history of mankind and unprecedented in scale and sweep.

Marx and Engels had already brilliantly foreseen that the revolutionary centre would move to the east, to Russia. During a conversation with Lopatin, a Russian revolutionary, Engels said that the "revolutionary initiative in the new social transformation" would, legitimately and rightly, belong to Russia.

However, the concrete historical situation that had developed in Russia and throughout the world by the beginning of the twentieth century proved to have such specific peculiarities that it required a new creative understanding. Capitalism had passed into the imperialist stage of its development, but Russia was still faced with the unsolved tasks of the bourgeois revolution. The impending bourgeois revolution in Russia could not but be radically different from the previous bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In those revolutions the bourgeoisie, arising as a class, came forward as a progressive force, it led these revolutions, placed upon them the imprint of its interests and demands, and, depending upon the circumstances, fought more or less actively for the establishment of a new social order. The proletariat was still weak and insufficiently organised and did not have its own genuinely revolutionary party.

Matters were different in Russia. By the beginning of the twentieth century the working class there already represented an important force, it had accumulated substantial experience of class struggle. A militant, revolutionary Marxist party, headed by Lenin, the great continuer of the Marxist teaching, had arisen in Russia and was gaining in strength. The Russian bourgeoisie, on the other hand,

frightened by the powerful actions of the working class and being bound by many political and economic ties to tsarism and the landlord class, not only displayed no enthusiasm in the struggle against tsarism but sought to come to terms with it, being in mortal fear of the victory of the democratic revolution.

In these specific historical conditions, the working class inevitably and of necessity became the leader of the revolutionary struggle; while the multimillioned poverty-stricken peasantry, from being the reserve of the bourgeoisie (the role it usually played in former revolutions), became the reserve of the proletariat, its ally. In this lay the profound, objective basis of the alliance developing in Russia between two friendly classes, the working class and the peasantry.

Such was the historical situation in Russia on the eve of the revolution. But it required Lenin's great genius to thoroughly understand this specific situation and the tasks which consequently faced the workers' party. Lenin's genius was required to elaborate in all its aspects the idea of the hegemony of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, as one of the most important principles of revolutionary Marxism; to elaborate in all its aspects the thesis on the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. It required Lenin's genius to create a new theory of socialist revolution.

Two approaches, two lines of developing the struggle against tsarism emerged sharply in the working-class movement of Russia during the 1905-1907 revolution.

The Bolsheviks proceeded from the necessity of developing the people's revolution to the utmost, of establishing a united front of all genuinely democratic forces in the revolutionary struggle. Their line was aimed at isolating the conciliating liberal bourgeoisie, at strengthening the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. They

HOW WE ORGANISED AN AGRICULTURAL

The agricultural co-operative in Ripeč village, Sobeslav District, is one of the youngest in Czechoslovakia. It was founded last July on the initiative of our Party branch.

A great deal of painstaking work went into its organisation. Even at the beginning of the year our Party branch was taking the question seriously. It talked the matter over at Party meetings again and again, and there was much discussion of the various types of co-operatives. At last we unanimously agreed to set up a co-operative of the third type in our village.

Once the decision was taken we plunged into agitation work. We called general meetings of the working peasants which were addressed by members of our own committee and of the district Party committee. The speakers brought out convincing arguments in favour of co-operatives and spoke about the life of leading co-operatives in the district and region. The workers of the Lada factory in Sobeslav—who have assumed patronage over us—helped us immensely with our agitation work. In the evenings and on Sundays agitators from the factory would join our own agitators in visiting the peasants, explaining the advantages of co-operative farming to them in detail and answering their numerous questions. In our talks with the peasants we did not gloss over the difficulties some of the already existing co-operatives were encountering. Our agitators pointed out that it was up to people

themselves, the members of the co-operatives, to eliminate any shortcomings. While we were busy the class enemies did not sit idle either. They did everything they could to frustrate the work of the agitators. As a result, it often happened that a peasant who had agreed to join the co-operative one day would not even want to talk with the agitator the next. But this did not discourage us. Despite all setbacks, we went to the peasants with advice and suggestions again and again. In June the ice broke at the co-operative. The first applications for membership were handed in by Party members. Our agitators made the rounds of the peasants once again. To begin with only ten families joined.

After that the Party branch arranged a trip for the peasants of our village to the Maršov, Cenkov and Vetrov farms—leading agricultural co-operatives in the Tabor region. There the peasants were able to see the advantages of collective farming for themselves. They thoroughly inspected the co-operative cowsheds, pigsties, poultry yards, barns and fields. In this manner they gradually lost their distrust of the idea of a co-operative. Those who went on the trip subsequently became ardent propagandists for collective forms of labour.

