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***For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,  
No. 25 (293), Friday, June 18, 1954.***

## INTRODUCTION;

1. In June 1954, following the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ), the party launched a significant push to overcome agricultural stagnation by intensifying the socialist transformation of the countryside and boosting production. The plan aimed to address severe food shortages and failures to meet production targets in 1953 and 1954

Key aspects of the 1954–1956 agricultural plan included:

**Acceleration of Collectivization:** The primary goal was to strengthen and expand the "socialist sector" (collective farms or JZD - *Jednotná zemědělská družstva*) to ensure their absolute predominance in agriculture.

**Focus on Large-Scale Production:** The state pushed for merging small, private plots into massive, cooperative fields to emulate Soviet-style industrial farming.

**Increased Investment in Machinery:** To overcome labor shortages caused by workers moving to urban industry, the plan included **massive state investments in agricultural machinery** (tractors, combine harvesters) and technology.

**Support for Cooperatives:** The government provided subsidies and favorable loans to established collective farms.

**Increased Production Targets:** The regime aimed to increase output, specifically targeting higher yields in grain and meat to stabilize food supplies

This effort was part of the **"New Course"** economic policy, which briefly allowed some concessions to private farmers while intensifying pressure on them to join cooperatives. Despite these efforts, the 1954 plan struggled with low productivity and resistance from farmers in the following years

## 2. FROM "TENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ENDS ITS WORK"

Comrade Viliam Siroky spoke on the third item on the agenda "Directives for the plan for developing the national economy in 1955 and **the short-term plan for a substantial advance of agricultural production within the next 2 or 3 years**";

**the short-term plan for a substantial advance of agricultural production within the next 2 or 3 years**

## 3. FROM "REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO TENTH PARTY CONGRESS, AND FURTHER TASKS OF THE PARTY

Antonin Novotny, First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia"

**The output of consumer goods during this period went up 79.8 per cent. The fact that we have mainly concentrated on production of the means of**

production has made possible the rapid development of all branches of our national economy.

During the course of the Five-Year Plan, the structure of our industry and the entire national economy radically changed. However, notwithstanding all this, we have not yet eliminated from our national economy the disproportions inherited from capitalist Czechoslovakia, nor have we got rid of the disproportions which arose during the construction period resulting from the fact that we did not sufficiently observe the requirements of the law of planned proportionate development of the national economy.

The Central Committee is submitting for the consideration of the Tenth Congress draft directives on the elaboration of the state plan for developing the national economy in 1955 and draft directives for substantially increasing agricultural production within the next 2 to 3 years.

In just the same way as the state plan for 1954, these drafts have as their aim the elimination of the disproportions in industry and the disproportion between industry and agriculture with the object of creating the prerequisites for the even development of the national economy in the years to come.

State capital investments will be directed, primarily, at further advancing agricultural production, expanding the raw material and power base and developing housing

The rate of producing the means of production and that of producing articles of mass consumption will be almost the same.

Quite naturally, such a situation gives rise to serious shortcomings in supplies to the population and cannot, therefore, satisfy us.

The development of our agriculture still lags behind. The interests of ensuring an improvement in the standard of living of our people demanded that our Party as a whole dealt systematically with the problems of agricultural production. The disproportions between industrial and agricultural production, however, have become even greater. This shows that we have not paid sufficient attention to solving the problems and eliminating shortcomings in agriculture.

The Party and the Government have taken decisive measures to provide all the necessary prerequisites for a substantial upsurge in our agriculture

The development of agricultural production within the next 2 or 3 years must be regarded as the main link in the development of the national economy. The attention and efforts of all working people, the entire state apparatus and all Party and mass organisations must be concentrated on achieving a substantial increase in agricultural production.

We have all the prerequisites needed to carry through these tasks. We have a powerful socialist industry which can provide our agriculture with the necessary machinery, mineral fertilisers and with everything it needs

In the interests of the final victory of Socialism and of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the working people, the work of the Party must be concentrated on the following very important tasks in the field of internal policy:

to ensure the fulfilment of the plan for the development of the national economy in 1954-1955 and to create prerequisites for the even development of the national economy in the period of the second Five-Year Plan;

to ensure, within the next 2 or 3 years, a substantial increase in agricultural production;

rapidly to remedy the situation in which the fuel, power and mining base does not keep pace with the requirements of the national economy;

to increase the volume and improve the quality of mass-consumption goods;

The class enemy is all the time seeking to penetrate the Party from outside and to influence some of its members.

At its meeting in December last the Central Committee advanced some problems to which the workers on the ideological front, must pay the greatest attention. Unfortunately these important problems have hitherto been insufficiently and incompletely elaborated and elucidated.

The main question, the significance and actuality of which are increasingly growing, is the question of the role of the masses in history.

In connection with clarifying the question of the decisive role of the popular masses, the December Plenum of the Central Committee criticised manifestations of the cult of the individual in our ideological and practical work. The Party leadership again directs the attention of the entire Party to these questions because the decisions of the December Plenum of the Central Committee are not being carried out consistently. The cult of the individual still persists in our public life, in our literature and art and in scientific work.

The highest principle of Party leadership is the collective method of leadership. Hence it is proposed that the Tenth Party Congress inscribe this Leninist principle in the Party Rules.

Wherever the ideological work of the Party is underestimated, fertile soil is created for hostile ideology.

#### 4. FROM "SPEECH BY COMRADE N. S. KHRUSHCHEV AT TENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON JUNE 12, 1954"

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has set itself a vital task—unswervingly to bring about a constant increase in the wellbeing of the people and for this purpose to pay more attention to the advance of agriculture.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union **wishes you success in the further advance of agriculture**, with a view to achieving a substantial improvement in the supply of the population with all necessary foodstuffs, in particular, bread, meat, fats, dairy products, etc. The Czechoslovakian Republic has great potentialities for such development

**What is required for the further powerful upsurge of agriculture?** First of all it is **necessary to raise the level of mechanisation** and to provide agriculture with the required number of tractors, ploughs, seeders, harvesters and, in particular, grain combines and sugar-beet harvesting combines for greater mechanisation of farm work.

It stands to reason that **while working for the co-operation of peasant households based on the full observance of the voluntary principle more attention and help must be given to individual peasant farms.** **The industrial** progress achieved by Czechoslovakia, which has always been famous for a high level of industrial efficiency, **provides the necessary requisites for the further and still more rapid advance of agriculture**, for **increasing the aid given by the working class to the agricultural co-operatives and the working peasantry as a whole**

## **5. FROM "TO THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA"**

Under the guidance of the Communist Party the first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy has been successfully carried out **and all the necessary conditions for a substantial advance of agriculture and improvement in the living standards of the working people have been created.**

## 2. TENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ENDS ITS WORK

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took place from **June 11 to 15 in Prague**. It was held in an atmosphere of great political enthusiasm.

On June 11, when the Congress commenced its work, over 2,000 delegates and visitors from all regions of the country assembled in the Prague Palace of Industry. They wholeheartedly greeted members of the Presidium of the Central Committee, the delegation of the CPSU, consisting of Comrade. N. S. Khrushchev, first Secretary of the C.C. of the CPSU, Comrade J. D. Nazarenko, Secretary of the C.C. of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Comrade E. A. Furtseva, Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, and Comrade V. P. Stepanov, head of a Department of the C.C. of the CPSU, as well as the delegations from 36 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies, capitalist and colonial countries.

On behalf of the Central Committee Comrade Antonin Zapotocky opened the Congress. Then Comrade Zapotocky suggested that **all present should rise in homage to Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin**, great continuer of the immortal cause of Lenin, **and Klement Gottwald, faithful disciple of Lenin and Stalin**. Then Comrade **Antonin Novotny, first Secretary of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia**, delivered a report on the activity of the Central Committee. **(An abridged version of the report by Comrade A. Novotny is published in this issue).**

The report on the activity of the Central Auditing Commission was given by Comrade Josef Stetka.

**Comrade Viliam Siroky** spoke on the third item on the agenda "Directives for the plan for developing the national economy in 1955 and **the short-term plan for a substantial advance of agricultural production within the next 2 or 3 years**"; Comrade Vaclav Pasek spoke on "Amendments to the Rules of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia".

The speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, first Secretary of the C.C. of the CPSU and leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was met by the delegates with stormy, prolonged applause. **(Speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev is published in this issue)**. A stormy ovation broke out again when Comrade Khrushchev read in conclusion the message from the C.C. of the CPSU. Cries were heard: "Long live the CPSU!", "For ever with the Soviet Union!"

The delegates warmly welcomed the speeches of greetings delivered by Comrade Lui Chang-sheng, on behalf of the Communist Party of China; Comrade Edward Ochab, on behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party; Comrade Paul Wandel, on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; **Comrade Jacques Duclos**, on behalf of the French Communist Party; Comrade Apro Antal, on behalf of the Hungarian Working People's Party; Comrade Gheorghe Apostol, on behalf of the Rumanian Workers' Party; Comrade Encho Staykov, on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party; **Comrade Bedri Spahiu, on behalf of the Albanian Party of Labour**; Comrade Edoardo d'Onofrio, on behalf of the Italian Communist Party; **Comrade Harry**

Pollitt, on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Greetings to the Congress were also conveyed by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Mongolian People's Republic, Greece, Austria, Spain, Finland, Indonesia Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Tunisia, Brazil, Canada, Argentina, Israel, Australia and Chile.

The Congress heard messages from the Party of Labour of Korea, the Communist Party of Japan, the Communist Party of India, the Party of Working People of Viet Nam, the Guatemalan Party of Labour, from the Communist Parties of the Free Territory of Trieste, Mexico, Algeria and from the Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus.

Greetings to the Congress were also brought, by representatives of the Parties of the National Front of Czechoslovakia.

Some 54 delegates contributed to the discussion, which came to an end on June 15.

The Congress unanimously approved the work of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission between the IXth and Xth Congresses and adopted the report of the Central Committee as a directive determining the further activities of the Party. It unanimously adopted a resolution on the report on the directives for the plan for developing the national economy in 1955 and the plan for a substantial advance of agricultural production within the next 2 or 3 years, together with the Party Rules. At its closed meeting on June 15 the Congress unanimously elected the Central Committee, consisting of 84 members and 28 alternate members, and the Central Auditing Commission.

Afterwards amidst great enthusiasm the Congress approved the text of the message to the Central Committee of the CPSU. The concluding speech was delivered by Comrade Antonin Zapotocky. All delegates and visitors rose and sang the "Internationale". Cries: "Long live the Central Committee!", "Long live the CPSU!", "For ever with the Soviet Union!"

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After the Congress thousands of working people of Prague gathered on June 15 in the Staromestske Square for a meeting which was attended by all the delegates and visitors to the Congress. The meeting was addressed by Comrade Antonin Zapotocky, President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The speech of Comrade Khrushchev was met with a stormy ovation and cries of "Long live the Soviet Union!", "For ever with the Soviet Union!". His vivid speech was listened to with close attention and was repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause and cries of "Hurrah".

Comrade Khrushchev conveyed to the whole people of Czechoslovakia warm, fraternal greetings from the Soviet people. He stressed that the Xth Congress demonstrated that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is united and rallied, that it continues to be ready loyally and selflessly to serve its people and to fight courageously for the happiness of the working people. The meeting was also addressed by representatives of the Communist Parties of China, Italy, Germany and France.

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A meeting of the newly elected Central Committee on June 15 elected **the Political Bureau**, consisting of Comrades Bacilek, Barak, Cepicka, Dolansky, Fierlinger, Kopecky, Novotny, Siroky, Zapotocky, and alternate members—Comrades Jankovecova and Simunek.

The meeting also elected **the Secretariat** of the Central Committee consisting of Comrade Novotny (first Secretary) and Comrades Hendrych, Koehler, Krutina and Pasek (Secretaries).

At the meeting of the Central Auditing Commission Comrade Stetka was elected chairman.

***For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,  
No. 25 (293), Friday, June 18, 1954.***

### 3. REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO TENTH PARTY CONGRESS, AND FURTHER TASKS OF THE PARTY. \*

Antonin Novotny, First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The five years that have elapsed since the Ninth Congress of the, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia constitute an extremely important period in the life of our Party and of the entire country; it is also important from the point of view of the development of international relations.

By the Ninth Congress we had already successfully passed through the period of restoring our industry; a mighty and constantly strengthening publicly-owned sector already existed in our economy. In the countryside, under conditions of a bitter struggle with the last remaining and most brutal class of exploiters—the kulaks—the attitude of the working peasants to collective forms of farming, to big co-operative socialist production was, with the support of the working class, undergoing a change.

The international political position of our country likewise favoured the further development of our people's democracy. It favoured such development because we were bound with the closest of ties to the great Soviet Union, our liberator and best friend, mighty bulwark of our freedom, independence and peaceful construction. It favoured such development because we were a firm component of the mighty democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union. It is perfectly clear that all revolutionary measures carried out in the economic, political and cultural life of our country after its liberation were of such a nature that they were bound to help forward the consistent fulfilment by our people's democracy of all the chief tasks of the socialist revolution.

Of decisive significance for the successful development of the socialist revolution in the country was the fact that we were guided by the Leninist teaching on the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, by the teaching on the socialist revolution and its motive forces.

The glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union was our experienced and wise teacher in the great cause of the socialist transformation of the country. The Ninth Congress of the Party put forward the building of Socialism in our country as the general line. It decided to carry out, by means of socialist industrialisation, the reconstruction of industry and to build, in the first instance, a powerful heavy industry. In its decisions emphasis was laid on the fact that we must draw the countryside, the small and middle peasants, into the building of Socialism and, by systematically strengthening the alliance between the working class and the main mass of the peasantry, go over from inefficient individual and small-scale farming to large-scale co-operative socialist farming. The job of ensuring a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the working people has been linked tip with the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks of socialist construction in town and country.

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\* From report by Comrade Antonin Novotny at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on June 11, 1954.

Today we can state with pride that the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is taking place at a time when we are successfully advancing, along the whole wide front in building Socialism in our country. The ever-increasing tasks of socialist construction and the struggle for their fulfilment have strengthened and tempered the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—the inspirer and organiser of all the victories of our people. **The Slansky gang of wreckers was exposed and smashed** and thus the extensive plot against the Republic and the people to overthrow the people's-democratic system **and restore the old, capitalist regime in our country was frustrated**. Having rendered this gang harmless, **we decapitated the dangerous fifth column of the imperialists**. Our Party thus demonstrated its unshakable loyalty to the working class, the people and Socialism.

### **International Situation and Foreign Policy of Czechoslovakia**

The international situation since the Ninth Congress of the Party has been characterised by the steady growth of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism.

A decisive factor in the growth of these forces has been **the further powerful strengthening of the Soviet Union**, the international prestige of which has singularly grown.

The paramount task of our Party and Government in the sphere of foreign policy has been and will be to carry out **a policy of struggle for preserving world peace and ensuring the peaceful building of Socialism in our country**. This policy corresponds to the vital interests of our people who yearn for peace with all their hearts.

That is why our Party and Government fully support and will continue to support **the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR**. Our Party and Government, all our people have stood and will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in the struggle against the imperialist instigators of a new world war, in the struggle for world security and co-operation between peoples.

It is with great pleasure that I have to refer to our ties with **the People's Republic of China** with which we established close friendly relations immediately following its foundation in October 1949. Since then our mutual economic, political and cultural ties have been constantly growing stronger. Indissoluble fraternal and friendly relations bind us **to Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania**. We shall tirelessly continue to strengthen mutual relations with these countries which, together with us, stand in **the firm front of peace**.

The Czechoslovak people have enthusiastically welcomed the great **victory won by the Korean people and the Chinese People's Volunteers**. We are helping heroic Korea **to rehabilitate its economy** which suffered severely from the war. We fully support the efforts of the Korean and all peace-loving peoples **for a peaceful solution of the Korean question**. We shall continue to strengthen our friendly relations with **the Mongolian People's Republic**. Our Government has recognised and established friendly relations with **the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam**. We wish the peoples of Indo-China great success in their struggle for a better future for their homeland.

At the present time the major part of our borders are borders of peace, friendship and mutual respect. A fact of historical importance is the development of our mutual relations with **the German Democratic Republic**. Thanks to the fact that in the GDR militarism and fascism, the causes of the oppression of the German people, have been eliminated forever, a new phase in our mutual relations has begun, a phase of friendly co-operation which will constantly develop.

