

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information Bureau of the
Communist and Workers' Parties**



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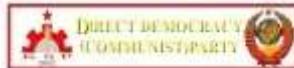
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PATHWAY TOWARDS THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE

Striving to prevent the unleashing of another war and to safeguard and strengthening peace, all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces in Europe are day by day and in an increasingly resolute and persistent fashion, opposing the establishment of the "European Defence Community" and the resurgence of German militarism.

The resurgence of German militarism is a serious danger for all European peoples, including the German people. The formation of the "European Defence Community", in which the German militarists are assigned the leading role, would mean the division of Europe into two opposing military alignments. Western Germany, ruled by the German militarists and revenge-seekers, would inevitably become the hotbed of another world war. The desire of certain circles, which are interested in aggravating the international tension, to impose the "European Defence Community" on the European peoples, as the Bureau of the World Peace Council recently pointed out, is at present the main obstacle and the chief danger to peace in Europe.

All the European peoples well remember the lessons of history. They have not forgotten and will never forget the evil role played by German

militarism in these wars which involved mankind in countless losses. The genuine expression of the will of the peoples of Europe is the mass movement, of all the peoples against EDC, the "European Army" and the revival of German militarism.

In France, millions of working people and a large number of prominent figures from all bourgeois parties, including the government parties, are opposing the rebirth of German militarism. All bourgeois parties are divided on this question. Herriot and Daladier in the Radical Party are the inspirers and leaders of the strong opposition against the creation of EDC. The majority of Socialist Deputies have expressed themselves against the "European Army". The "case" of Marshal Juin, who spoke out against EDC, also testifies to the deep discontent prevailing in the army with the plans for creating EDC. General de Gaulle also resolutely condemned the idea of a "European Army".

Mass demonstrations are taking place in Italy against the EDC agreement. The fact that the Scelba Government has submitted to Parliament a bill for the ratification of the "European Army" treaty has evoked a powerful wave of indignation throughout the country. All progressive, democratic forces in the country are resolutely demanding that this agreement, an insult to the national dignity of the Italian people, be rejected.

The peoples in the West European countries' persistently demand that their governments return to an independent policy in conformity with the national interests of their countries, and reject the plan for building the "European Army". This movement of the European peoples is one of the major obstacles to the establishment of EDC and the revival of German militarism. The mass protests against the rebirth of German militarism have assumed such proportions that the West European governments cannot but reckon with it.

In this connection it should be noted particularly that the proposal made by the Government of the USSR for the signing of a "General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe", a direct contrast to the plan for setting up the "European Defence Community", and an alternative to EDC, has met with understanding in most varied public circles in Western Europe and is vigorously supported by increasing numbers of people in all countries. This proposal which is an effective plan for organising collective security corresponds to the vital interests of all peoples in Europe.

The growing support by millions of people for the Soviet proposal for ensuring peace and security in Europe is natural and can be easily explained. The point is that the draft "General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe" provides a guarantee of peace and security for all European states irrespective of their social system

or size. The Soviet draft is based on a simple and clear-cut idea envisaging the co-operation of all European states in the matter of preventing the violation of peace in Europe and in the matter of delivering the necessary rebuff to any aggressor by all means in their power, including the armed forces. Such a system will include any opportunity for reviving German militarism. It is the most effective guarantee for safeguarding and strengthening peace in Europe and, consequently, throughout the world.

It is significant that the proposal of the Government of the USSR has met with the warmest response above all in those countries whose peoples have suffered the most from German militarist aggression, primarily, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria. The Governments of these countries, guided in their foreign policy by a deep striving for the peaceful solution of outstanding issues and for the further improvement in the relations between states, have published special statements in which they fully approved the Soviet proposal for a "General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe". They have expressed their desire and readiness to participate in such a treaty, and, together with other states, to take the necessary steps for its early conclusion.

Great interest and wide response has been aroused throughout the world by the Soviet Government's Note of March 31 to the

Governments of France, Great Britain and the USA. In the interests of eliminating any difficulties which bar the way to agreement on creating a system of collective security, the Soviet Government stated in its Note that it sees no obstacle to a positive decision of the question of participation in the "General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe". Thus, the difficulty to which the Western powers continually referred and which, they allege, was an obstacle to reaching agreement on the creation of a system of collective security in Europe, disappears.

During discussion of the Soviet proposal on a General European Treaty, the question of the position and role of NATO was broached. As this agreement creates a closed military grouping of 14 states and ignores the task of preventing fresh German aggression, it can only be regarded as an aggressive agreement directed against the countries of the democratic camp. The formation of the North-Atlantic alliance not only failed to promote and does, not now promote a lessening of international tension, it is, on the contrary, continuously increasing this tension. Never has war hysteria, uncertainty and fear weighed so heavily upon the population of the countries participating in the North-Atlantic Treaty as during the course of the past five years. At the same time the establishment of this, organisation has led to a great speeding-up of the armaments drive with all the consequences arising therefrom.

It is quite obvious that NATO can, under given conditions, be divested of its aggressive nature provided all the big powers which belonged to the anti-Hitlerite coalition, take part in it. In keeping with this and guided by the unwavering principles of its peace-loving foreign policy, striving to relax international tension, the Soviet Government has expressed its willingness to consider, jointly with the governments concerned, the question of the participation of the USSR in the North Atlantic Treaty.

The participation of the USSR in the North-Atlantic Treaty and the possibility of other European countries being included would give this Treaty a defensive character and would create conditions making it impossible for separate parts of Germany to be drawn into military groupings. All this, in conjunction with the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe, would be of vital importance for strengthening world peace and security of the peoples.

The new Soviet proposals have been unanimously approved by the popular masses, they are being actively supported by democratic organisations and are cordially welcomed by everyone really interested in strengthening peace. Even the American "New York Herald Tribune" was forced to admit the "force attraction" of the Soviet proposals in the eyes of the European peoples. The hasty attempts of the ruling circles of the USA, who, above all, fear the possibility of

a change in the character of the North Atlantic bloc, to dictate that all their "allies" take up a negative attitude towards the new Soviet proposals, have fallen through and have aroused general censure.

The peace-loving, progressive forces in Europe understand well that the genuine guarantee of European security is not the creation of military blocs and alignments directed against each other or the revival, of German militarism, but the joint efforts of all European countries, including the efforts of all the big powers on whom devolves the main responsibility for postwar order in Europe. That is why they are vigorously opposing the establishment of the "European Defence Community", the resurgence of German militarism, and are taking resolute action for general European collective security and for peace.

AGAINST REVIVAL OF GERMAN MILITARISM, AGAINST "EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY"

Emergency Conference in Britain

An emergency conference against the rearmament of Western Germany, called by the British Peace Committee, was held at London's Beaver Hall on April 3-4. The conference was attended by over 250 delegates from 136 different organisations.

During the two day conference Communists, Labour Party members, Tories, representatives from trade-union bodies and public organisations, clergymen and scientists, teachers and miners voiced their protests against the rearming of Western Germany and demanded the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

Giving a number of examples, D. N. Pritt, President of the British Peace Committee, showed that the guilt for delaying the settlement of the German problem rests with the US authorities who need an armed Western Germany for their war preparations against the Soviet Union. Pritt vigorously denounced the policy of "negotiations from positions of strength" pursued by the Western powers, since this is a policy of diktat and is a brazen method of refusal to enter into any negotiations.

The conference unanimously passed a resolution which calls on the people of Britain to rally under the slogan "Stop German Rearmament and Win Peace in Europe", to bring every kind of pressure to bear on the Government, demanding that the four Powers seize the opportunity at the Geneva Conference to resume discussion of the German question.

For Peaceful Reunification of Germany

The "Union of Germans Fighting for Unity, Peace and Freedom" has published a statement on the signing of the Bonn and Paris agreements by Heuss, President of Western Germany. The statement says:

"Instead of the sovereignty and independence of our people the unrestricted rule of the occupation powers is to be established for the next 50 years. The Federal Government has provided documentary evidence that it does not want peaceful reunification.

"Peaceful reunification was and is possible provided the main obstacle—the Bonn and Paris agreements—is removed and the proposal for negotiations, advanced by the Government of German Democratic Republic, is accepted. But this presupposes that the German people must even more resolutely struggle against the 'European Defence Community' agreement and

'General Treaty and fight for the conclusion of a peace treaty and withdrawal of the occupation troops".

Numerous Congresses in France

During the past fortnight France has seen 30 peace congresses. Some were organised by the Peace Movement under the slogan "No ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties." Peace in Indo-China. Negotiations to solve international disputes", while others were arranged by the peasants' committees in defence of agriculture and for peace, and by Department committees for the peaceful solution of the German question. Everywhere the delegates, who represented all shades of public opinion, spoke against the formation of the "European Defence Community".