By its persistent and purposeful work our Party organisation succeeded in drawing 23 families into the co-operative. They cultivated 230 hectares of land, just about

one-third of the total village.

In the first half of July we held a meeting at which we officially founded our agricultural co-operative and elected a co-operative board with Y. Backa, a middle peasant, as its chairman.

Since then our co-operative has fulfilled its grain delivery plan and set aside appropriate quantities for its seed and for its funds. Immediately after the harvest gathered in we ploughed up the land boundaries, took steps to improve the land and organised two field teams and a building team. The co-operative members successfully carried out the autumn work and the sowing campaign. At present a new cowshed for 100 head of cattle is under construction and pigsties have been prepared for the winter. Every month the co-operative members work with increased vigour.

Our Party branch realises that its work has not ended with the foundation of the co-operative, but on the contrary is only just beginning. So far, we have only laid the foundations of our co-operative. Now we are exerting all our efforts to strengthen it economically, organisationally and politically and to draw the rest of the peasants in our village into it.

Vaclav LUDIKAR
Chairman, Ripeč village branch,
Czechoslovak Communist Party

actively fought to establish an alliance between the working class and the peasantry. They steered their course towards setting up, as the result of a popular uprising, a provisional, revolutionary government of representatives of the workers and peasants, towards bringing the revolution to a victorious conclusion, developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

The Mensheviks, for their part, upheld the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie in the revolution. They were opposed to the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, rejected the task of establishing an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, sought in all ways to hold the people's movement in check and to direct it into a channel of "legality", "organisation", "parliamentary forms" and were against an armed uprising. And when this uprising did take place, the Mensheviks disgracefully declared, through Plekhanov, that "they should not have taken up arms".

The entire march of events, everything that took place during the first revolution and during the subsequent developments in Russia and the whole world, revealed to an ever-greater degree the grandness, boldness and profundity of the Leninist plan, its genuinely world-historic significance, the eagle-like flight of Lenin's thought and, at the same time, the utter perniciousness, worthlessness and extreme harmfulness of the Menshevik line in the revolution.

Lenin taught that the consciousness of the revolutionary classes is one of those forces which, playing a great role in the struggle, are capable of leading them to victory. What Lenin did to discern the tasks of the proletariat party in the revolution ranks among the greatest treasures of Marxist science.

With his wise and analytical mind, Lenin penetrated into the very depths of the social life of Russia, revealed laws governing the class struggle, explained the meaning of the events being brought about by the actions of the millionfold masses of Russia. This was an unprecedented test of the power of the Marxist dialectical method, all the more since the test took place under actual conditions of revolutionary battles. And the test showed that it was Lenin, the leader of the Russian revolution, the leader of the broad masses on the march, who was the real, constructive continuer of the teaching of Marx and Engels in the new historical era.

The important specific feature of the Russian revolution was that while in content a bourgeois-democratic revolution, in the methods of its struggle it was a proletarian one.

The new features of the bourgeois-democratic revolution revealed by Lenin were fully and widely developed not only in Russia between 1905 and 1907, but in the subsequent revolutions in many European and Asian countries. The character of bourgeois-democratic revolutions changed particularly after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the present era one can speak only of the new type of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. These are no longer the revolutions of the old type, led by the bourgeoisie and having as their aim the establishment and consolidation of the capitalist system; these are already the revolutions of the new type, led by the proletariat and having as their aim the establishment of people's-democratic states.

Lenin noted that the Russian revolution of 1905 was a proletarian one, not only in the sense that in it the proletariat was the leading force, but also in that the specifically proletarian means of struggle, namely, the strike, constituted "the principal instrument employed for rousing the masses and the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave-like rise of decisive events".

The specific proletarian means and form of struggle—the strike—was used most vigorously and forcefully by the Russian proletariat during the 1905 revolution.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905 revealed, as was pointed out by Lenin, an extraordinarily original turn in world history: it was in one of the relatively backward capitalist countries that the strike movement first attained such unprecedented scope and force.

Lenin, as we know, regarded the armed uprising which began on December 22, 1905, as the peak of the revolutionary developments of 1905. This revolutionary uprising against tsarism, he noted, was maturing not only as an idea in the minds of the revolutionaries, but also as an inevitable, natural step of the popular movement itself, as a result of the mass strike struggle of the working class, a struggle which resulted in the combination of strikes with armed actions by the workers.

December 1905 was the month when all the forms of the revolutionary struggle of

the people reached their zenith. Whereas in January of that year there were only 123,000 workers involved in purely political strikes in Russia, in October there were 330,000 and in December the maximum—370,000—was reached.