**At present Czechoslovakia maintains diplomatic relations with 62 countries.**

The foreign policy of our Party and Government is based on the principle that **co-operation even between the states with different social systems is quite possible**. We shall therefore strive to broaden economic and cultural relations with all capitalist countries on the principle of complete equality.

Our people warmly support **the proposals of the Soviet Union for ensuring stable security in Europe and throughout the world**. We must continue to oppose all efforts to revive German militarism **in Western Germany**. **We shall combat any attempt at a new Anschluss of Austria** and will give every support to the forces fighting for a united democratic and peace-loving Germany. We shall support in every conceivable way the struggle for reducing armaments and for banning the production and use of weapons of mass extermination.

We clearly see that there are forces in the world that do not desire **agreement or peace**. From this it follows that we must continue to strengthen the defence capacity of the Republic, to prevent any interference by the imperialists in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia.

The foremost fighters for peace and friendship between peoples are the Communist and Workers' Parties. **By consolidating friendship with these Parties** we shall develop a feeling of fraternal solidarity with the working people of the whole world.

The idea of peace among the peoples has given rise to **the powerful world peace movement** which is actively supported by all our people.

Together with all peace-loving forces the Czechoslovak people too, under the leadership of their Communist Party, will fight to the very end for the cause of peace.

### **Internal Situation of Czechoslovakia**

The results achieved in building Socialism are the most striking proof of the immense vitality, the indestructible strength and the steadily growing force of our people's-democratic system. The face of our country is changing; **the life of our nations, which are becoming socialist nations**, is also undergoing changes.

The basis of the strength of our people's-democratic system is the powerful, publicly owned socialist sector of the national economy. **The socialist sector has become the single dominating sector in all branches with the exception of agriculture**. We have laid an unshakable foundation **for the socialist re-organisation of our agriculture**. **The material and technical base** for large scale socialist production in the countryside is the **dense network of state machine and tractor stations**. The idea of united agricultural co-operatives has found a firm place in the hearts and minds of hundreds of thousands of the working peasantry.

On all sectors the socialist mode of managing the economy has proved its complete superiority over the old, capitalist mode of production and the unprecedented growth of the productive forces in our country bears witness to this fact.

Guided by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the working people have successfully reached the targets set in the first Five-Year Plan. Under the conditions of the people's-democratic system our industry has, in the course of five years, surpassed the 1937 level by more than 100 per cent and its rate of development has by far outstripped that of industry in the major capitalist countries.

Slovakia, which was deliberately converted by the capitalists into an agrarian appendage to the Czech lands and a source of cheap labour, is rapidly becoming a highly developed industrial region. The total volume of industrial production in Slovakia is more than 4.5 times above the pre-war level.

As a result of radical changes in the national economy major social and class changes have taken place. The exploiting class of manufacturers and bankers has been abolished, together with the landlord class.

With regard to the remaining capitalist class in the country—the kulaks—our policy is one of restricting and dislodging.

The working class—the most progressive force of society—has grown and strengthened in our country. During the years of socialist upbuilding the consciousness of the working class has grown and the unity of the working class, the leading detachment of which is the closely rallied Communist Party, has become tempered.

Under the leadership of our Party the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, the vital foundation of the people's-democratic state, has been forged. The indissoluble worker-peasant alliance, its constant strengthening and reinforcement—this is the guarantee that Socialism will be built in our country.

Our intelligentsia is also undergoing a change. A new, people's intelligentsia is coming into being, an intelligentsia that is linked by class and ideology with the working class.

The consistent application of the principles of the Lenin-Stalin policy on the national question has strengthened the fraternal friendship between the Czechs and Slovaks and ensured the complete equality of all nationalities in our country. The moral and political unity of our people, united in the National Front, is growing day by day.

In accordance with the policy of socialist industrialisation of the country, extensive capital construction has been undertaken with the object of reconstructing and further developing industry and transport. State capital investments during the Five-Year Plan amounted to 83,200 million crowns. Production of the means of production increased by 118.7 per cent during the first Five-Year Plan and its share in the total volume of industrial output rose from 57.6 per cent to 62.3 per cent. The output of consumer goods during this period went up 79.8 per cent. The fact that we have mainly concentrated on production of the means of production has made possible the rapid development of all branches of our national economy.

Taking production per head, in 1953 Czechoslovakia occupied ninth place in the world in the output of coal, seventh in production of pig iron and sixth place in the production of steel.

In the course of the Five-Year Plan **we surpassed France and Italy in the production of electric power**, outstripped Sweden and France in steel production and almost caught up with Britain.

In conformity with the general line of the Party heavy industry has developed particularly rapidly. The **engineering industry**, now producing 3.3 times as much as in 1948, **has become the leading branch of our industry**.

The metallurgical industry has recorded a big advance. During the Five-Year Plan the production of pig iron has increased 69 per cent, steel 67 per cent and rolled metal 73 per cent.

Despite the fact that during the first Five-Year Plan we concentrated on building **heavy industry**, **light industry** continued to develop rapidly.

During the course of the Five-Year Plan, the structure of our industry and the entire national economy radically changed. **However, notwithstanding all this, we have not yet eliminated from our national economy the disproportions inherited from capitalist Czechoslovakia, nor have we got rid of the disproportions which arose during the construction period resulting from the fact that we did not sufficiently observe the requirements of the law of planned proportionate development of the national economy.**

Towards the end of the Five-Year Plan the production of electric power increased to three times the 1937 figure, coal output to 22 per cent and brown coal to 91 per cent above the 1937 level. **The development of the raw material and power base is not, however, keeping pace with the ever increasing requirements of our national economy and the population.** We must therefore concentrate all efforts and means **on expanding the fuel, raw material and power base as rapidly as possible.**

A decisive prerequisite for the steady upsurge of production and the development of the national economy is an increase in the productivity of labour which, during the years of the Five-Year Plan, rose by 60 per cent in industry and by 52 per cent in building.

**The Central Committee is submitting for the consideration of the Tenth Congress draft directives on the elaboration of the state plan for developing the national economy in 1955 and draft directives for substantially increasing agricultural production within the next 2 to 3 years.**

**In just the same way as the state plan for 1954, these drafts have as their aim the elimination of the disproportions in industry and the disproportion between industry and agriculture with the object of creating the prerequisites for the even development of the national economy in the years to come.**

**State capital investments will be directed, primarily, at further advancing agricultural production, expanding the raw material and power base and developing housing.**

Thanks to the introduction of improved technological processes, to increased mechanisation, the growth in the productivity of labour and the substantial reduction in the cost of production, prerequisites will be created for an increase of not less than 9 per cent in the volume of industrial output in 1955 as compared with the level planned for 1954. **The rate of producing the means of production and that of producing articles of mass consumption will be almost the same.**

An increase in the areas under cultivation, the full utilisation of arable land, further mechanisation, an improvement in the planning and guidance of agricultural production and in ensuring the supply of agriculture with labour and experts will make it possible, within 2 or 3 years, to increase crop production by 19.7 per cent as compared with the 1953 level and the products of animal husbandry by 39.4 per cent.

We shall start on the second Five-Year Plan in 1956. By then it will be completely co-ordinated with the plans of the Soviet Union and the people's- democratic countries. Thanks to close co-operation and mutual benefits the results of our work will be reflected even more strongly in the further strengthening of our homeland, the more rapid tempo of raising the living standards of the people and in the further consolidation of peace throughout the world. Since the Ninth Congress the face of our countryside has changed considerably. Under the leadership of our Party and with the active support of the working class the working peasants have started to set up agricultural co-operatives. Agricultural co-operatives with socialised crop and livestock production are functioning in nearly 47 per cent of the villages and are cultivating about 33 per cent of the entire arable land. Together with the state farms they are cultivating 43 per cent of all arable land. The 256 machine and tractor stations make a substantial contribution to the development of agriculture and particularly of the unified agricultural co-operatives.

The prerequisite and basis for the development of the whole of agricultural production is the development of crop raising. During the Five-Year Plan the total value of the produce of crop raising increased by 12.4 per cent.

Nevertheless we achieved neither the planned growth of production nor the planned yield. The immediate task is to increase the output of crop raising. We must concentrate all our attention on the solution of this problem, which is closely linked up with the development of animal husbandry, mainly because this will enable us to provide cattle with the required stocks and supplies of fodder.