The peace congress held in the Alpes-Maritimes Department was attended by nearly 2,000 delegates. The representatives of various political trends characterised the "European Army" -project as a serious danger to the security of France and to world peace. Jacques Cotta, former Socialist Mayor of Nice, said: "In face of the danger let us join hands for the defence, of peace, setting aside all differences". Numerous greetings were addressed to the congresses.

Over 1,000 peace supporters gathered at a congress in Lyons, Vienney, deputy Mayor of

Lyons, a Radical, declared on behalf of Edouard Herriot, honorary Chairman of the National Assembly: "The USA would prefer to deprive us of our independence but we want to maintain it". Referring to the means of ensuring peace he continued: "It is necessary to build unity with all peoples, with all countries of the East which, I am sure, think only of achieving peace by negotiations, and not by the formation of blocs".

A representative Department peace committee was elected at the close of the peace congress in Vaucluse Department which was attended by 500 delegates. A Communist, a Radical and a Socialist are, among others, in the leadership of the committee.

In Arras, Saint-Etienne, Saint-Brieux, Gueret, etc. representatives of the various strata of the French people who oppose in their overwhelming majority the Bonn and Paris military treaties, reviewed the numerous actions aimed at preventing the ratification of these disastrous treaties by Parliament. Important decisions for the further development of the struggle in the next few weeks were adopted.

Mass Action in Italy

The struggle of the people against the creation of the "European Defence Community" is gaining momentum in Italy. For example, in the past few weeks 50 factory conferences of protest against the "European Army" agreement have been held in Milan Province and over 50 conferences and meetings have taken place in Bologna Province. In Modena Province hundreds of meetings held in houses elected delegates to express to the authorities and members of parliament the protests of the population against the attempts to revive German militarism. As a result of the vigorous campaign launched by peace supporters in Ravenna against the construction of a military airfield the Defence Ministry decided to abandon the work. The campaign of peace supporters was backed up by all the cultural organisations of the town.

A meeting of the National Peace Council held in Rome on April 1 and 2 was attended by representatives of all democratic organisations. It discussed questions pertaining to the home situation and the prospects of struggle against ratification of the EDC agreement.

Giuliano Pajetta, Secretary of the National Peace Committee, made a report in which he pointed out that the movement against militarisation of Western Germany assumed various forms and extended to the broadest sections of the population in the country.

Senator Emilio Sereni; Riccardo Lombardi, Member of Parliament; Andrea Gaggero, Stalin International Peace Prize winner; Giuseppe Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour; Maria Maddalena Rossi, Chairman of the "Italian Union of Women" and others, who took part in discussion pointed to the need for an intensified fight by the people against the "European Defence Community", for a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The resolution adopted by the National Peace Council called on the people of Italy as a whole further to strengthen unity of action in order to remove, by common effort, the danger of destruction and death threatening the country and entire mankind.

A major question discussed by the meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Youth Federation on April 1-2 was that of the tasks facing the Federation in struggle against the formation of EDC.

CELEBRATION OF LIBERATION DAY OF HUNGARY

On April 4 the working people of Hungary, celebrated the ninth anniversary of the liberation of the country from the Hitler invaders by the heroic Soviet Army. On this occasion joint celebration meetings and talks of Party committees and local People's Councils were held in all districts of Budapest, in regional cities and in villages. The Hungarian people once more expressed their profound gratitude to their liberators—Soviet soldiers. All over the country the working people laid wreaths at the memorials to Soviet warriors who fell in the battles for the liberation of Hungary.

Miners, metallurgical workers, workers employed in light industry and tractor drivers of the MTS marked the celebration day with fresh labour successes. Working their celebration shift the miners of the Tatabanya pit No. 11 fulfilled the day's plan by 146.2 per cent. The miners in the Petofi pit in Komio cut 15,000 tons over and above the plan.

On April 3 the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic held a celebration meeting in the Budapest Opera Theatre. Amongst those in the presidium were Comrade Matias Rakosi, first Secretary of the Central Committee, and other Party leaders,

Comrade Imre Nagy, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ministers and representatives of public organisations.

The celebration meeting was opened by Istvan Doby, Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic. Antal Apro, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Party, delivered a report on the ninth anniversary of the country's liberation, in which, he pointed out that since the liberation of the country the Soviet Union—the liberator—has given the most substantial assistance, to the Hungarian people, in the building of a free, independent people's democratic Hungary and in the economic rehabilitation of the country. That is why, Comrade Antal Apro stressed, April 4 has become not only the day of our liberation but also the day of national regeneration, the greatest national festival of the Hungarian people, the festival of the unshakable Soviet-Hungarian friendship.

A military parade of the units of the Hungarian People's Army was held in Budapest in the J . V. Stalin Square on April 4.

Later, in the day a highly successful performance was given by the State Ensemble of Folk Dances of the USSR, directed by Igor Moiseyev, in front of 50,000 spectators in the Budapest People's Stadium. The celebration day ended with fireworks, dancing in the main squares and outdoor fetes for young people. On the

evening of the same day the Presidium of the Republic and Council of Ministers held a big reception in the State Assembly building.

CLOSE OF FOURTH CONGRESS, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The work of the Fourth Congress of the SUPG continued from April 2 to 6. During this time discussion took place on the report of the Central Committee (given by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, first Secretary of the Central Committee); the report of the Central Auditing Commission (Comrade Alfred Oelssner); the report of the Central Control Commission of the Party (Comrade Hermann Matern) and the amendments to the Party Rules (Comrade Karl Schirdewan).

The delegates thoroughly discussed ways of further strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and touched on a number of important aspects of the political, ideological and economic work of the Party.

The speech-delivered by Comrade Otto Buchwitz, member of the Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Elder Statesmen in the People's Chamber and veteran of the German working-class movement, was heard, with keen attention.

Comrade Otto Buchwitz appealed to Social-Democratic workers and all honest Social-Democrats in Western Germany for united action with the true opponents of the militarist policy of the Bonn Government, above all, with the Communists.

Comrade Otto Grotewohl, Chairman of the Party and Premier of the Republic, who was warmly welcomed by the Congress, referred in his moving and comprehensive speech to the achievements of the German Democratic Republic, the work of the state apparatus, the ideological education of the working people and questions of strengthening the Party's ties with the masses.

On April 4 the Congress finished discussing the reports, of the Central Committee, Central Auditing Commission and Central Control Commission. 83 delegates took part in the discussion, which lasted five days. The discussion showed that the delegates fully understood the great tasks facing the Party.

After Comrade Ulbricht's concluding speech, the Congress unanimously endorsed the reports of the Central Committee, Central Auditing Commission and Central Control Commission.

Comrade Mückenberger, Chairman of the Credentials Commission, then gave the Credentials report which was endorsed by the Congress.

On April 5 the Congress heard Comrade Kart Schirdewan, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, who spoke on the amendments to the Party Rules. Comrade Schirdewan pointed out that in its structure and norms of Party life, the SUPG carried out the organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism. He

then dwelt in detail on the amendments to the Rules and the reasons for these amendments and addenda.

Discussion developed around Comrade Schirdewan's report. The delegates expressed wholehearted agreement with the Marxist-Leninist organisational principles which lay at bedrock of the Party.

The Congress heard the report of the Editing Commission on its amendments and addenda to the draft programme-document of the Congress on the main principles for settling the questions which are vital to the German nation. The Congress approved this document unanimously and amid great enthusiasm.

After discussion the Congress unanimously adopted the amended Rules of the Party.

The Fourth Congress of the SUPG was in the focus of public interest in the Republic. During the preparations for the Congress 19,157 working people applied for Party membership. The Presidium of the Congress received numerous messages of greetings from workers, peasants and intelligentsia.

Nearly 800 members of the Communist Party of Germany attended the Congress as visitors from Western Germany. A message of greetings was received from leading members of the miners' trade union and workers in the Aachen area in Western Germany. Messages of greetings delivered to the Congress by Comrade Fritz

Rische, member of the Board of the Communist Party of Germany, and by Comrade Josef Ledwohn, Chairman of the Communist Party organisation in North Rhine-Westphalia (Western Germany).

The Congress of the SUPG became an impressive demonstration of the fraternal solidarity of the working class of different countries. The delegates, warmly received the speeches by Comrade F. Jozwiak-Witold, member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party; Comrade J. Duris, member of the Presidium of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; , Comrade M. Farkas, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Hungarian Working People's Party; Comrade P. Borila; member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Rumanian' Workers' Party; Comrade Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain; Comrade Eduardo d'Onofrio, member of the Secretariat of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Italy; Comrade T. Jivkov, first Secretary of the C.C. of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Comrade J. Koplénig, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria; Comrade Al. Prifti, representative of the Party of Labour of Albania; Comrade G. Erythriadis, member of the Bureau of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Greece; Comrade Jose Moix, representative of the Communist Party of Spain and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia; Comrade Lauri Kantola,

member of the Communist Party of Finland; Comrade Jean Terfve, Secretary of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Belgium; Comrade Gustav Jahansson, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Sweden; Comrade Ib Nörlund, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Denmark; Comrade Jorgen Vogt, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Norway; Dr. M. Biletzki; member of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Israel; Comrade M. Bassi, member of the Executive Committee of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Trieste; Comrade Edwin Burlet, representative of the C.C. of the Party of Labour of Switzerland; Comrade Arthur Useldinger, representative of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Luxembourg and Comrade Christin Andressen, representative of the C.C. of the Party of Socialist Unity of Iceland.