On the other hand, the substantial survivals of the corvée system, the onerous oppression by the landlords and the unprecedented impoverishment and ruin of the peasant masses were the deep sources of the revolutionary peasant movement in Russia. By the autumn of 1905 the peasant movement had also reached great dimensions. Over one-third of the uyezds (rural districts) throughout the country were affected by "peasant riots" and actual peasant uprisings. The peasants burnt down no less than two thousand mansions belonging to the landlords and shared out among themselves the means of life wrested from the people by the predatory nobility.

"Unfortunately", wrote Lenin, "this work was not done with sufficient thoroughness! Unfortunately, the peasants destroyed only one-fifteenth of the total number of noble men's estates, only a fifteenth part of what they should have destroyed in order to wipe out completely the shame of big feudal landownership from the face of Russia. Unfortunately the peasants' actions were too scattered, too unorganised, not sufficiently aggressive, and that was one of the fundamental causes of the defeat of the revolution."

In his earliest works and speeches Lenin had already expressed the great idea of a worker-peasant alliance, but he developed it thoroughly during the revolution of 1905. He disclosed the profound objective foundations of this alliance, and the Bolshevik Party which he led spared no effort to establish and consolidate it.

Later, analysing the revolutionary events of 1905, Lenin wrote: "The alliance of forces of the proletariat and the peasantry was not 'merely an idea' and was not 'just beginning to find practical expression', but it characterised the entire first period of the Russian revolution, all the great events of 1905-1907. The October strike and the December uprising... the peasant uprisings in the localities and the mutinies of soldiers and sailors were precisely the 'alliance of forces' of the proletariat and the peasantry. This alliance was spontaneous, had not taken definite shape, and frequently lacked awareness. These forces were not sufficiently organised, they were scattered

(Continued on page 5)

Participation of Party Organisations and Factory Personnel in Drawing up Poland's Five-Year Plan

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party has adopted a resolution on the participation of Party branches and factory personnel in drafting five-year plans for industrial enterprises.

Noting that in drawing up a Five-Year Plan (1956-1960) for the economic development of Poland it is necessary to draw on the experience of the broad masses of the working class and the working intelligentsia, the C.C. stresses that active participation of Party branches in the drafting of the plans for their enterprises will make it easier to bring to light and utilise production reserves and will make it possible to enhance the role of the Party organisations in the factories and their responsibility for production and plan fulfilment.

Active participation of factory and office workers in drawing up economic plans will help to strengthen the ties between the working people and their government, will make the working people more keenly aware of the fact that they are the masters of their country and will stimulate mass activity in the effort to solve economic problems.

The new method of drawing up economic plans is of great political and economic significance. Until now the plans for industrial enterprises were prepared without Party, trade union and economic activists being drawn in to a sufficient extent; the Party branches and workers did not critically analyse and evaluate such matters as whether existing reserves were being drawn on for raising labour productivity and stepping up output, whether the output potentialities of the enterprises were properly taken into consideration in the plan, etc.

The resolution notes that all the main industrial, railway and shipping enterprises must draw up and discuss drafts of their five-year plans by March 1, 1956. This work must be done on the basis of the material elaborated by the Ministries and central boards in accordance with the general drafts of the Five-Year Plan.

In drafting five-year plans for industrial enterprises attention must be centred chiefly on such questions as the selection of the right direction and the establishment of the right rates of development for the given enterprise and its production; the establishment of the correct and most effective indices for the output of basic products; the direction in which the enterprise is to specialise; technical progress; improvement of safety measures and labour hygiene; labour productivity and the number of employees. The guiding aim must be to achieve maximum output and labour productivity,

while keeping the cost of production and capital investment at the lowest possible level.

Much attention is given in the resolution to matters of technical progress, to the introduction of new machinery, to the improvement of the organisation of labour and the technology of production and also to the mechanisation and automation of production processes and mastery of the production of new types of goods, and to the improvement of working conditions, particularly safety measures and labour hygiene.

During discussions of five-year plan drafts the Ministries, boards, Party and trade union organisations and their various bodies must give special attention to new, recently built enterprises and to those now being built or expanded.

The resolution recommends that factory and shop committees be formed to draw up the drafts and that special public technical commissions co-operate with the main technical organisation of the factory in working out specific problems and, in particular, problems of the factory's technical progress.

Making it obligatory for the regional, district and city committees of the Party to give maximum help to factory committees and Party branches in working out draft plans and conducting discussions in the enterprises, the C.C. of the PUPP points out:

While working on the draft plans Party and trade union organisations must launch a wide political campaign among the workers to explain the purpose of the discussion and elaboration of plans in the factories; while working on the drafts and in the course of discussion they must create an atmosphere of sincere, frank and bold criticism, of businesslike exchange of views, an atmosphere in keeping with the spirit of the C.C. resolution.