We have also succeeded in achieving an advance in animal husbandry. Despite the tremendous damage suffered by our national economy during the occupation, notwithstanding the drought of 1947 which led to a considerable decline in the head of cattle, the production of meat has grown since 1948 as follows: beef 45 per cent, veal 133 per cent and pork 202 per cent. There has been an increase of 26 per cent in the milk yield during the Five-Year Plan. The production of animal husbandry has, during the past five years, risen to 40 per cent of the total gross production of our agriculture.

However, we have not reached our planned targets in animal husbandry, especially as regards increasing the productivity of cattle. Quite naturally, such a situation gives rise to serious shortcomings in supplies to the population and cannot, therefore, satisfy us.

The development of our agriculture still lags behind. The interests of ensuring an improvement in the standard of living of our people demanded that our Party as a whole dealt systematically with the problems of agricultural production. The disproportions between industrial and agricultural production, however, have become even greater. This shows that we have

not paid sufficient attention to solving the problems and eliminating shortcomings in agriculture.

The Party and the Government have taken decisive measures to provide all the necessary prerequisites for a substantial upsurge in our agriculture. In the interests of ensuring an advance in agricultural production they are giving ever more effective support and aid to the agricultural co-operatives and working peasants.

Thousands of agricultural co-operatives have sprung up in our villages and proved the advantages of large-scale socialist agricultural production over individual small-scale production. In 1953 agricultural co-operatives gathered on the average 150 kgs of wheat and 180 kgs of barley more per hectare than the individual peasants. The yield of wheat, barley and sugar beet per worker in the agricultural co-operatives, where the farming is carried on jointly, is three times higher than that of the individual peasants. The incomes of the co-operative members are also increasing.

The co-operatives have withstood the onslaught of the kulaks and the enemies of our democratic system.

We cannot, however, overlook the fact that alongside the good and the very good agricultural co-operatives there are backward ones which manage their economy badly and do not achieve even satisfactory results. The reason for this is that at the time they were set up insufficient attention was paid to local economic and political conditions and the necessary requisites were not created to enable each agricultural co-operative to flourish. There were not a few cases of distortions and of deviations from the correct line of the Party when co-operatives were set up. This was manifest above all in the drive to set up as many co-operatives as possible. Not infrequently patient day-to-day work and persuasion of our peasants by example were replaced by harmful administration and various measures of compulsion.

It has been fully confirmed that conscientious work yields rich fruits and good results in those co-operatives in which the Work is properly organised and planned, in which proper principles of farming are observed and the village Party branch and national committee are functioning well.

There are as yet many small and middle individual peasants in our countryside. Henceforth we must ensure that these peasants also obtain good results and that their farms are productive. Hitherto we have paid insufficient attention to this matter.

At the present moment the middle peasant is becoming the central figure in our countryside. We want to and we must draw the middle peasants into co-operatives. A middle peasant who joins the co-operative represents effective help since, as a rule, he is an experienced, good, sober-minded farmer and organiser. The policy of consistently restricting and dislodging the kulaks, of systematic political and economic isolation of the kulaks from the small and middle peasants, of preventing the penetration of the kulaks into the co-operatives and frustrating their wrecking activity—all this is an integral part of building Socialism in our countryside.

The development of agricultural production within the next 2 or 3 years must be regarded as the main link in the development of the national economy. The attention and efforts of all working people, the entire state apparatus and all Party and mass organisations must be concentrated on achieving a substantial increase in agricultural production.

The main prerequisite for the development of agricultural production is the further political, organisational and economic strengthening of the co-operatives.

The MTS have the decisive role in the development of agriculture, in increasing agricultural production, in the switching of small-scale agricultural production over to large-scale socialist agricultural production and in the mechanisation of agricultural production.

In the drive for the development of agriculture, Party members must be in the van of all sectors.

We shall be successful in carrying out the task of raising agricultural production and building Socialism in the countryside to the extent that we improve the work of the regional, district and village Party organisations.

We have all the prerequisites needed to carry through these tasks. We have a powerful socialist industry which can provide our agriculture with the necessary machinery, mineral fertilisers and with everything it needs. We have selfless people full of enthusiasm, experienced workers, innovators of agricultural production who by their own example and by the results of their work inspire others and show them the way to victory.

In striving to achieve our aim we have a shining example in the Soviet people who, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have stepped along the pathway of resolute struggle for raising agricultural production to the highest level.

A great stride forward has been made in the period under review by our state and co-operative trade. The share of the socialist sector in the retail trade turnover, which in 1948 was 31.3 per cent, in 1953 reached 99.5 per cent.

The total volume of foreign trade increased by one-sixth during the period of the Five-Year Plan. The share of the democratic countries in the total foreign trade turnover increased from 32 per cent in 1948 to 78 per cent in 1953.

## Raising Material and Cultural Standards of the People

The economic successes achieved during the Five-Year Plan created conditions for substantially raising the living standards of the people. In the past five years the national income increased by 59 per cent. In 1954 some 58 per cent of the national income has been allocated for personal consumption, 16 per cent for social consumption; a substantial part has been allocated for the expansion of socialist production.

The three price reductions in one year represent a yearly saving for the people of 10,700 million crowns. Prices of some industrial goods and charges for electricity and gas, for example, are at present substantially lower than pre-war. In 1937 the charge for one kilowatt-hour was normally 2.7 crowns, whereas it is now only 80 hellers (1 crown = 100 hellers), Rents in Prague are now of the average a quarter of the pre-war level.

During the first Five-Year Plan period the population received over 131,000 new apartments. In addition 46,100 apartments were built privately. Housing has, however, failed to meet the requirements which are growing due to the increasing population, especially in the major economic areas. For this reason capital investments in housing were this year increased to provide the population with not less than 40,000 new apartments. In addition, assistance was given for the building of 10,000 cottages by individuals.

By now 97 per cent of all towns and villages have been electrified. All towns and villages have telephone services.

During the past five years public health has shown a considerable improvement. The number of hospital beds increased by more than 28,000 between 1949 and 1953. Since 1948 the number of physicians has increased by 6,500. Today there is one doctor to each 760 inhabitants while in 1937 there was one doctor to each 1,218. Holidays in sanatoria and rest homes belonging to the trade unions also help to improve the health of the people. Nearly 300,000 working people spent their holidays in trade union recreation centres last year, which is double the number in 1948.

The care displayed by the people's-democratic state for the family, mother and child is growing. There are some 3,000 mother and child welfare centres. In the course of the Five-Year Plan the number of creches increased more than four times and new kindergartens were opened. In comparison with 1937, infant mortality was reduced by 62 per cent. Every year the population in our Republic increases at a rate 3.3 times higher than the rate of increase under capitalism. This is fresh testimony to the superiority of the people's-democratic system over the capitalist system.

Great developments are taking place in Czech and Slovak public education. Last year a new law on schools was enacted which provides for a system of public education corresponding to the present high requirements and creating the prerequisites for the transition to universal and complete secondary education.

Czechoslovak science has also registered considerable development in the process of socialist construction. Thanks to the new conditions our science has achieved considerable successes.

We must put an end to the stagnation in social sciences and ensure a decisive change in agricultural science which is at present unsatisfactory.

Literature and art, in which our working people are increasingly interested, play a great educational role in our life. This is expressively illustrated by the figures. In the period of the first Five-Year Plan more than 20,000 books were published in a total edition of 333 million copies. In 1943 our permanent theatres were visited by nearly 11 million people. Since 1949 number of permanent cinemas has increased by 816 and the number of mobile cinemas from 7 to 235.

In the recent period our art has registered successes in the field of literature, the cinema, music and the fine arts. Writers and workers in the realm of art try to give a broad and truthful picture of the life of today which is filled with the labour heroism of our people.

The task of our writers and workers in the realm of art is to carry on a systematic struggle against schematism, for a profound and true reflection of reality.

Recently tendencies towards liberalism have been observed in our literature and art, tendencies which have their roots in the failure to understand the lofty social role of art. Some workers in the realm of art stick to the beaten track, keeping away from themes of modern life, and some of them overestimate form at the expense of content. In poetry a superficial sentimentalism is observed which is alien to the people. We reiterate what has been said earlier that we need more satirical works that would sharply criticise everything that is outworn in our life.