The delegates listened with great enthusiasm while telegrams of greetings from the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of Brazil were read.

On April 6, the Congress held its concluding session. The delegates wholeheartedly approved the telegram of greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which expressed the profound gratitude of the working people of the Republic to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Congress then heard the report of the tellers on results of the election of the leading organs of the Party.

It elected the Central Committee of the SUPG, consisting of 91 members and alternate members, and the Central Auditing Commission.

Among those who are elected to the Central Committee are Comrades Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht, Hermann Matern, Heinrich Rau, Friedrich Ebert, Paul Wandel, Otto Buchwitz, Johannes Becher, Willi Bredel, Alfred Oelssner, Karl Schirdewan and others.

Comrade Otto Grotewohl, speaking at the close of the Congress, pointed out that the Congress was proof of the growth of the Party and consolidation of its unity.

The closing meeting, held in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, ended with the "Internationale".

On the occasion of the close of the Fourth Congress a powerful 250,000-strong demonstration of the working people took place on April 6 in Berlin. The meeting was addressed by Comrade A. I. Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the C.C. of CPSU and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who was greeted with tumultuous and prolonged applause. Comrade Mikoyan conveyed heartfelt greetings to the working people of Berlin and the whole of Germany.

On April 7 there was a meeting of the newly elected C.C. of the SUPG under the chairmanship of Comrade Wilhelm Pieck. Comrades F. Ebert, O. Grotewohl, G. Marten, F. Oelssner, W. Pieck, H. Rau, K. Schirdewan, W. Stoph, W. Ulbricht were elected to the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the SUPG, Comrades E. Honecker, B. Leuschner, E. Mückenberger, A. Neumann, H. Warnke were elected alternate members of the Political Bureau. Comrade W. Ulbricht was elected first Secretary of the C.C. of the SUPG. Comrades E. Mückenberger, F. Oelssner, K. Schirdewan, P. Wandel, G. Ziller were elected secretaries of the C.C. of the Party.

COMRADE A. I. MIKOYAN'S SPEECH AT FOURTH CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY ON APRIL 1, 1954.

Dear Comrades, permit me to extend to your Congress, to all the members of the Socialist Unity Party and to the working people of Germany the cordial fraternal greetings of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet people. (Applause).

The Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is taking place at a time when the vanguard forces of the German people are uniting to solve the vital national task of restoring the unity of their country, of creating a peace-loving; democratic and independent Germany. (Applause).

The Socialist Unity Party is marching in the foremost ranks of the democratic and patriotic forces of the country, fighting against the revival of German militarism and the conversion of Germany into a new centre of aggression and war; they are fighting to bring Eastern and Western Germany closer to each other peace treaty as soon as possible, for the national reunification of Germany and for a policy of peace and friendship among the peoples.

The Socialist Unity Party has inherited the finest revolutionary traditions of the German

working-class movement. A big achievement of your Party is the overcoming of the split in the working class movement in the GDR, the uniting of the workers' parties into a single Marxist Party of the working class. **(Applause)**.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, being an advanced detachment of the working class and a genuine champion of the interests of its people, has rallied into an invincible National Front all the progressive forces in the GDR, all the democratic parties which hold national unity and the development of the country along democratic lines close to their heart.

I recall Berlin nine years ago, in May, 1945, when the smoke not yet dispersed, when a few thousand Soviet officers were helping the get things going in the city. How few German democratic figures there were in Berlin then who could be given the job of managing the affairs of the city. Some languished in concentration camps, others had been dispersed and crushed by Hitler. And now—one can only look and wonder at the amount of energy and strength of the German people; at what has been achieved in the matter of clearing away the ruins and rebuilding the city; at the mighty democratic forces and talented political statesmen the people have produced during this brief period. **(Tumultuous applause)**.

One of the most important achievements of the Socialist Unity Party, is the creation and

consolidation of the alliance of the working class and peasantry. This alliance has been converted into the sound foundation of the democratic system of the Republic.

The fact that considerably more people in the GDR are occupied in industry and trade than in agriculture does not diminish the importance of the peasantry in the building up of a democratic state. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the GDR, too, is a serious political question, and a primary duty of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is the further strengthening in every way possible of the alliance of the working class and peasantry. **(Prolonged applause)**.

The working people of the German Democratic Republic have achieved great successes in the building of their new life. In the struggle for the victory of the new system, a system free from social and national oppression, the working people of the GDR are creating a society in which, as the great son of the German people Karl Marx said, the only ruler will be labour. **(Applause)**

The abolition of big monopoly capital and the landlord-junker estates in the German Democratic Republic has signified the destruction of the economic basis of militarism and reaction. Enterprises previously belonging to war criminals and big capital have become national property. The national sector predominates in the industry in the GDR.

More than three million hectares of land which formerly belonged, to the landlords and junkers have been given over to peasants who had no land at all, or very little. During the past few years the first peasant producer co-operatives have been established, of an entirely voluntary principle, and are being strengthened; the number of machine and tractor stations serving both the co-operatives and individual peasants is increasing and they are becoming better equipped with technique.

The working people of the Republic are solving important and difficult tasks in the development of peaceful economy and are increasing material and cultural wealth in order to improve the life of the people.

The industry of the Republic is expanding steadily from year to year. The volume of industrial output at the beginning of 1954 was 177 per cent as compared with prewar 1936. The level of industrial development in the Republic makes it possible to give most serious attention to the fulfilment of the vital task—that of increasing the output of goods to satisfy ever more fully the needs of the population.

Your Party and Government correctly regard the quality of goods as a question of first-rank importance, primarily, the quality of goods for mass consumption. It is necessary that the quality of goods produced in the GDR should be superior to that of the goods manufactured in capitalist

countries. This task is a practicable one and a guarantee thereof is the diligence, talent, the know-how and experience of the German working class and engineer cadres.

The world-famed high quality of German industrial goods should be maintained **(Applause)**.

The successes achieved in the industrial development of the Republic create all the conditions necessary for a further upsurge of agriculture. Industry can supply agriculture with machines, fertilisers and manufactured goods on an ever increasing scale. There is no doubt that the working class of the GDR will continue to render every assistance to both co-operative and individual working peasants in the matter of all-round development and raising the productivity of agriculture, which is of decisive significance for the improvement in the well-being of the working people.

The elimination of unemployment, the introduction of equal pay for men and women, wide-scale housing and cultural construction, social insurance and other things are the big achievements of the people of the German Democratic Republic, which the working people in Western Germany do not possess.

For the first time in history of Germany all the young people down to the children of the poorest peasants have obtained access to the sources of knowledge, and the doors of all centres of

education are open to them. All young German boys and girls now have the opportunity to develop their talents,, to find some use for their abilities, in contrast to the bourgeois regime when only children of the propertied classes could study in higher educational institutions. After they have completed their education the young people of the German Democratic Republic are guaranteed suitable work. This is why it is important, with these possibilities existing, that the Party should develop its large-scale work among the youth. The young people must be the reliable pillar of the new, democratic regime in the GDR, as this new regime, gives the working and peasant youth the greatest opportunities for advancement. **(Applause).**

The successive price reductions and the improved supplies to the population promote the greater well-being of the working people. Undoubtedly the line taken by the Government for accelerating the output goods required by the population will enable the standard of living of the working people to be raised in the near future.

The working people of the GDR, are rightly proud of their success in the sphere of economic and cultural upbuilding, they have faith in the morrow, neither crisis nor unemployment threatens them. The first signs of a new economic crisis in the USA have already appeared. Anxiety continues to grow in Western Europe in view of the signs of the worsening of the situation under

the influence of the American crisis, there is a growing lack of confidence in the morrow, Western Germany, which is closely bound up with the economy of the USA and to a great extent dependent on it, will not remain unaffected by the crisis which will bring the workers in Western Germany increased unemployment and a worsening of their conditions. The economy of the German Democratic Republic is in no such danger, and no such calamities menace the workers and peasants in the GDR since behind you there stands, the mighty camp of democracy and Socialism capable of ensuring a stable market for the developed industry of the GDR, for all its products, full use of its production capacity and full employment of the entire population. **(Tumultuous applause).**

The Soviet people and all sincere friends of the German people are rejoicing of the successes of the working people of the German Democratic Republic.