The publication of this resolution has evoked a lively response among the Polish working people. Factory workers and Party organisations are preparing to discuss their draft five-year plans. In the state wagon-building works in Wroclaw, Party shop branches are holding open meetings at which Party and non-party workers, technicians and engineers are familiarising themselves with the C.C. resolution. All its employees are actively preparing for a general discussion of the draft five-year plan for the works, with the main points of which the Party organisation is acquainting them. In the Opole Region, Party activists and business executives have held a conference on the subject.

Second Congress of Italy-USSR Association

The Second Congress of the Italy-USSR Association, held in Rome, reviewed the Association's past work and celebrated the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The messages of greeting received from Leone and Merzagota, Chairmen of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate respectively, and from the Minister of Public Education, and from La Pira, Mayor of Florence, the attendance of many political figures, of Arangio-Oliveri, Chairman of Accademia dei Lincei,

The General Secretary of the Association, Deputy Orazio Barbieri, reported on the work of the Association and its tasks in promoting Italian-Soviet relations. Following this report, university professors, historians, scientists, workers, artists, businessmen, heads of big tailoring establishments, etc., spoke from the rostrum. All were in favour of extending cultural and trade relations with the Soviet Union.

The congress was attended by 450 delegates, including a thousand visitors includ-

Appeal of Bureau of World Peace Council

Some days ago the Bureau of the World Peace Council met in Helsinki and adopted the following appeal:

Appeal

The heads of government of the Four Powers recognised at Geneva that international differences could be settled by negotiation. They recognised that threats and the use of force must be rejected. Their agreement was the result of the effective will of the peoples. It engendered the Geneva spirit.

The problems referred for examination to the Foreign Ministers' Conference could have been solved in this spirit. The Conference did not accomplish the tasks set by the heads of government and did not justify the hopes of the peoples. The arms race, which is continuing despite the relaxation of tension in international relations, is the main obstacle to the success of talks between the Four Great Powers.

Yet agreement which would mark the beginning of disarmament remains a possibility. This has been shown by the proceedings of the United Nations commission. Such agreement would envisage the reduction of armaments, the obligation not to use nuclear weapons, a ban on testing nuclear weapons and effective control over the implementation of these measures. Various methods of control over armaments have been suggested. These methods could be applied to the initial disarmament measures.

The hope for disarmament cannot be killed in the hearts of people. They know that they can lead a tranquil life, that scientific discoveries can free them from the sinister spectre of poverty and hunger and secure them better living conditions.

The Bureau of the World Peace Council calls upon men and women of all countries to act and to take various measures to halt the arms drive and bring about initial agreements on the reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons.

In order to provide a forum for various views and an opportunity of exerting all efforts, the Bureau is convening, from April 5 to April 9, 1956, a special session of the World Peace Council to discuss the problems of disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The Bureau of the World Peace Council extends an invitation to attend the session and express their opinions and proposals to all those who are alarmed by the arms race and who want to put an end to it: to national and international organisations and movements and scientists who can make a special contribution to a solution of those problems, to working people upon whose shoulders the burden of armaments weighs so heavily, to all those who denounce war because of their religious or moral principles.

Every step along the road of reducing armaments will make it possible to take new measures for disarmament. Every step along this road will help to restore confidence and settle controversial issues. Every step along this road will bring nearer the hour when peaceful co-operation between all countries and brotherhood between all peoples will have replaced distrust and fear.

Bureau of the World Peace Council

Helsinki, December 13, 1955

More Tractors in Korean People's Democratic Republic

The machine-hire stations of the KPDR

EXPERIENCE OF PARTY WORK

STRENGTHENING OF DISTRICT COMMITTEES IN THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

★
Boris Velchev

Alternate Member, Central Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party

★ ★

of the work to carry out the Conference decisions. It was pointed out that the main defect in the work of district and city committees was that they were not sufficiently capable of checking up on the fulfilment of decisions adopted, that they did not always carry out to the full the measures outlined and achieve complete unity between words and deeds.

The meeting stressed that the keynote of the day-to-day organisational work of Party committees to fulfil decisions should be one of relentless struggle against liberalism and formalism, of great exactingness, a greater sense of personal responsibility for the job assigned, strict observance of Party and state discipline, an unshakable, uncompromising attitude towards shortcomings, and Bolshevik inflexibility in overcoming obstacles on the path towards the goal.

In the past few years a tremendous amount has been done to introduce a number of other main features of the Leninist style of leadership. For instance, the Central Committee has been making great efforts to secure enhanced vigilance within the Party, correct selection and allocation of cadres, widespread development of criticism and self-criticism, promotion of collective leadership in the work of Party committees and the strengthening of the links between the Party and the working people. Substantial progress has been made in this respect.

The decisions and instructions of the Central Committee in relation to the Leninist style of leadership are studied by all workers on district committees.