So far our clubs and lecture centres have not yet properly developed cultural and educational work. It is our duty to carry on mass cultural work of a broad scale so that with its help the life of the working people may become richer and more beautiful.

## Further Strengthening of People's-Democratic Social and State System

Since the Ninth Party Congress the people's-democratic state, the most important weapon in the hands of the working people in building Socialism and defending the country from foreign and internal enemies, has continued to strengthen.

The working people, united in the National Front as one whole, repelled all overt and covert attacks of foreign and internal reaction seeking to disturb and frustrate our peaceful labour.

The political basis of the National Front, as well as the necessary condition and guarantee of the successful transition from capitalism to Socialism, is the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry.

The question of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry is the cardinal question of the people's-democratic state. The worker-peasant alliance, in which the leading role is played by the working class, is the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which people's democracy is a form. Without this alliance it is impossible to retain and strengthen state power and to build Socialism. Henceforth the unremitting strengthening of the alliance of the workers and the working peasants is the most important task of the Party.

The development of our socialist economy and the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance have represented the basis for the flowering of the friendship of the peoples of our country in the past few years. The worker-peasant alliance represents the fertile soil from which springs the new socialist patriotism. The strength and the invincibility of our state system lie in its profound democratism. Through the national committees the working people directly participate in the running of the state, in the handling of all political, economic, social and cultural questions.

The elections were of great importance for the further successful development of the national committees. The great election victory won by the regenerated National Front under the leadership of our Party demonstrated the unity of the working people and their devotion to the people's-democratic system.

An important political task for us will be the elections to the National Assembly, which will take place in the autumn. They will signify a further strengthening of our people's-democratic system.

In the interests of the final victory of Socialism and of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the working people, the work of the Party must be concentrated on the following very important tasks in the field of internal policy:

to ensure the fulfilment of the plan for the development of the national economy in 1954-1955 and to create prerequisites for the even development of the national economy in the period of the second Five-Year Plan;

to ensure, within the next 2 or 3 years, a substantial increase in agricultural production;

rapidly to remedy the situation in which **the fuel, power and mining base** does not keep pace with the requirements of the national economy; to increase the volume and improve the quality of **mass-consumption goods**; to lower production costs and observe the strictest possible regime of economy in all branches of the national economy and in state administration: further to develop and make use of the creative initiative of the working people through socialist emulation; unflinchingly to strengthen the defence capacity of the country, to educate all the people in the spirit of further enhancing political vigilance.

We shall continue the all-round strengthening of our people's-democratic state and social system and to **draw the working people into active participation in exercising state power and running the state**.

## The Party

**Our Communist Party has come to its Tenth Congress united, tempered and closely rallied around the Central Committee.** The ideological and organisational unity of the Party, its unswerving loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism constitute the basic features of the life of our Party. Some 1,385,610 Party members and 103,624 probationers are represented at this Congress.

**The social composition of the Party testifies that ours is a Party of the working class.** Some 60 per cent of its membership are of working class origin. **Some 68 per cent of the peasant Party members are from agricultural producer co-operatives.**

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The unity of the Party and the moral and political unity of the people is being forged in a complex international and internal situation, in new social conditions rich in important events and changes, in a situation in which **it is essential creatively to apply the teaching of Marxist-Leninist science** illuminating by it our way forward. This explains the great demands that are made on the educational and theoretical work of the Party.

It would be a great mistake to think that the bourgeois ideology and its influence have an effect only outside the Party. The Communist Party is not separated from the rest of the world by a high unsurmountable wall. **The class enemy is all the time seeking to penetrate the Party from outside and to influence some of its members.**

At its meeting **in December last the Central Committee advanced some problems** to which the workers on the ideological front, must pay the greatest attention. Unfortunately these important problems have hitherto been insufficiently and incompletely elaborated and elucidated.

**The main question**, the significance and actuality of which are increasingly growing, is **the question of the role of the masses in history.** Incorrect theoretical understanding of this question has harmful effects on practical work since it weakens the development and utilisation of the creative abilities of the popular masses.

Party propaganda and agitation must imbue the working people with confidence in and conviction of the inexhaustible forces of the people, explain

to them the leading role of the Communist Party and the superiority of the people's-democratic state and of the socialist social system.

In connection with clarifying the question of the decisive role of the popular masses, the December Plenum of the Central Committee criticised manifestations of the cult of the individual in our ideological and practical work. The Party leadership again directs the attention of the entire Party to these questions because the decisions of the December Plenum of the Central Committee are not being carried out consistently. The cult of the individual still persists in our public life, in our literature and art and in scientific work.

The highest principle of Party leadership is the collective method of leadership. Hence it is proposed that the Tenth Party Congress inscribe this Leninist principle in the Party Rules.

An integral component of building Socialism is the education of the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. However, the questions of socialist patriotism are often explained in isolation from concrete reality, they are not linked with the basic question of the worker-peasant alliance.

Our education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism is being carried on amidst the struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism with which our enemies would like to undermine the unity of our country and the friendship of its peoples and nations.

The successful struggle for carrying through the decisions and for overcoming all obstacles demands from the Party members ideological staunchness and clarity on theoretical questions. Manifestations of opportunism are, however, observed in certain Party members. Opportunism in practice manifests itself in the lack of staunchness in relation to the propaganda of the class enemy, in conciliatory sentiments on questions of the class struggle, in slipping down to the position of spontaneity, in passivity, and in the fact that Party organisations merely passively register certain negative phenomena instead of combating them.

In connection with the elections incorrect opportunist views were expressed as regards a certain "pure" non-class democracy although it is perfectly clear that such a democracy does not exist in a class society. Our democracy is the broadest one, a democracy for the working people, that is, for the overwhelming majority of the population of our country, a democracy that is spear-headed against the handful of the dislodged exploiters, traitors, all those who would like to encroach on the achievements of the people. It is precisely in this way that the broad masses of the working people understand our democracy and they fully uphold it.

Sectarian social-democratic tendencies are likewise being displayed in relation to the masses. Certain Party members refer to the working peasantry and the remaining non-proletarian sections as a "solid reactionary mass". Opportunism is also manifest in wage-levelling, in an incorrect wage policy, in lack of discipline, a negative attitude towards criticism and self-criticism, in the passivity of certain Party members towards the decisions of Party bodies.

An essential prerequisite for a successful struggle against opportunism is the constant raising of the ideological level of Party members and the purging of vacillating and dishonest elements from the ranks of the Party.

Ideological work must be given first place in the activities of Party organisations. **Wherever the ideological work of the Party is underestimated, fertile soil is created for hostile ideology.**

Party propaganda is a mighty weapon in ideological work. Its strength lies in its ideological content, its indissoluble link with life, with the policy of the Party and the Government. Evaluating from this point of view the level and state of our agitation and propaganda work, it must be noted that it still owes a great deal to the Party and the people. Its content is still of an insufficiently lively and militant nature.

The further tasks of socialist construction demand that the Party intensifies political work among the masses. **The Party has recently begun to rectify the shortcomings in mass political work.** We have, however, not yet succeeded in ensuring systematic agitation work, with Party organs and branches guiding this work daily.

Alongside the ideological reinforcement of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the strict observance of the Leninist principles and norms of Party life are of decisive significance for strengthening the unity and increasing the fighting efficiency of the Party. **These principles are embodied in the Rules of the Party which were adopted at the National Party Conference.**

In ensuring the implementation of the line of our Party **the correct selection, training and allocation of cadres plays a decisive role.** Despite all the measures that have been taken, it must be noted that work with cadres has not yet become one of the chief components of the work of Party organs and their apparatus. **Not enough has yet been done to improve the qualitative composition of our leading cadres. Red-tape and bureaucratic methods of verifying, selecting and allocating cadres are still deeply rooted in the Party organs and apparatus.** There must be more live work with people, we must get to know their real capabilities and qualities better, as only they can ensure the realisation of the tasks confronting us.

The Rules of the Party oblige every member and probationer **to unfold criticism and self-criticism, to disclose shortcomings in work and to see that they are eliminated.**

Nevertheless it does happen that criticism is only talked about instead of favourable conditions being created for **putting it into practice.** Criticism and self-criticism in our Party are not developing rapidly enough mainly because **although criticism is listened to, it is not followed by a decisive elimination of the shortcomings.**

It is essential in the forthcoming period to exert great efforts to reinforce the factory branches because success in the economic sphere depends to a great extent on these branches working properly.