Despite the fact that the anti-national policy of the Kaiser and Hitler resulted in our countries waging two bloody wars in less than 25 years, the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German people are common. There is nothing to divide them, they can and they must live in peace, like brothers. **(Tumultuous, prolonged applause).**

The ties of fraternal friendship between the working class of Germany and the working class

of our country have their roots in the history of the revolutionary struggle for liberation from the yoke of capital.

The German people gave the world Bach and Beethoven, Goethe, Schiller and Heine, whom the Soviet people revere, highly valuing their contribution to world culture.

The German people and the German working-class movement gave the world Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founder of the theory of scientific socialism, arming the working people with the programme for their social liberation. Marx and Engels were the staunch leaders of the revolutionary movement of the workers in Germany and of the working-class movement in other countries. Our Party has deeply studied and made full use of the experience of the German revolutionary working-class movement, Lenin, the founder of our Party, pointed out that the German working class for almost half a century was "a model of socialist organisation for the entire world". This was during the first fifty years of the century-long existence of Marxism.

While Marxism was born in the German working-class movement, it blossomed and developed further in the soil of the Russian working-class movement during the second half-century of its existence. The great master-mind of Marxism, V. I. Lenin, upheld the purity of Marxism, developed Marxism further in conformity with the of revolutionary struggle. **(Applause).**

The victory of Socialism in the USSR, the theoretical and practical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gained under the leadership of Lenin and the continuer of his cause, Stalin, are of international significance. The theory and practice of socialist upbuilding in the USSR greatly facilitate for other peoples the task of building a free life.

Marxism, which has entered into the third half-century of its existence, is being enriched and will also be enriched further by the experience of the Communist Party of China, by the experience of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the countries of peoples' democracy where the working class has become the decisive force in society, by the experience of those countries where the Communist and Workers' Parties are in the opposition—France and Italy, Britain the USA, India, Japan and others. The German working class, at a new stage of its development, having achieved unity in its ranks, created its own Marxist-Leninist Party and built up a democratic state, now too makes, together with the working class of the Soviet Union and other countries, a worthy contribution to the enrichment of the great treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism.
(Applause).

The Soviet people remember how the German workers greeted the victory of our people in the October Revolution. Nor do we forget the actions

of the German workers against the imperialist ventures to throttle the young socialist state.

In their turn the Russian workers and peasants considered it their duty to help their German brothers in their struggle for liberation, Proletarian solidarity is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Soviet people, Lenin taught us that in 1918, when hunger and devastation were rampant in our country, on the eve of the overthrow of the Kaiser in Germany, Lenin in a letter to the All-Russian Executive Committee wrote: "Let us decide that each big elevator set aside a reserve of bread for the help of the German workers in the event of their being placed in a difficult situation in their struggle for liberation from the monsters and brutes of imperialism." The Soviet Union sacredly preserves and strengthens these traditions of proletarian internationalism. (Tumultuous applause).

The working people of the GDR are well aware of the tremendous and many-sided help the Soviet Union has rendered in the rehabilitation and development of the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union cut down reparation deliveries and ultimately entirely freed the German Democratic Republic from these and other obligations arising from the consequences of war and reduced occupation costs to a minimum. All this helps to speed up the economic advance of the GDR and the raising of the standard of living of the German people.

The latest Statement of the Soviet Government on relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR speaks for itself. In keeping with this, the Soviet Union has established the same relations with the GDR as it maintains with other sovereign states. The GDR is now free to decide its home and foreign affairs as well as its relations with Western Germany at its own discretion. **(Applause)**.

The friendship between the Soviet and German peoples is becoming stronger now that the German proletariat and all progressive elements of the German people are uniting in the struggle for a unified, peace-loving, democratic Germany; when, shoulder to shoulder with the entire camp of peace and democracy, the German people are defending peace and security in Europe and the entire world.

History shows that the peoples of our countries must live in peace and friendship. This friendship is important not only for the well-being of our peoples but for that of all the peoples of Europe. J. V. Stalin justly pointed out that if the German and Soviet peoples were to strain all their forces in a resolute struggle for peace, peace in Europe might be considered as assured.

The most vital question today is that of peace and security for all peoples.

The Soviet Union is consistently championing the cause of peace and exposing the plans of the instigators of a new war. The peoples of great

China, of the European countries of people's democracy and the German Democratic Republic are fighting for peace together with the Soviet Union. This struggle is being supported by all the peoples of the world. The peace camp is becoming an ever more invincible force. The criminal plans of those who would like to draw the peoples into a new destructive war are being more and more resolutely opposed.

At the Berlin Conference the Soviet Union proposed the discussion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe. Such a treaty would prevent the establishment of groupings of some European states against other European states: instead of a split in Europe, this treaty would combine the strivings of all European countries, irrespective of their social system, in the effort to ensure collective security in Europe, which is in keeping with the principles of the Uno Charter. These proposals undoubtedly have a perspective and are of particular import for the future of Germany.

Such a treaty could be an alternative to the Bonn and Paris agreements which the people of Europe do not and cannot support in view of the fact that they are aimed at a splitting of Europe, at the establishment of an aggressive grouping of West-European states with the participation of a militarised Western Germany as the chief shock force of this grouping. It is natural, therefore, that the Soviet Union opposes these agreements which

run counter to its strivings for peace, and resolutely opposes the remilitarisation of Western Germany. **(Applause)**.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of yesterday's Note of the Soviet Union to the Governments of France, Britain and the United States of America, setting out the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the participation of the USA in a General European Treaty on Collective Security and expressing its willingness to consider the question about the participation of the Soviet Union in the Atlantic Pact. This Note should remove those objections to the General European Treaty on Collective Security which were raised by the three Western Ministers at the Berlin Conference. The acceptance of the Soviet proposals on these questions would radically ease the tension in the international situation and would be of great significance in ensuring the peace and security of the peoples. The acceptance of these proposals would without doubt, also promote the speedy solution of the German question. **(Applause)**.

The murky waters of lies and slander about the German Democratic Republic coming from the West are unable to conceal from the peoples the obvious fact that the GDR is the bulwark of the peace-loving forces in all Germany, the champion of good-neighbourly relations between the German nation and other nations.

The historical mission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany consists, primarily, in the fact that it must once and for all turn the German people aside from the road of military catastrophes onto the road of peaceful flourishing. **(Prolonged applause).** As concerns the malicious attacks, of the aggressive forces against the German Democratic Republic, it would be as well to recall the words of Lenin— “Very often the fury of the attacks and the loudness the bark are out of all proportion to the strength of the political element waging the onslaught.”

One of the means of promoting the solving of the German question is the bringing of Eastern and Western Germany closer to each other.

At the Berlin Conference the Soviet Union put forward a programme for this bringing of Western and Eastern Germany close together. This programme was supported by the Government of the German Democratic Republic. We consider that the development of economic, cultural and other relations between the two parts of Germany would help in bringing them together and in doing away with the dismemberment of Germany arising from the policy of the Western powers.

Who, then, is hindering the development of the economic exchange and cultural relations between the Germans living in the West and the Germans living in the East?

Whereas in the old Germany trade between trade between the western and eastern areas

exceeded 4,000 million marks, in 1933 inter-German trade was only slightly more than 500 million.

The necessity of restoring a wide exchange between the separate German territories is obvious. While the Government of the German Democratic Republic is making every effort to develop inter-German trade the Bonn authorities, obeying the orders of the Americans, are, in point of fact, frustrating the establishment of economic relations.

It is common knowledge, for example, that in the past a considerable part of the Ruhr steel was consigned chiefly to the metal-processing enterprises in the eastern areas of Germany. But the Bonn authorities now refuse to supply the German Democratic Republic with steel, while the West German metallurgical industry is affected by the growing difficulties experienced on the capitalist market and is willing to sell steel to the Soviet Union and other democratic countries.

Some business circles of West German industry have realised, earlier than the Bonn rulers, the necessity of having trade and business relations with the countries of the camp of Socialism and have arranged among themselves to send representatives to Moscow. They have expressed themselves in favour of having broad relations and business contact with economic organisations of the Soviet Union.

It can be anticipated that the Soviet economic organisations will be favourably disposed towards them and that the representatives of industrial circles in Western Germany, if they are not hindered by the Bonn rulers, will achieve certain practical results.

At the same time the lawful question arises: Why cannot direct trade be developed between Western and Eastern Germany?

The facts testify that the Bonn ruling circles are responsible for the artificial severing of the economic relations between Eastern and Western Germany. The development of cultural relations—relations between literary workers, artists, painters and scientists; relations between the trade unions, the youth, women's and other organisations in the German Democratic Republic and Western Germany—is also retarded by the circles that are holding up the reunification of Germany. These relations too must be extended in every possible way.