At schools and seminars organised for them by the regional committees, secretaries of district committees study political economy and the histories of the CPSU and the Bulgarian Communist Party. The main questions of Party organisation and the development of agriculture and industry are also examined and the rich experience of the CPSU is studied.

Most of the district committees organise courses and seminars for their workers. The Vidin District Party Committee has been doing this rather well; at the seminars lectures are read on agricultural planning, and on new achievements in stock-breeding; instructors or secretaries of Party organisations arrange for the exchange of positive experiences in their work. Lectures and seminars are combined with visits to the livestock research centre in the town, to model co-operatives, specialised farms and so forth. Seminars on the same lines are run by the district committees of Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Kirdzhali and Aitos.

Some Party committee functionaries study at Party evening schools or by correspondence course with establishments of higher learning. Comrades who are not so strong on theoretical knowledge attend groups studying the history of the CPSU and the history of the CPB. Many leading functionaries of district committees are in charge of tutors' seminars or are themselves tutors.

Numerous Party functionaries are sent annually to schools attached to the C.C. of the CPB; 53.7% of the secretaries of district Party committees have already graduated from the higher or one-year

the course of their practical work and to giving them assistance. With this object in view, efforts are being made to improve the organisation of work in regional committees and the C.C. apparatus, to improve the check-up on decisions and the assistance given, particularly that given on the spot. Other forms of check-up and help are used too, as, for instance, hearing reports from district committees, calling conferences and holding talks with individual workers in these committees, etc.

The regional committees and the Central Committee give special attention to weak district committees and take measures to reinforce them; more experienced cadres are assigned to them, teams of trained Party functionaries study their work and advise them how to improve it; some of the best regional committee functionaries are attached to district committees for the purpose of rendering them day-to-day help, etc. Thus, as a result of measures taken in 1954, 15 district committees have been strengthened and are now working well.

Owing to all these measures the district committees have some good results to show for their work now, particularly in directing agriculture.

The Party district committee in Chirpan is giving good leadership in agricultural work. Last year it looked into a number of the chief problems connected with the development of agriculture in the district and discussed the state of animal husbandry at two of its meetings. In conformity with one of its decisions, 36 specialists were assigned to work in the co-operatives; Party organisations sent 308 Communists and 220 members of the Dimitrov People's Youth Union to work on stock-breeding farms, with resulting improvements in the work of these farms. The district committee bureau systematically checks up on decisions taken. Before the end of one agricultural campaign, the bureau begins preparing for the next one. The district committees in Svilengrad, Asenovgrad, Polyanovgrad, Yambol, Svistov and Tirnovo work more or less on the same lines.

Notwithstanding the progress achieved, the organisational work of district committees is still not up to the tasks set.

The January meeting of the C.C. of the CPB outlined measures for the further development of agriculture and, utilising the experience of the CPSU, decided to reorganise the apparatus of Party district committees. Groups of instructors, with the district committee secretary at their head, were set up under each district committee. These groups are responsible for the work of the Party branches, co-operatives and machine and tractor stations in the zone to which they are attached. With a view to carrying out this decision by May, 2,437 people have been sent to reinforce district committees and to work in the countryside.

This reorganisation has already yielded some positive results. But it is merely a good beginning. Some district committees deal with the main agricultural questions in too general a way, not all of them study the economic potentialities of individual co-operatives thoroughly. Many district committees do not make a sufficiently detailed study of advanced agricultural experience and do not do enough to disseminate it; their efforts to disclose all the potentialities for developing the co-operatives are inadequate. Many secretaries and instructors of the district committees do not go into the methods of work of local state, economic and Party functionaries and, instead of teaching and helping them from day to day in a number of

right rates of development for the given enterprise and its production; the establishment of the correct and most effective indices for the output of basic products; the direction in which the enterprise is to specialise; technical progress; improvement of safety measures and labour hygiene; labour productivity and the number of employees. The guiding aim must be to achieve maximum output and labour productivity.

Second Congress of Italy-USSR Association

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The congress was opened by Eugenio Garin, Professor of Philosophy at Florence University.

works in Wroclaw. Party shop branches are holding open meetings at which Party and non-party workers, technicians and engineers are familiarising themselves with the C.C. resolution. All its employees are actively preparing for a general discussion of the draft five-year plan for the works, with the main points of which the Party organisation is acquainting them. In the Opole Region, Party activists and business executives have held a conference on the subject.

The General Secretary of the Association, Deputy Orazio Barbieri, reported on the work of the Association and its tasks in promoting Italian-Soviet relations. Following this report, university professors, historians, scientists, workers, artists, businessmen, heads of big tailoring establishments, etc., spoke from the rostrum. All were in favour of extending cultural and trade relations with the Soviet Union.

The congress was attended by 450 delegates and over a thousand visitors, including a Soviet delegation headed by the writer Konstantin Simonov who expressed a desire for the further strengthening of ties between the two countries.