**Constant and great attention should be paid, in particular, to rural Party organisations,** the work of which is a weak link in the activities of our Party. **The trade unions, the Czechoslovak Youth Union and other mass organisations** of the working people are important driving belts and levers without which Socialism cannot be built.

As Lenin said, the trade unions must be **the school of Communism.** But our trade unions are still insufficiently carrying out this main task of theirs.

The principal reason is that both the basic and the leading Party organs devote little attention to **the work of Communists in the trade unions.** This underestimation of the trade union movement sometimes leads to the fact

that Party organisations substitute for the trade unions, thus weakening their significance and activities.

Great attention must be paid to the Youth Union. It must be noted that the attention recently devoted to the Youth Union by the Central Committee of our Party has led to the activation of the Union. **The Youth Union**, however, is not as yet sufficiently coping with its chief task—that of training inspired and fearless fighters for Socialism from among our working youth.

**In view of the important tasks in the sphere of agriculture the Union must intensify its influence on the youth of the countryside and help to draw young people into agricultural work.** No less important is the task of training those who will follow us —the pioneers. The Union must pay constant attention to this matter.

A great number of women are working in Party and mass organisations, the national committees, the rational economy, consumer co-operatives, public health and cultural establishments. We have distinguished women workers in industry and agriculture, women who have been awarded state prizes and decorations. This is testimony to the fact that women are taking an ever more active part in the building of Socialism. It is essential to conduct regular work amongst the women and to create conditions enabling them to improve their political and specialist training.

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In the period that has elapsed since the Ninth Party Congress, we have achieved great successes in the struggle for the realisation of the general line of our Party, in the struggle for Socialism. Our people's-democratic homeland has become even mightier and the life of the people more beautiful and happy.

Our people are justly proud of the results of their work, results they have attained under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

**A task which confronts us is to continue the struggle for the final victory of Socialism in our country.**

**Our cause, the cause of Socialism and peace, is invincible.**

***For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,  
No. 25 (293), Friday, June 18, 1954.***

#### 4. SPEECH BY COMRADE N. S. KHRUSHCHEV AT TENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON JUNE 12, 1954

Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, wholeheartedly to greet you and through you the glorious Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and to convey the feelings of cordial fraternal love and friendship cherished by the peoples of the Soviet Union for the peoples of Czechoslovakia. **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation).**

Let me extend ardent greetings to the working people of the beautiful capital of **the Czech and Slovak peoples—Prague, (applause)** which is one of the most ancient cities of Europe and which has been famed since olden times for its high culture and glorified in the militant freedom-loving folk songs.

For us, Communists, Prague is of particular significance. Here, in Prague, some 42 years ago a conference of Russian Bolsheviks under the leadership of the great Lenin, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, expelled from its ranks the opportunists and laid the groundwork for the final organisation of the Bolsheviks into an independent revolutionary workers' Party, a Party of a new, Leninist type. **(Applause).** That was an important event not only in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The decisions of the Prague Conference of the Bolsheviks set an example of **uncompromising struggle against Opportunism** and helped create and strengthen in many countries Marxist workers' parties —true and consistent defenders of the interests of the working masses.

Comrades, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has come to its Tenth Congress **still more consolidated and monolithic.** It has over 30 rich years of experience of struggle for the state independence of its country, for the freedom of the Czech and Slovak peoples, for the triumph of Socialism. It is to this noble cause that **Klement Gottwald, loyal son of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, outstanding leader of the international revolutionary movement, dedicated his whole life and energy. (Applause).**

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as it always has done, is consistently defending the vital interests of the working class, the interests of the working people and by its selfless struggle has earned the full trust and support of its entire people. Between the first and second world wars your Party headed the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working peasantry of Czechoslovakia against the bourgeoisie. In the grim years of Hitler occupation the Communist Party was the true organiser and leader of the working masses in their struggle for the liberation of their native land from the fascist yoke.

The Communists of Czechoslovakia fought courageously for the freedom of their people and won eternal glory. All freedom loving people of the world know and highly revere the glorious names of Julius Fucik and Jan Syerma. The Communists were always in the van of the brave fighters for the liberation of their homeland from the odious German-fascist invaders. **(Applause).**

**Under the leadership of the Communist Party the working people of Czechoslovakia have put an end to the bourgeois regime, liberated their country from the rule of the reactionary classes, rid themselves of the**

domination of foreign capitalists and set up a people's-democratic state and social system, thus establishing the true power of the people headed by the working class.

The Czechoslovak people can be justly proud of their historic gains. The people's Republic of Czechoslovakia has set out on the bright highway of socialist construction and is confidently marching ahead. The socialist sector has firmly consolidated itself in industry and in home and foreign trade.

Surmounting difficulties and the resistance of their enemies, the working people of Czechoslovakia have successfully completed the Two-Year Plan for the rehabilitation of their national economy and the Five-Year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the Republic.

The volume of industrial production as a whole more than doubled in the years of the Five-Year Plan, between 1949 and 1953, and the productivity of labour increased 60 per cent. During the same period the volume of industrial production in Slovakia increased nearly 2.5 times or 4.5 times above the pre-war level.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has set itself a vital task—unswervingly to bring about a constant increase in the wellbeing of the people and for this purpose to pay more attention to the advance of agriculture.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union wishes you success in the further advance of agriculture, with a view to achieving a substantial improvement in the supply of the population with all necessary foodstuffs, in particular, bread, meat, fats, dairy products, etc. The Czechoslovakian Republic has great potentialities for such development.

**What is required for the further powerful upsurge of agriculture?** First of all it is necessary to raise the level of mechanisation and to provide agriculture with the required number of tractors, ploughs, seeders, harvesters and, in particular, grain combines and sugar-beet harvesting combines for greater mechanisation of farm work. Only by all-round mechanisation of agricultural production will it be possible to lighten the labour of the peasants, increase the productivity of labour and create conditions for the peasants to raise their cultural level higher. A high level of mechanisation can be attained only in large-scale co-operative farms in which the leading section of the Czechoslovak peasantry is already united. The question of drawing peasant households into co-operatives is not merely a question of the struggle for raising productivity of agriculture but also one of easing the peasants' labour and drawing the peasants, particularly the women, on a larger scale into active participation in public life and into the governing of the state. There is no doubt that the agricultural co-operatives will continue to grow and become stronger and will obtain still heavier yields, setting an example to the peasantry as a whole.

From the experience of the existing agricultural co-operatives the working peasantry of Czechoslovakia will see for themselves the advantages of co-operative farming and will take the path of co-operative development of agriculture.

It stands to reason that while working for the co-operation of peasant households based on the full observance of the voluntary principle more attention and help must be given to individual peasant farms.

The industrial progress achieved by Czechoslovakia, which has always been famous for a high level of industrial efficiency, provides the necessary requisites for the further and still more rapid advance of agriculture, for increasing the aid given by the working class to the agricultural co-operatives and the working peasantry as a whole. The peasants of Czechoslovakia, who know how to achieve good results in crop and livestock production, are making, and will no doubt make on an immeasurably greater scale in the future, their valuable contribution to the cause of socialist construction. It is only with the fraternal support of the working class that the working peasants will be able to accomplish their tasks in agricultural production. The workers and peasants, as well as the intelligentsia are equally interested in building a new, socialist society which will ensure the further development of the country's productive forces and the steady rise in the material and cultural level of the people.

A powerful social force is needed to build up a socialist system. There is such a force.

This force, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, is the worker-peasant alliance. If the workers and peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and produce all necessities of life, take the cause of socialist reconstruction of society into their own hands, no capitalists, landlords or reactionaries will hold any terrors for them. **(Applause)**. The experience of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is ample evidence of the fact that success depends entirely on the correct economic and political relations between town and countryside, on the alliance of the workers and peasants, led by the working class.

History has proved that the path of fraternal alliance between the workers and peasants, indicated by Lenin, the economic bond between town and country, has entirely justified itself and is the only possible and correct path to ensure the victory of Socialism. The worker-peasant alliance is the unbreakable foundation of the people's-democratic system. We wholeheartedly wish you fresh success in the further consolidation of this alliance. **(Applause)**.