The workers in the GDR and in Western Germany are brothers by blood and class. The workers in the GDR will, undoubtedly, find the way to the hearts of the workers in Western Germany, they will strengthen the unity of the working class and transform it into a militant alliance, into a decisive means for overcoming the obstacles in the way of the unification of Germany.

The working class of Germany is becoming increasingly conscious of the correctness of the Soviet policy in relation to Germany and of how it corresponds to the vital interests of the German people. Of definite significance too is the fact that now there are also signs of understanding this policy in certain Social-Democratic circles in Western Germany.

Taking into account the interests of both the German people and the peoples of other countries the Soviet Government attaches major importance to the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. The peoples of the Soviet Union are sincerely interested in seeing the German people united as speedily as possible, so that they usher in a new epoch in their history—the epoch of peaceful development and the flowering of Germany. In this matter the German people can always count on the full support of both the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire camp of peace and democracy. ***(Tumultuous applause)***.

Everything shows that the German people must and will find the strength with which to solve the historic tasks facing them.

The guarantee of this is the fact that the idea of national unity is maturing more and more among the German people, that the supporters of

a peaceful and democratic way of the development of Germany are growing.

The guarantee of this is the deeply-rooted revolutionary traditions of the German working class.

The guarantee of this is that the members of your Party sacredly adhere to the behest of the unforgettable Ernst Thaelmann, staunch leader of the German proletariat, who, six months before he was foully murdered in prison, told the German people of the coming "socialist spring of the nations":

"My people, the people to whom I belong", he wrote, "the people I love, are the German people, and my nation, the nation of which I am proud, is the German nation, a brave, proud and steadfast nation."

Thaelmann vowed unshakable loyalty to the cause of Socialism:

"Steadfast and true in character, confident in victory, only in this way can we change our fate and fulfil our revolutionary duty in the historical mission which is ours and achieve the final victory of genuine Socialism." (***Tumultuous applause***).

We wish you that which is implicit in the 50 years' experience of our Party, namely, unity of the ranks of the Party, in the first place, organisational unity, ideological unity, unbreakable bonds between the Party and the people, the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, daily concern for the needs of the

popular masses and the unfolding of broad mass activity among the working people. For a Marxist Party there is nothing higher than the confidence of the people, no higher aim than the aim of winning for the Party the boundless confidence of the people. **(Applause).**

The experience of our Party testifies to the necessity of sharpening vigilance, of daily educating the cadres in the spirit of vigilance. Drawing to itself the best representatives of the working class, working peasantry and progressive intelligentsia the Party must guard against penetration of its ranks by hostile elements, agents of the class enemy, guard the working class and its Party from the pernicious influence of bourgeois ideology.

The experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shows that inner-Party democracy is a vital lever for disclosing shortcomings and their speedy elimination, for disclosing mistakes and their speedy elimination, for stimulating the initiative of the masses, for helping the leadership, for rallying the rank-and-file members behind the leadership of the Party; it shows that criticism and self-criticism represent a serious instrument of this democracy.

Criticism and self-criticism testify not to the weakness but to the strength of the Party which strives to disclose shortcomings in order to eliminate them. True, there is a certain minus in criticism in the sense that enemies can use inner-

Party criticism in their interests and the shortcomings disclosed in the process of criticism can be "deliberately twisted and distorted for the purpose of undermining the confidence of the masses in the Party. But at notwithstanding this minus criticism and self-criticism are as necessary as air for the work of the Party.

Criticism and self-criticism are the means for strengthening the unity of the Party and enhancing the confidence of the membership in the leadership of the Party, the means for rallying all the working people around the Party.

The guarantee of success in Party leadership is the collective spirit in the leading bodies of the Party from the district committees up to the regional committees and the Central Committee. It is our firm hope that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will make use of the lessons of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and further strengthen the unity of its ranks and collective leadership.

The Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is concentrating on the most vital problems facing the Party, the working class, the working people of the GDR and the entire German people. It is summing up the results of a vital phase in the life of the Party and the people, charting the next tasks in the struggle for realising the national aspirations for the reunification of the country, for development along peaceful democratic lines, taking measures

to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, further to develop industry and agriculture and to raise the living standards of the working people.

Allow me to express the conviction that your Congress will lead to still greater solidarity of the Party, to still greater fighting efficiency of the Party. **(Applause)**.

With all our hearts we wish your Congress fruitful work on behalf of the German people. **(Tumultuous applause)**.

Dear Comrades, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has instruction the delegation to convey to your Congress the following greeting:

To the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany embodies in itself the best revolutionary traditions of the German working-class movement which for tens of years was the model of socialist of socialist organisation of the working class.

After the military catastrophe brought upon the German state by the fascist aggressors the Socialist Unity Party of Germany rallied all the

democratic forces of the country into an indestructible national front and led them in the struggle for the new, democratic and peaceful path of development for Germany which precludes any possibility of a revival of the imperialist policy of aggression and war. Stepping out along this path the Socialist Unity Party of Germany together with all the democratic forces of the country has achieved big success in building the German Democratic Republic.

The German Democratic Republic, pursuing a consistent and firm policy of peace and friendship between the peoples, has won the lasting sympathy of the peace-loving peoples and occupies a worthy place in the camp of peace and democracy.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expresses the conviction that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will, with renewed energy, fight for the further strengthening of the democratic system, for the development of industry and agriculture for a steady rise in the living standards of the working people, of the German Democratic Republic, for the building of a united, democratic, peace-loving and independent Germany and wishes it further success.

Long live the Socialist Unity Party, the vanguard of the working people of the German Democratic Republic!

Long live lasting friendship between the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union!

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF
THE SOVIET UNION.**

(Prolonged, tumultuous applause, growing into an ovation. All rise. Cries of: Hurrah! Long live the Soviet Union! Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! Long live the friendship between the Soviet and German peoples! Freundschaft! Druzhiba!).

AFTER SECOND CONGRESS OF POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

After the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers Party the Central Committee initiated a number of meetings of the leadership of the Party and the Government with public figures, workers in the realm of literature and science, innovators of production and rationalisers, at which the problems advanced by the Second Congress of the Party were discussed.

A joint meeting of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Party, the State Council and the Presidium of the Government and leading figures in the National Front was held on March 24.

Comrade Boleslaw Bierut, first Secretary of the Central Committee, who opened the meeting stressed the national significance of working for peace and bringing about a more rapid improvement in the material and cultural well-being of working people in town and country.

The meeting was addressed by Ozga-Michalski, representative of the Democratic Party, and by Professor Gzul, Roman-Catholic priest, representative of the Commission of Ecclesiastical and City Catholics under the auspices of the National Front Committee of Poland.

The speakers stressed the great tasks facing the National Front in the matter of raising the standard of living and ensuring the continued

economic and cultural flowering of people's Poland.

On March 27 members of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the PUWP, State Council and the Presidium of the Government met with writers and journalists.

A meeting with representatives of the sciences was held on March 31. The scientists spoke of the chief tasks facing Polish science in the struggle for developing the productive forces of the country. They put forward a number of problems for Polish science, arising from the directives of the Second Congress of the Party.

April 3 saw a meeting with innovators of production, rationalisers and inventors. This meeting was attended by representatives of trade union activists, of the Polish Youth Union, the Women's League and other mass organisations. The meeting was opened by Comrade Bierut, first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. He distinguished innovators, rationalisers and engineers who took part in the discussion stressed the significance of the rationalisation movement and the introduction of new technique in industry and agriculture for carrying out the tasks put forward by the Second Congress of the Party.

REPORTING-BACK MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES IN ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR

Reporting-back and election meetings of local Party organisations and regional and district conferences have taken place in the Albanian Party of Labour. Delegates actively participated in the discussion of the reports and put forward a number of important proposals for improving the work of the Party.

Attention at the regional and district conferences was concentrated, in the main, on the discussion of conclusions and tasks arising from the decision of the December meeting of the Central Committee on measures for further raising the standard of living of the working people.

Delegates representing Party organisations at enterprises, co-operatives and in the countryside spoke of shortcomings and blunders in supplying the population with food and consumer goods. They brought forward their proposals and made pledges to fulfil in exemplary manner the decisions of the Central Committee.

The reporting-back and election campaign in the Albanian Party of Labour has given rise to a new upsurge in inner-Party life.

GROWTH IN RANKS OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH FEDERATION

The Italian Communist Youth Federation is at present doing great work in drawing new members into its ranks. For instance, more than 3,000 have joined the Federation in Bologna, 2,700 in Milan, 2,416 in Ravenna, 2,125 in Reggio-Emilia, 1,150 in Modena and 1,100 in Brescia.