While the congress was being held, people prominent in the cultural world met together and among other matters also discussed numerous questions concerning the extension of relations with the USSR.

and express their opinions and proposals to all those who are alarmed by the arms race and who want to put an end to it: to national and international organisations and movements and scientists who can make a special contribution to a solution of those problems, to working people upon whose shoulders the burden of armaments weighs so heavily, to all those who denounce war because of their religious or moral principles.

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Bureau of the World Peace Council

Helsinki, December 13, 1955

More Tractors in Korean People's Democratic Republic

The machine-hire stations of the KPDR now have several times as many tractors as they had at the end of last year! This year, according to the figures available on December 5, tractors were used in the cultivation of 340,000 tenbos (1 tenbo=0.9 hectare) of land belonging to agricultural co-operatives and individual peasants, i.e. twice as much as last year.

secretaries are also very revealing: 41.05% are of working-class origin. All of them have been in the Party for a minimum of nine years, 62.2% from 10 to 20 years and 11.5% from 20 to 28 years; 22.2% were partisans, 21.05% sheltered partisans and 46.2% suffered in fascist prisons or concentration camps; 62% have incomplete or complete secondary education, 22.3% incomplete or complete higher education and only 15.7% primary or seven-year education.

These figures show first of all that there is a solid working-class core among the first secretaries and that most of them are people with considerable revolutionary and Party experience, people who have been tempered in the bitter struggle against monarcho-fascism and who now have every opportunity of successfully mastering Marxism-Leninism.

Proceeding from actual conditions and from the tasks which each stage of socialist construction brings with it, the Central Committee constantly elaborates questions relating to the Leninist style of work.

The resolutions of the Third Party Conference, held in 1950, and the subsequent meetings of the C.C. have been of especial importance in this connection, as have speeches made by Comrade Vylko Chervenkov.

The Third Party Conference, for instance, mapped out a comprehensive programme of measures to ensure that the main features of the Leninist style of leadership are mastered.

Two years after the Third Party Conference a C.C. meeting reviewed the results

of the CPSU is studied. Most of the district committees organise courses and seminars for their workers. The Vidin District Party Committee has been doing this rather well; at the seminars lectures are read on agricultural planning, and on new achievements in stock-breeding; instructors or secretaries of Party organisations arrange for the exchange of positive experiences in their work. Lectures and seminars are combined with visits to the livestock research centre in the town, to model co-operatives, specialised farms and so forth. Seminars on the same lines are run by the district committees of Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Kirdzhali and Aitos.

Some Party committee functionaries study at Party evening schools or by correspondence course with establishments of higher learning. Comrades who are not so strong on theoretical knowledge attend groups studying the history of the CPSU and the history of the CPB. Many leading functionaries of district committees are in charge of tutors' seminars or are themselves tutors.

Numerous Party functionaries are sent annually to schools attached to the C.C. of the CPB; 53.7% of the secretaries of district Party committees have already graduated from the higher or one-year schools attached to the C.C. This study year 80 district committee secretaries are first course students at the higher Party school and 29 are studying by correspondence course.

A great deal of attention is given to training district committee functionaries in

the CPB outlined measures for the further development of agriculture and, utilising the experience of the CPSU, decided to reorganise the apparatus of Party district committees. Groups of instructors, with the district committee secretary at their head, were set up under each district committee. These groups are responsible for the work of the Party branches, co-operatives and machine and tractor stations in the zone to which they are attached. With a view to carrying out this decision by May, 2,437 people have been sent to reinforce district committees and to work in the countryside.

This reorganisation has already yielded some positive results. But it is merely a good beginning. Some district committees deal with the main agricultural questions in too general a way, not all of them study the economic potentialities of individual co-operatives thoroughly. Many district committees do not make a sufficiently detailed study of advanced agricultural experience and do not do enough to disseminate it; their efforts to disclose all the potentialities for developing the co-operatives are inadequate. Many secretaries and instructors of the district committees do not go into the methods of work of local state, economic and Party functionaries and, instead of teaching and helping them from day to day, in a number of cases do the work for them. In some districts no constant political work is carried on to ensure the fulfilment of economic tasks.

There is prolonged and arduous work ahead to reorganise the district committees' methods of work, to bring about an all-round improvement in their activity.

(Continued from page 4)

deprived of a real guiding centre and so on; but the fact of the 'alliance of forces' of the proletariat and the peasantry, as the chief forces that had made a breach in the old autocracy, was indisputable. Without realising this fact, one can understand nothing of the 'results' of the Russian revolution."

All subsequent events, especially the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, have shown how important and of what enduring significance Lenin's conception of the worker-peasant alliance is. This alliance proved to be the decisive factor in the conquest of power by the working people, in building a socialist society in the USSR and in the successful advance towards Communism.