The greatest achievement of the Czechoslovak people is the free and independent people's-democratic state they have created. This historic victory crowned the age-old national-liberation struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The activities of the progressive sons and daughters, the best minds of the Czech and Slovak peoples are indissolubly linked up with this struggle. The development of the national culture of Czechoslovakia is also bound up with this struggle. The idea of national and social liberation has been the source of life for the people's art, it permeates the works of many outstanding Czech and Slovak men of letters, artists and composers. The Czechoslovak people can be justly proud of the great contribution they have made to the development of world culture.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia gave rise to a powerful upsurge of the national-liberation and revolutionary movement throughout the world. Under the beneficial influence of the Socialist Revolution in Russia the peoples of Czechoslovakia stepped up the struggle for their freedom and independence. The Czechoslovak Republic was established in 1918. But power was seized by the exploiting classes. The economy of Czechoslovakia and its home and foreign policies were subjected to the interests of foreign, imperialists. In conditions in which power was in the hands of the bourgeoisie,

Czechoslovakia did not retain her independence, nor could she do so. Striking proof of this is the history of the Czechoslovak bourgeois republic in the period between the two world wars. The leaders of the Western capitalist states, while expressing themselves in words for friendship with the Czechoslovak Republic, actually considered it as an object of exploitation and a strategically important area for realising their aggressive aims.

The real attitude of the Western bourgeois states towards Czechoslovakia was fully revealed in 1938, in the shameful days of the Munich betrayal. Guided by their imperialist interests, the tycoons of the capitalist states handed over Czechoslovakia to be torn to pieces by the fascist beast. It was the Soviet Union that alone remained faithful to the treaty with Czechoslovakia. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause. All rise, the delegates chanting "Long live the Soviet Union!" and shouting "Hurrah!"). Our armed forces were ready to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia and to discharge their duty. But the Czechoslovak bourgeois government of the day rejected the Soviet Government's offer of help. In addition, the Polish reactionary government refused to let Soviet troops pass through Polish territory.

The peoples of Czechoslovakia have become convinced that it is impossible to achieve full national independence and firm independent statehood within the framework of a bourgeois republic with the exploiters in power.

Not until the victory of the people's-democratic system under which the people became the complete master of the country was a truly independent state, a genuine people's Republic of Czechoslovakia created.

In conditions in which power belongs to the people the great principle of equality and friendship of the free peoples is really being put into practice. Unlike the patchwork Austro-Hungarian empire which was rent asunder by national contradictions and finally disintegrated, and in which Czechia and Slovakia were forcibly included, in present-day people's Czechoslovakia relations of fraternal friendship and co-operation have been established between the Czech, Slovak and other peoples who have united in a single really democratic state. Consolidating and developing their own state the peoples of Czechia and Slovakia are with each passing day realising more profoundly what a great vital force is the friendship and fraternity of the free and equal peoples under the democratic system.

**(Applause).**

The Soviet people rejoice at the glorious victories of the Czechoslovak people, regarding them as an important contribution to the common cause of the struggle of the entire democratic camp for peace and friendship between peoples. The working people of the Soviet Union admire the heroic record of struggle of Czechoslovakia for its freedom and profoundly respect the progressive national traditions of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

We can observe with great satisfaction that the relations between the peoples of our countries have, from ancient times and to the present day, been based on sincere and ardent friendship. Friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples became particularly strong during the second world war. We remember the battles in the areas of Sokolovo, Belaya Tserkov, Zhashkov and other towns and villages of the Soviet Union where Soviet and

Czechoslovak soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy. **(Applause)**.

The Soviet people recall that the heroic Czechoslovak soldiers, together with our glorious Soviet Army, took part in the liberation of the ancient city of Kiev, capital of the Soviet Ukraine. It is a particular pleasure for me to recall the selfless fight put up against the fascists by the sons of the Czechoslovak people, first as members of the brigade and then of the Czechoslovak corps which fought on the Voronezh and then on the First Ukrainian Front where I happened to be, on the order of the Party, a member of the War Council of the Front. More than once I saw the Czechoslovak units in action and I well know with what gallantry they fought. **(Applause)**. The guerrillas of Czechoslovakia, jointly with the Soviet guerrillas, waged heroic struggle against the invaders. In the struggle against our common enemy the Czechoslovak soldiers covered themselves with a glory that will never die. The mountains of Slovakia, the streets and squares of Prague, the valleys of Hron, Vah, Vitava and Labe, the fields and forests of Czechoslovakia are drenched with the blood of Czech, Slovak and Soviet warriors in the common struggle for the honour, freedom and independence of our peoples.

**(Applause)**.

The friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples began to develop and strengthen with renewed force in the post-war years when the working people of the Czechoslovak Republic, freed from the fetters of Hitlerism, set about laying the foundations of Socialism, hand in hand with the working people of the other People's Democracies and with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet people.

Economic and cultural relations between our countries are becoming stronger and wider day by day. Most precious in the relations between the Czechoslovak Republic and the Soviet Union is the friendship of our peoples. Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship, tempered in the flames of the liberation war, is unbreakable. **(Prolonged applause)**.

The working people of Czechoslovakia can rest assured that the Soviet Union will continue to be their reliable friend and will in every way possible help and support their struggle for the consolidation of the people's-democratic system and the further strengthening and development of their state. **(Tumultuous applause rising into ovation. All rise and shout: "Long live the Soviet Union!")**.

Close economic, political and cultural co-operation between Czechoslovakia and the countries of the democratic camp ensures the necessary conditions for the further steady development of Czechoslovakia's national economy and culture and, for the first time in Czechoslovak history, provides a support and real guarantee of the sovereignty and national independence of the country.

**(Applause)**.

The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies develop their relations on the basis of deep mutual respect, genuine equality and fraternal aid. The working people of the People's Democracies realise that as long as the fraternal friendship of the countries of the socialist camp continues and prospers no foes can deprive them of their great gains. **(Applause)**. It is our sacred duty to cherish and strengthen friendship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, to strengthen friendship and co-operation between all the People's Democracies. Therein lies our strength and our invincibility.

**(Prolonged applause).** There is no doubt that despite all the enemy's intrigues this friendship will grow stronger and broader for the good of our peoples. **(Tumultuous applause).**

The peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies, engaged in peaceful constructive labour, are vitally interested in the preservation and consolidation of world peace. The Governments of our countries are consistently and steadfastly pursuing a peaceful foreign policy aimed at broadening and strengthening business relations on the basis of mutual advantage. In this we base ourselves on the possibility of prolonged peaceful co-existence of the two systems, Socialism and capitalism. Pursuing a peaceful foreign policy, the countries of the democratic camp make every effort to bring about a relaxation in international tension, the expansion of business relations, trade with all interested countries and the further strengthening of peace.

The whole world knows the efforts we have made to broaden economic and cultural relations between the peoples and to lessen international tension. The Soviet Union has given numerous proofs of its sincere desire to avert another war and to preserve peace. The Soviet Union adopted and put into operation a law prohibiting war propaganda and incitement to war on pain of heavy penalties; the Soviet Union took the initiative for ending the war in Korea; we have made a proposal that a solemn undertaking be given that the atomic weapon will not be used, so that agreement may later be reached for completely prohibiting the use of this weapon of mass extermination of human beings; we have also proposed a considerable reduction in conventional armaments. At the Berlin Conference the Soviet Union took every possible step to bring about the relaxation of international tension and to settle European problems. At present the representatives of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are doing all in their power at the Geneva Conference to bring about the restoration of peace in Indo-China and a just settlement of the Korean question and thereby strengthen the positions of peace. **(Applause).**

At the same time everybody sees that many statesmen in the United States are kindling war passions and openly calling for a new war. One such warmonger and enemy of the peaceful settlement of international problems is Senator Knowland, leader of the Republican majority in the Senate, who calls for a mass attack on the Soviet Union. Is it not clear that such appeals do not contribute to the peaceful settlement of international problems?

The camp of imperialism and reaction is torn by internal contradictions. Unemployment is mounting in the capitalist countries, the material conditions of the working people are deteriorating, internal economic difficulties are increasing, The imperialists are trying to overcome all these contradictions by means of an unrestricted armaments drive and intensified exploitation of the working class and working peasantry.

This explains why war hysteria is whipped up in the United States and enormous sums are spent on armaments. Even the bourgeois press cannot conceal its anxiety over the fact that the unbridled advocates of a new war are turning the United States into a police and fascist state.