It is worthy of note that of the 68 new members who have joined one of the circles of the Federation in the town of Pavia 60 young men and 6 young women had previously belonged to the "Catholic Action" youth organisation. In the Southern part of Milan Province 500 young people from the "Catholic Action" organisation have joined the Federation. In Urbania (Pesaro Province), of the 70 new members of the Federation, 50 were previously members of the clerical youth organisation. The ranks of the Federation are growing more swiftly in those places where youth circles carrying out cultural and political activities have been established. Members of the Federation do not stop at talks with those young people who come to the circles, they carry on explanatory work in all places where young people work, study and rest.

PEOPLE OF BRAZIL STRUGGLE FOR LEGALISING COMMUNIST PARTY

In connection with the Parliamentary elections to be held in October the movement for legalising the Communist Party is spreading throughout Brazil. Senators belonging to different political parties support, the people's demand to legalise the Communist Party which was outlawed in 1947 by the Dutra Government, on orders from the US imperialists. Hundreds of deputies to the Federal Parliament and State Legislatures also recognise the right of the Communists to legal participation in the political life of the country.

Numerous municipal councils, people's and trade union organisations have joined this movement. The demand to legalise the Communist Party is even supported by some conservative newspapers.

The workers' newspaper "Voz Operaria" points out that the demand to legalise the Communist Party is the demand of the entire public of Brazil.

PRESENT SITUATION AND STRUGGLE FOR A NEW GERMANY*

The Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has been convened at a time when the peace-loving peoples headed by the Soviet Union are making great efforts to ease the tension in international relations. In Germany the struggle is being fought between the peace-loving and militarist forces on the question of whether there should be a peace treaty for a united, democratic Germany and an early withdrawal of the occupation troops or the Bonn and Paris military agreements envisaging 50 years' foreign occupation of Western Germany. The German people should decide whether they are to take the path of peace, democratic unity of Germany and peaceful co-existence of the European peoples' or the path of aggressive German militarism led by the USA, the path of prolonging the dismemberment of Germany and of war.

Since the Third Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, our Party, the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the National Front of Democratic Germany have been waging an indefatigable struggle for a united, peace-loving, democratic and independent Germany. The German Democratic Republic, which is the

* From report of the Central Committee to the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

first peace-loving and democratic state German history, has won great respect. The German Democratic Republic has become a reliable bastion of peace, a source of strength for the development of the national popular movement in Western Germany for a united, peace-loving democratic Germany.

Pathway to a Peace Treaty for a United, Democratic, Peace-Loving and Independent Germany

The chief problem of the German people, which nine years after the end of the war still remains unsolved, is the reunification of Germany on a democratic footing, the signing of a peace-treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of the occupation troops. After the defeat of Hitler fascism in World War II there were favourable conditions in Germany for putting an end to the domination of the old imperialist forces which had plunged our homeland into catastrophe after another. It was necessary to learn from the lessons of history and to take the path of peace and democracy. In Eastern Germany the foundations of the anti-fascist democratic regime were laid, with the help of the Soviet military authorities, immediately following, May 8, 1945; and the German Democratic Republic the first peace-loving democratic state in German history,

was founded in reply to the dismemberment of Germany effected by the Western powers.

On the other hand in the Western Zones of Germany the Western occupation powers prevented the chief culprits responsible for the two world wars from being deprived of power, saved the landowners, bankers and magnates of war industry from the wrath of the people, and with their help turned Western Germany into a vassal state of the USA. Imposing on it treaties stipulating 50 years' foreign occupation and the transformation of Western Germany into a war base.

The task of saving the whole of Germany from the consequences of such a policy is the great task of the German working class and the peace movement.

Since the Party's Third Congress the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the parties of the anti-fascist democratic bloc and the Government of the German Democratic Republic have done all in their power to achieve the reunification of Germany on a democratic and peaceful footing.

The main principles of this consistent policy pursued by our Party and the Government, as regards the reunification of our homeland, have repeatedly been brought to the notice of the German public and were set out once more in the important Government statement of November 25, 1953 and the Government Memorandum of January 30, 1954.

These documents pointed to the possibility for an early reunification of Germany provided the Bonn Parliament rejected the "European Defence Community", abandoned the revival of German militarism and provided the representatives of Eastern and Western Germany reached an agreement for the formation of a provisional all-German government with its major task of preparing and holding a general, free, democratic all-German election by secret ballot.

The Berlin Conference was, undoubtedly, a success for the peace movement. It has demonstrated that it is possible through negotiation to clear up matters of principle and to furnish opportunities for achieving mutual understanding.

The proposal made by Comrade Molotov for the signing of a peace treaty with a united, democratic and peace-loving German state, the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany, measures for the development of economic and cultural relations between the two parts of Germany, the formation of a provisional, all-German government and the holding of a free, democratic all-German election, as well as the establishment of the system of collective security in Europe, is in full conformity with the proposals contained in the Memorandum addressed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Conference of Foreign Ministers.

The Western powers replied with a stubborn "No" to the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union.

They have gone even so far in their desire to frustrate the restoration of the unity of Germany and to turn Western Germany into a US protectorate that they turned down the proposal for the participation of the two parts of Germany in the negotiations on the German question.

Although the Conference of the four Foreign Ministers in Berlin clarified the German question it led to no agreement. The US and British representatives, concerned solely about their military pacts, insisted on the remilitarisation of Western Germany and the continued occupation by foreign troops and refused to express themselves on the question of the signing of a peace treaty with Germany.

The Berlin Conference has clearly demonstrated to the population of Western Germany that the policy of West German militarism will lead to war if the working class and the peace-loving population do not call a halt to the activity of the Bonn militarists in time.

The Adenauer Government is faced with the question either to change its policy and declare its readiness to negotiate with the Government of the German Democratic Republic or to expose itself as a Government marching along the path of war. If it continues its policy for dismemberment militarism and renunciation of the national

interests of Germany it will seal its own fate and no US occupation authorities will be able to save it from the wrath of the people. The road to the unity of Germany is easy to find it the goal is a peace-loving and democratic Germany. But the unity of Germany under American control and under the domination of West German, concern owners and militarists is impossible.

What is new is that clarity has been achieved on the following; the reunification of Germany depends above all on the Germans themselves; reunification is possible only as a result of agreement being reached between the representatives of both parts of Germany; reunification is possible only on the condition of annulling the agreement on the "European Defence Community" and the Bonn "General Agreement".

As a result of negotiations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Government, in interests of strengthening peace and ensuring the national reunification of Germany on a democratic basis, has granted the GDR the right of freely deciding its home and foreign affairs, including the questions of its relations with Western Germany, at its own discretion. The Government of the GDR declared after this that it would observe the obligations devolving on the German Democratic Republic under the Potsdam Agreement on the development of Germany as a democratic and

peace-loving state, and likewise the obligations arising from the temporary presence of Soviet troops on the territory of the GDR.

The recent Statement of the Soviet Government was made possible by the fact that the working people in the German Democratic Republic have created a democratic state system which serves the cause of ensuring peace. The Soviet Union and countries of people's democracy are convinced that a firm base for a policy of peace and friendship between the peoples has been established in the German Democratic Republic.

The results of the negotiations between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the German Democratic Republic are being welcomed by all the supporters of peace and democracy in the whole of Germany. The Statement of the Soviet Government inspires the patriotic forces in Western Germany to rally all their forces for a still more resolute struggle against the revival of German militarism and for the reunification of our homeland.

The granting of sovereign rights to the German Democratic Republic has dispelled all doubts that the reunification of Germany is, above all, the affair of the Germans themselves and makes negotiations between both Governments and Parliaments essential.

The Statement of the Soviet Government has given rise to a number of questions which must

be regulated by the Western states in the future directly with the Government of the German Democratic Republic. Attached to the former Control Commission, for instance, are the military missions of different countries. These missions can no longer continue their activities in the German Democratic Republic on their previous status since the relations of the GDR are regulated not by the representatives of the former Control Commission but by the Government of the German Democratic Republic. There can be no doubt that the Government of the German Democratic Republic is prepared to enter into normal diplomatic, consular, and trade relations with all countries.

In order to get closer to the reunification of Germany. It is in the first place necessary to bring relations between Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic on to a normal footing, broadening inter-German economic ties and cultural co-operation on a humanist basis. Of exceptional significance is agreement between the working-class parties, trade unions and ass organisations in both parts of Germany.

The proposal brought forward at the Berlin Conference by the Soviet Government for the conclusion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security between all thirty-two European countries instead of the military pact of six West European states has found a warm response in all European countries.

An important contribution which the German Democratic Republic can make to the conclusion of a General European Peace Pact is to fight against the recreation of German militarism which is one of the main obstacles to establishing mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe.

The German Democratic Republic will do its best to establish peaceful relations also with the capitalist countries of Western Europe. The expanding of economic and cultural ties, the exchange of visits of scientists, workers in the realm of art and sportsmen should contribute to the development of mutual understanding and also bring about closer co-operation with the peace-loving forces of other nations.