The Soviet Union's experience in building and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance is taken into account, in all its aspects, by the international proletariat and its Communist and Workers' Parties. The worker-peasant alliance has developed and taken shape as the indestructible basis of the state in the European and Asian People's Democracies. The alliance of working people of town and countryside is also taking shape in the countries where the exploiting classes are still in power. The more actively and the better the Communist Parties work to build this alliance, the nearer becomes the liberation of the masses.

During the 1905 revolution there emerged a splendid new form of proletarian struggle—the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

The Soviets of Workers' Deputies developed in the period of the widespread and powerful strike movement. They emerged from the strike battles of the proletariat, as an expression of the broadest initiative and activity of the working class.

The historic service of Lenin lies in the fact that with the foresight of genius he immediately grasped that something very important, something new, had been born, an organisation which was and would be of tremendous, world-historic importance. Early in November 1905 he wrote that "the Soviet of Workers' Deputies should be regarded as the embryo of the provisional revolutionary government".

Of especial importance is Lenin's teaching on the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into the socialist revolution. This theory smashed to smithereens all the old

ideas of the West European and Russian Mensheviks, for, according to these conceptions, a long period (lasting 50 or 100 years) of social peace and tranquillity had to elapse between the victory of the bourgeois revolution and the ripening of socialist revolution. Lenin did not set up a Chinese wall between the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian revolutions; he regarded them as links of one and the same revolutionary chain, as two stages of one and the same revolutionary process, under which the first revolution prepares and develops into the second, while the second completes and confirms the first.

This dialectical approach to the question of the relationship between bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions arose from the conditions of the new epoch—the epoch of imperialism—when the task of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie became an immediate one.

Thus, elaborating the strategy and tactics of the proletariat party in the course of revolutionary battles, Lenin enriched Marxism with a new theory of revolution and laid the foundations of the tactics which guided the Communist Party to victory in 1917.

The strategic and tactical principles of Bolshevism as worked out by Lenin underwent a profound historic test. Their correctness and vitality were confirmed by the three Russian revolutions, by the entire experience of the international revolutionary movement. Lenin's ideas on the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution became part of the treasure-house of the world Communist movement. They have enriched Marxist science and been used creatively by the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy. Postwar events in People's China, in a number of countries of Central and South-East Europe are the living confirmation of this Leninist theory, its realisation in practice.

The first Russian revolution played a great part and had a considerable impact on the development of the revolutionary movement in the European and Asian countries. Its revolutionary experience was widely taken up and applied by the liberation movement on a world scale. The sweep

of the revolutionary struggle of the working class of Russia, its heroism and valour, the new forms of class struggle—all this left a deep imprint on the working-class struggle in Western Europe. By the beginning of the twentieth century, conditions for revolutionary action by the masses had matured, and the class struggle had sharpened in the countries of Europe and Asia. In these circumstances the events of the Russian revolution of 1905 found fertile soil. Influenced by the thunderclaps of the Russian revolutionary storm, workers in many European countries demonstrated in city streets, organising strikes, building barricades and using "Russian methods" of struggle.

On the very day after Bloody Sunday—January 22, 1905—a wave of mass meetings of workers to protest against the brutal massacre in St. Petersburg swept Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary and Czechia.

The German working class widely responded to the revolutionary events of 1905 in Russia. A big strike of miners broke out in the Ruhr; by February 9 of that year 220,000 out of a total of 268,000 miners were involved.

The call issued by Karl Liebknecht, who characterised the German miners' strike of 1905 as the beginning of a period of large-scale mass battles, during which the German proletariat had to "speak Russian fashion" to their masters, was wholeheartedly approved by the workers.

In his statements Liebknecht stressed that the revolutionary events in Russia "represented a turning point in the destinies of the peoples of Europe... Freedom coming to Russia also means freedom for Prussia, Saxony and Germany. The Russian revolution is our cause, while reaction is that of the tsar and the Prussian government. German social democracy is in unity with the Russian proletariat; its freedom is our freedom too. Therefore—down with tsarism which has stained itself with blood! Long live the Russian revolution!"

On January 17, 1906, the Hamburg workers held the first mass political strike in Germany, combining it with powerful demonstrations in the streets. Despite the fact that the police used weapons against the workers, causing bloodshed, Hamburg was actually in the hands of the workers

on that day. The January 1906 strike in Hamburg marked the highest point of the struggle of the German working class in the years of the first Russian revolution.

The first Russian revolution had deep-going repercussions on the life of the Austrian working class. At rallies and meetings the Vienna workers expressed their wish "to follow the example of their Russian comrades".