The American journal "A. F. Stone's Weekly" recently carried an editorial saying that the atmosphere in Washington is such that only a few

congressmen dare to come out against the police state at home or war abroad for fear of being accused of supporting Communism. We are moving towards war and fascism, the editorial says, although there are only a few madmen who crave for war or fascism... A great nation is being drawn into disaster like a flock of sheep driven by the barking and howling of a few mad dogs. History knows few examples, the editorial states, when a free people has had less power over its own fate.

This is the kind of hysterical atmosphere that the American imperialists are creating. And the purpose of all this is to squeeze out maximum profits, to enslave the working people to an even greater degree.

Hatching up plans for world domination, the American imperialists try to suggest that in our times national sovereignty of the big countries and even more so of small countries is a harmful survival of the past. Posing as "defenders" of peace they seize control of the economy in West European and other countries, convert them into their vassals and implant a pro-American, order there. They strangle the people's finest sentiments—love for their motherland, for its freedom and national independence.

The fierce hatred of the imperialists for the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is understandable. The imperialists cannot reconcile themselves in any way to the fact that the peoples of these countries have taken power into their own hands and established democratic rule and refuse to allow the American and other imperialists to rule the roost in the people's-democratic countries.

Facts show that certain ruling circles of imperialist states refuse to give up their illusion that we can be intimidated by the notorious "positions of strength" policy.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned we have always replied to threats of the imperialists by saying that the Soviet people have never feared and do not fear threats. (Applause). This is not the first time that the methods of threats have been tried against the Soviet people. As is known, Hitler also hoped to destroy the Soviet Union by means of force. But everyone remembers that this ended in the destruction of Hitler and his henchmen. Our people are fully aware of their strength and will be able to rout any aggressor when they are compelled to do so. (Tumultuous applause). And the People's Democracies are no longer what they used to be. They have grown and become strong and if attacked will be able to stand up for themselves and defend their achievements. (Prolonged applause).

We have every reason to declare that the mighty camp of democracy and Socialism, consisting of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Czechoslovak Republic and all the other People's Democracies welded together by strong friendship, is capable of properly rebuffing those who like to engage in military adventures. (Applause). If the imperialists unleash a new, third world war they will choke on it and it will end in catastrophe for the capitalist world. (Prolonged applause).

The peoples of the countries of the democratic camp won their freedom and national independence, their right to build a better life without capitalists and other exploiters in a fierce struggle against fascism and the forces of reaction. They will never surrender these gains to anyone. (Applause).

Over many centuries the Czechoslovak people suffered from the yoke of the German landlords and capitalists, who threatened their very existence as a

nation, and waged a selfless struggle against them. The freedom and independence of the people's-democratic Czechoslovak state, its right to build the new socialist life has been won at a high price, at the price of the blood and lives of many of the finest sons of the Czechoslovak people. Can the Czechoslovak people be expected to agree with the policy of the revival of German imperialism that is being pursued by the ruling circles of the United States of America and their European henchmen? Certainly the Czechoslovak people who have suffered so much at the hands of the German fascists cannot agree to this. The peoples of Czechoslovakia are working hard for the security of Europe and acting hand in hand with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, with all peace champions throughout the world. **(Applause).**

Duty to mankind obliges all peace champions to prevent a new war, to frustrate the plans of the aggressive circles so as, in the words of the well-known Czech writer Karel Capek, to prevent serpents from using their poison and tigers from using their teeth.

There are sound forges in the world and they constitute the overwhelming majority. These forces are the masses of the people. They stand on the positions of strengthening peace and restraining the aggressors who are trying to let loose a new war. Progressive forces are acting not only in Europe but also in America, in all parts of the world.

It is the urgent task of all peace-loving forces to fight for the consolidation of European security, for the establishment of lasting peace in Asia, for the prevention of any, imperialist aggression, for the unconditional prohibition of the use of the atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass extermination, for the further relaxation of international tension and for the improvement of friendly relations between the peoples and governments.

Comrades, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is solving important problems. It is summing up the work of the Party in the five years that have elapsed since the Ninth Congress and outlining the ways for the further building of the foundations of Socialism in free and democratic Czechoslovakia. All contemporary history of the development of your country and the work of this Congress bear witness to the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is the recognised and tested leader of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. Their long years of experience have convinced them that all the activities of the Communist Party are for the well-being of the people and are carried on exclusively in their interests. The Party has won the confidence and support of the people. Vivid proof of this, among other things, is the victory of the candidates of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks led by the Communist Party in the recent elections to local organs of people's power—the national committees. The elections were another demonstration of the solidarity of the working people of Czechoslovakia around their Communist Party.

In 1921, speaking of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the great Lenin pointed out the need for the Party to gain the support of the majority of the working people, to continue to draw the workers into the Party in order to create an invincible force.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has now become a really great force. It has won the confidence of the Czechoslovak working people, the respect and love of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. It has

achieved this because it has always remained loyal to the vital interests of its entire people, **to the all-conquering teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin**. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always waged a stubborn struggle for the purity and unity of its ranks. Even in the period of the bourgeois republic it routed and threw overboard **the right and left opportunists, the Trotskyists and other enemies of the Party and the people**. In recent years the Party exposed a gang of contemptible agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie who had got into its ranks.

In the course of struggle for the consolidation of the people's-democratic state the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia became a mass Party uniting in its ranks

the best, the advanced forces of the people. Marxism-Leninism teaches that the strength of the revolutionary Party of the working class lies in the unity of its ranks, in the political tempering of Party cadres and of all Communists, **in their correct understanding of the Party's policy**. Therefore painstaking and persistent work to educate Party members who come to the Party from different sections of the population, to educate them in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist Party consciousness, in order **to make the Party still more consolidated and monolithic**, is **the most important task** of the Communist Parties. As the experience of Communist and Workers' Parties has shown, the education and tempering of the Party activists who constitute a considerable core of the Party is of particular importance. **A broad circle of Party activists united around the Central Committee, with constant work among them, is an enormous organising force for accomplishing the tasks set by the Party. (Applause).**

There is no doubt that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue religiously to cherish the purity and strengthen the militant unity of its ranks, to enhance political vigilance, **develop criticism and self-criticism in the Party, constantly implement the principle of collective leadership** and strengthen its ties with the people—the working class, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia. Displaying day-to-day solicitude for the well-being of the people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will ensure the further steady advance of the national economy, **the development of the country's agriculture** and an increase in labour productivity. This will enable the Communist Party and the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic successfully to carry out the **planned policy of systematic price reductions** and **fuller satisfaction** of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the people.

The experience of the world Communist movement has proved that a revolutionary proletarian Party is invincible as long as it relies on the people and is able to guide itself in its work by **the Marxist-Leninist theory, applying it in a creative way to the historical situation and to the conditions of its country**.

Allow me to wish your Congress, which is an important event in the life of Czechoslovakia, success and fruitful work. The decisions of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will rally the Party still closer, will enhance the role of collective leadership and will chart the next paths for the advance of the Czechoslovak Republic towards Socialism.

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has instructed our delegation to convey the following message of greetings to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:**

## 5. "TO THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA"

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. **(Stormy, prolonged applause swelling into an ovation. Standing, the delegates listen to the message of greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU).**

Relying on the confidence and support of the broad masses of the working people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has made great progress in consolidating the people's-democratic state **and in building the foundations of Socialism.** Under the guidance of the Communist Party the first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy has been successfully carried out **and all the necessary conditions for a substantial advance of agriculture and improvement in the living standards of the working people have been created.** People's Czechoslovakia is an active fighter for the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly wishes the Communist Party and the entire working people of Czechoslovakia fresh success in socialist construction, in the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the fraternal friendship between the peoples of Czechoslovakia, in the development of the national economy and culture, in the steady raising of the living standards of the working people and in the struggle for strengthening world peace.

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—the vanguard of the working class and all working people of Czechoslovakia.

Long live the inviolable fraternal friendship between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union!

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION."

**(Stormy, prolonged ovation resounds throughout the hall. The delegates shout: "Long live the Soviet Union!", "Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!", Long live peace!", "Friendship with the Soviet Union forever!". Shouts of "Hurrah", The delegates and visitors sing the "Internationale").**

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