Of the utmost importance is the consolidation of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the bonds with the peace-loving forces in Europe.

The German Democratic Republic, as a peace-loving state, welcomes any mutual understanding between states which can contribute to the relaxing of international tension. The German Democratic Republic is exerting all its efforts to consolidate friendly relations with its neighbours, above all, with the Soviet Union, and also with other countries, including the USA. We are particularly interested in establishing mutual understanding between the French people, the German people and the peoples of the Soviet

Union, which would be a good base for ensuring the peaceful co-existence of the European peoples.

In the realm of foreign policy the Party will continue to be guided by the following main principles:

The foreign policy of the German state, based in the interests of the nation, can only be a policy of peace. The policy of revanchism and military blocs which is being pursued by the German imperialists, leads to isolation from the peace-loving peoples and is doomed to failure. It must be combated in order to save the German people from new catastrophes. Only the democratic forces, of the German people can achieve the establishment of a unified German state by peaceful and democratic means, and such a Germany would stand for good-neighbourly relations with all adjoining countries.

In-order to achieve this aim it is necessary:

1. Persistently and tirelessly to consolidate friendship with the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace, democracy and Socialism. To continue to develop friendly relations with the great People's Republic of China and with the other countries of peoples' democracy.

2. To maintain friendly relations with all other countries on the basis of mutual respect for national interests; and equality, and especially to

develop trade on mutually advantageous principles.

3. Together with the peace-loving forces in the neighbouring countries and especially with France, to carry on a joint fight against the common enemy of the European peoples, against the interventionist forces of the USA, against their strongholds and against militarism in Western Germany.

4. To use all efforts to promote the conclusion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security, in order to ensure the peaceful co-existence of all peoples and states in Europe, instead of the split arising from the "European Defence Community".

5. To support all peoples leading a just national-liberation struggle and who have become the victims of aggression.

Influence of Economic Crisis on Western Germany

In view of the further sharpening of the general crisis and the development of the cyclic economic crisis, the one-sided orientation of Western Germany on the "Western world" signifies that she is tying herself to the economic crisis, to the unrestrained armaments race, to an inflated military budget, to inflation,

unemployment, to the distress and privation if the working people.

The situation in West German industry is characterised by the chronic under-utilisation of production capacity. In the machine-building and chemical industries the enterprises are only working from 80 to 85 per cent of their capacity, in the metallurgical industry less than 70 per cent, in the textile industry from 75 to 80 per cent, in the leather and footwear industry from 60 to 70 per cent.. This chronic under-use of production capacities is creating a huge reserve army of permanently unemployed. In the textile and clothing industry alone, according to the figures for October, 1953, alongside the 866,000 engaged in this industry, 195,000 were registered as unemployed, i.e., there were 23 unemployed to every 100 persons engaged in the industry.

The following facts testify to the approaching economic crisis in Western Germany: in 1953 the output of coal was barely 1 per cent higher than in 1952. In the first three months of 1954 dismissals had already taken place. Metallurgical production in 1953 was 3.5 per cent lower than in 1952. The production of the machine-building industry dropped by 2 per cent. Although production is showing a tendency to drop, considerable stocks of industrial goods are piling up. Metallurgical factories received orders for only 3 million tons of their products. The number of new orders amounts to not more than 38 per cent

of production each month, as a result of which capital investments for the first time dropped considerably during the first six months of 1953.

Adenauer and his masters were widely advertising the so-called "West German "economic miracle". What has, in fact, taken place in Western Germany?

The USA has rendered economic assistance to Western Germany in the interests of creating its military bases in the heart of Europe. The USA also gave a certain amount of economic aid to make the population compliant in the matter of transforming Western Germany into a vassal state of the USA, and in the matter of implementing the agreement on the "European Defence Community" and the Bonn "General Agreement". In view of the fact that the creation of a West German army and the transition, to a military economy has been held up for several years owing to the opposition of the popular masses, the West German monopolists have utilised a part of the aid intended for armaments to obtain huge additional profits and to penetrate into the world capitalist market by means of extensive capital investments and the ruthless exploitation of the working class in Western Germany.

Here are some of the facts which testify to the ruthless exploitation of the working people in Western Germany. Production per man-hour in the chemical industry is 49.5 per cent higher than the 1936 figure, in the electro-technical industry

24.9 percent higher, in the oil and mineral processing industries 48.8 per cent, in the automobile industry 21.9 per cent.

Simultaneously with the intensification of labour the number of industrial accidents is growing and the incidence of occupational diseases increasing. The number of accidents in enterprises has increased from 879,000 in 1950 to 1,232,000 in 1953, and cases of occupational diseases from 35,000 to 53,000 respectively.

The direct and indirect reduction in wages, has, together with an intensified speed-up system, become one of the most lucrative sources of the growing profits of employers. The wages earned by more than 60 per cent of the workers in Western Germany is far below the subsistence minimum.

This hard labour of the workers is converted in Western Germany into hard profits for the concerns.

The owners of "Opel-Werke", the monopoly enterprise, of the American "General Motors Company" have received 130 million marks of clear profit in the course of three years on a share capital of 80 million marks. The huge profits obtained by owners, which speed up the process of the concentration of capital, are likewise to be seen from the fact that the state capital of the joint-stock companies in Western Germany has increased on the average from 3.07 million marks in 1937 to 7 million marks in 1953.

Part of the mounting capitalist profits is pocketed by US and British financial capital. 500 big West German joint-stock companies are controlled by the US monopolies and 250 joint-stock companies are controlled by British monopolies. Of 85 of the biggest joint-stock companies each with capital of more than 50 million marks and with a total capital of about 10,000 million marks, 34 companies with the total capital of approximately 4,000 million marks are under direct or indirect US and British influence.

The economic crisis which is becoming imminent, in the USA is accompanied by the intensified rivalry on the world market which will also affect Western Germany. In this connection the economic and political conflicts between Western Germany, France and Britain will come into the open. The most serious difficulties will arise since the positions of the West German monopolists in the rivalry for markets under these circumstances are comparatively weak and the capacity of the markets in colonies and backward countries is being sharply reduced as a result of a sharp fall in prices for raw materials. The shrinking of the West German home market as a consequence of the declining purchasing power of the working people and the increasing armament burden will further intensify the crisis. The West German monopolists will try might and main to shift the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders

of the working people. The class struggle in Western Germany will become sharper.

Role of Worker-Peasant Power in German Democratic Republic

The Foreign Ministers Conference in Berlin has further deepened the awareness of the working class, the working peasantry and all peace-loving people in the German Democratic Republic of the decisiveness of the role of the German Democratic Republic in the struggle for ensuring peace and for unifying Germany into a single peace-loving, democratic state. The chief task is the consolidation and strengthening of the German Democratic Republic. The German Democratic Republic is a lever for the solution of the national question, and for the transformation of the whole of Germany into a united, democratic peace-loving state. After the establishment in the German Democratic Republic of a new system of peace and progress and of peace there exists every possibility for thwarting the schemes of foreign and West German imperialist aggressors.

After the Western powers at the Berlin Conference rejected the path of restoration of unity of Germany it became necessary to raise still higher the banner of the struggle for national sovereignty of a peace-loving and democratic Germany. The generous statement of the Soviet

Government as regards the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic is of assistance to the entire German people. All patriotic forces in Germany are profoundly grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR for this generous political step.

Whereas the Bonn Government is sparing no effort to carry out the US-British demand for the 50 year term of enslavement of Western Germany the example of the German Democratic Republic shows the way in which the vital questions confronting the German nation can be solved.

The working people in the German Democratic Republic rejoice in the fact that all wealth of the country is in the hands of the people. The Soviet Government has generously relieved the German people from reparation payments. The German Democratic Republic has neither prewar, war time nor postwar debts. There is no place in our industry for interference or participation by capital belonging to foreign concerns and banks. Thus, the development of the national economy and the improvement in the standard of living of the working people depend solely on the initiative of the working people themselves.

Social structure in the German Democratic Republic by the beginning of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan is as follows:

INCREASE IN GROSS INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ACCORDING TO FORMS OF PROPERTY

(Normal level of prices based on the 1950 prices)

	1950	1953
	percentage	
Total Industry (handicraft production excluded)	100.0	100.0
Socialist enterprises including:		
publicly-owned enterprises	75.5	82.6
co-operation	2.0	2.9
Privately-owned enterprises	22.4	143.5
Social structure of agriculture		
Distribution of land in agriculture	GDR	Western Germany
Publicly-owned estates	4	—
Agricultural producer co-operatives	12	—
Land in use by different enterprises of temporarily used by the state	14	—
Small peasants (0.5-5-hectares)	14	10.9
Middle peasants (5-20 hectares)	46	30.9
Peasants with large holdings (20-100 hectares)	10	30.4
Landowners (over 100 hectares)	—	27.8
	100	100

The new social structure of the German Democratic Republic fully corresponds to the conditions of the development of Germany. Owing to the fact that in the past 50 years the ruling classes, have periodically plunged Germany into crises and wars, profound democratic transformation and changes in the social structure of Germany have become necessary. The most advanced class—the working class—has, in alliance with the working peasantry, taken state power into its hands.