The autumn of 1905 saw a new upsurge in the development of the revolutionary movement in Austria, connected with the fight for the democratisation of the country's political system. It was particularly strengthened by the influence of the October general strike in Russia. The news that the Russian people had wrung a constitutional manifesto from the tsar played a decisive role in the final victory of universal suffrage in Austria. The December armed uprising in Moscow caused a new upsurge of revolutionary ferment in Austria.

The Hungarian proletariat enthusiastically greeted the Russian revolution. The newspaper Nepszava wrote in April 1905: "Perhaps there is not a single West European country whose working class has in recent years displayed such revolutionary energy as the oppressed masses of Hungary in their attempt to make up for lost time. Perhaps there is no country other than Russia where the earth trembled to such a degree..."

The news of the beginning of the Russian revolution stirred the peoples of Czechia, Rumania and Bulgaria. A sharp rise in the revolutionary movement of Czechia began after the sailors' uprising on the battleship "Potemkin". Clashes between workers and police occurred in Prague; the troops began to take the side of the people. In connection with a Prague strike leaflets were circulated bearing the direct call: "Workers, citizens, take up arms! Long live the revolution!"

In France a widespread popular movement of solidarity with the Russian people and the Russian revolution developed from the very outset. In the vanguard of this movement marched the Parisian workers, who addressed a manifesto to the Russian workers.

The best representatives of the French people acclaimed the Russian revolution with enthusiasm. Anatole France, who head-

ed the Society of Friends of the Russian People, made impassioned speeches at mass meetings and rallies. In his speech of December 16, 1905, he said that whatever the outcome of that great and terrible struggle, "the Russian revolutionaries had decisively influenced the destinies of their own country and of the whole world. The Russian revolution is a world-wide revolution." "On the banks of the Neva, the Vistula and the Volga", he continued, "that is where the destinies of a new Europe and the future of mankind are now being decided."

Across Italy there swept a mighty wave of meetings and demonstrations in which the working people voiced their solidarity with the Russian proletariat. In 1905 Italian workers, peasants, Socialists turned their eyes towards Russia whose sky was alight with a conflagration of immense revolutionary power. Evaluating the influence of the first Russian revolution the Italian Communist Party journal *Rinascita* (No. 7-8 for 1955) writes that it had "fired, as never before, the hopes of the working people for Socialism and, smashing reformist routine, dealt the first mortal blow to the illusion that Socialism could rise peacefully out of the depths of capitalist society".

The influence of the Russian revolution on the revolutionary movement in Western Europe may thus be summarised as follows:

1. Under the direct impact of the events in Russia the whole of Europe was swept by a great wave of strikes, accompanied by political demands, mass demonstrations and armed clashes. This indicated that the "peaceful" period had come to an end in Europe and that the working class was proceeding from purely parliamentary, legal forms of struggle to direct revolutionary mass action. Under the direct impact of the Russian revolution the working-class movement in the capitalist countries rose to a new and higher level.

2. The Russian revolution had a strong influence upon the state of affairs in the Second International and upon the West European Socialist parties. It will be remembered that the Second International, as regards its main leaders, did not measure up in the matter of understanding the revolution of 1905. It will also be remembered that both on the eve of the revolution

and in the course of the revolutionary events the Russian Mensheviks repeatedly sought to justify their struggle against Lenin, against the Bolsheviks, on the basis of the stand of the Second International and its leaders. However, under the impact of the mass revolutionary battles in Russia, under the direct influence of the great power of Lenin's ideas, left wings began to take shape in the European Social Democratic parties. All this testified to the serious processes of differentiation that had begun in the West European Social Democratic parties, which by this time were already thoroughly corroded by the rust of opportunism. These were grave symptoms of a coming split in the Social Democratic parties and of the formation in future of genuinely revolutionary, Marxist parties in all countries.

3. Frightened by the broad response the Russian revolution evoked among the masses, counter-revolution throughout Europe rendered tsardom every assistance in its struggle against the revolutionary movement. International imperialist reaction gave the tsar substantial financial aid. Acting in collusion with tsarism; German and Austrian military forces were preparing to invade Russia if the revolution developed victoriously. The Russian revolution thus immediately found itself faced with a serious international enemy—European reaction. But that only enhanced the significance of the fact that it also had an international friend and ally—the socialist proletariat of Europe.

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The world-historic significance of the Russian revolution of 1905 was most strongly apparent in the events in the East. "World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905", Lenin wrote, "completely awakened Asia. Hundreds of millions of downtrodden people who had been mouldering in medieval stagnation awoke to a new life and to struggle for man's elementary rights, for democracy."

Particularly powerful was the influence of the Russian revolution on the Asian countries, because the entire course of their previous development had by the beginning of the 20th century thoroughly prepared them for an upsurge of the national liberation struggle against colonial oppression. More than any earlier one, the Russian

(Continued on page 6)