The state power of the German Democratic Republic relies on the bloc of the anti-fascist democratic parties.

It is the task of democratic state power to serve the people and progress, to pave the way for a new social, economic and cultural way of life, to suppress the enemies of peace and democracy, to smash spies and saboteurs of the imperialist powers and of the Bonn Government.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party submits for consideration by the Congress the following proposal:

The Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany suggests that the parties and organisations of the anti-fascist democratic bloc and of the National Front of Democratic Germany hold elections for the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic in autumn 1954.

The aim of the elections will be to enable the population to speak out by secret ballot on the

question: for a peace treaty, for a united, peace-loving, democratic Germany, for the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany, and against the attempts to turn Western Germany, with the help of the Bonn and Paris military agreements, into a US war base, which signifies the path of war.

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In contrast to the development taking place in the German Democratic Republic, in Western Germany the rule of the magnates of the war industries, of bankers, land-owners and fascist Hitler generals has been restored under the guidance of the US occupation authorities.

The Bonn Government relies on the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade unions who are doing everything to divert the workers from a serious struggle against, the Bonn Government.

At present three trends are clearly manifest in the Social Democratic Party of Germany:

1. Social-Democratic workers and Party functionaries, who are concerned with the preservation of peace, are willing to fight against the "European Defence Community" and speak in favour of general European collective security. The actions taken by the workers show the growing class consciousness.

2. A section of the leading Social-Democratic functionaries is opposed to the "European Defence Community". The peace-loving working people welcome all this. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany supports every activity of Social Democracy, of the German trade unions and of other peace-loving people directed against the "European Defence Community" and the Bonn "General Agreement". We welcome every action of the Social Democratic Party and trade unions to the extent that contributes to the cause of continued negotiations between the four Powers and of achieving agreement between the two Governments and Parliaments in Germany. But if the Social-Democratic leadership yields to the pressure of the Bonn Government and secretly supports the establishment of the West German Wehrmacht, we shall openly criticise it. The leading functionaries of the Social Democratic Party of Germany are fully aware that participation in the work of the so-called "Research Council" for struggle, against the German Democratic Republic and the collaborating of the Social Democratic "Eastern Bureau" with the US and British intelligence services and with the Kaiser Ministry are incompatible with the struggle for the preservation of peace.

3. The third trend in the Soda! Democratic Party of Germany is the American faction which supports the policy of American imperialism; the

supporters of the Adenauer Government such as, for instance, Kaisen, Brauer, Carlo Schmidt, Scharnowski, Hogner, Rosenberg, Dr. Seume and others, some of whom hold well-paid posts in the state apparatus and advisory councils also belong also belong to it. Some of them are advisers in the "Coal and Steel Community".

The Central Committee of our Party has approached the Social-Democratic Party Board of Germany with proposals for promoting, the general fight against the revival of German militarism and aimed at restoring the unity of Germany on a democratic basis.

Fulfilment of Five-Year Plan to Date

The successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan has made possible, in the main, the solving of one of the most important tasks set by the Third Congress, of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; a reduction in the disproportion in the national economy of the GDR brought about by the dismemberment of Germany. During the period, from 1951-1953 a metallurgical base has been created, production capacity of the machine-building industry has considerably increased, new production capacities in the heavy machine-building and shipbuilding industries have been established, up-to-date agricultural machines are being manufactured and the production of our

own chemicals, of which there was shortage, has considerably increased.

The volume of industrial production for the period 1951-53 has surpassed, by 7 per cent the volume stipulated in the Five-Year Plan.

The volume of production in people's enterprises in 1953 was 74.8 per cent higher than in 1950, whereas the Five-Year Plan provided for an increase of 61.0 per cent.

The Five-Year Plan provides for an increase the output of the handicraft industry, which by 1955 should be 66.5 per cent greater than in 1950. This figure will, however, be reached in 1954 and will, in all probability, rise to 66 per cent.

In the realm of agriculture the production of grain and pulses, the number of horses, sheep, hogs and poultry should, in conformity with the existing plan, reach this year the level stipulated by the Five-Year Plan for 1955. A number of important tasks in the realm of agriculture, set out in the Five-Year Plan, have not been, however, carried out during this period owing to the shortage of phosphates and an insufficient fodder base for cattle.

The task of the Five-Year Plan to raise the standard of living of the working people above the prewar level has been considerably surpassed. This is borne out by the following data:

a) The volume of the retail trade turnover in 1953 has already surpassed the figure set by the

Five-Year Plan for 1955 (trade turnover amounted to 27,000 million marks in 1955).

b) The Five-Year Plan provided for a reduction in retail prices by 1955 of 28 per cent as compared with 1950. This reduction achieved in 1953.

c) Real wages of workers and employees were already 9 per cent higher in 1953 than provided for by the Five-Year Plan for 1955.

The following table shows the development of industrial production:

Development of gross production	Year	In millions of marks	Per cent
Industry of basic means of production: Power production, Mining industry, Metallurgy, Chemicals, Building materials	1936	5,761	100
	1950	7,728	134.1
	1953	11,538.7	200.3
Food Industry	1936	4,402	100
	1950	3,455.4	78.5
	1953	6,454.2	146.6

The perspectives of the further economic development of the German Democratic Republic must be determined from the point of view that the existing disproportions in the national economy must be abolished during the next few years; the production of everyday consumption

goods must be rapidly increased, the level of agricultural production considerably raised, and all prerequisites for further raising the standard of living of the population in the German Democratic Republic must be created.

An important task in the realm of industry is to expand production of liquid fuels and power and certain branches of the chemical industry.

In the sphere of agriculture the main attention should be focused within the next few years on increasing the yields of all crops and on the further intensification of agriculture. Particular attention should be paid to increasing the yields of grain crops. The requirements of agriculture for phosphates and nitrates must be satisfied in order to increase yields considerably in the course of the next three years. We must ensure that the output of animal-husbandry produce is increased, in the coming three years, to such an extent that the requirements of the population of the Republic in meat, milk and fats can be almost completely met from home production.

In view of this it is necessary, beginning with 1955, to increase capital investments in agriculture as compared with the present level in order to accelerate the rate of mechanising all agricultural work, paying particular attention to mechanising the work in animal husbandry.

An important task facing us in the coming years is to ensure a considerable extension of house building and the rehabilitation of cities and

towns, above all by widely attracting the funds of the population, rendering, simultaneously, state aid for the private construction of houses by granting credits and supplying building materials.

The central task of the immediate future is to ensure a further rise in the standard of living of the population mainly by effecting systematic reductions of retail prices.

The workers in the German Democratic Republic enjoy the right to rest and leisure. The Amalgamation of Free German Trade Unions has at its disposal the country's best rest homes. In 1953 the Amalgamation sent to its rest homes 600,000 factory and office workers.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic allocated an additional 388 million marks to the social insurance fund in 1953.

Between 1960 and 1953 the net incomes of peasant households increased 3.2 times.

Achievements and Tasks in the Realm of Culture

Two forces are now engaged in bitter combat on the cultural front in our country; representatives of humanist culture are fighting against the forces in the service of American and German Imperialism which are barbarising, falsifying and destroying our culture. In this decisive struggle for upholding the humanist

heritage and for further, even greater progress of German culture, the German Democratic Republic plays a role which is indeed of historic significance. Our Republic has become the treasure-house for the whole of Germany, of our rational humanist culture, its most important militant bulwark. At the same time our Republic acts as an Intermediary in transmitting the great achievements of the genuinely humanist culture of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy of their advanced science, their realistic art and literature to the German people as a whole.

An important step towards the achievement of all-German mutual understanding in the field of culture was our proposal of November 23, 1953, for the establishment from among prominent humanists, of an all-German body which should decide on questions of free circulation of humanist works of literature and art and to secure the prohibition of works advocating war. This all-German body is to unite German humanists of various world outlooks and Party affiliations.

At the Berlin Conference Comrade V. M. Molotov first Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Foreign Minister of the USSR, submitted another proposal which is important for achieving all-German mutual understanding—for the setting up of an all-German committee on questions pertaining to the development of cultural, scientific and sports relations. The

Government of the German Democratic Republic gave its immediate support to this proposal, also in order to remove the obstacles still hindering the development of our national culture.

We appeal to the workers of culture in Western Germany:

Let them objectively decide on the basis of these concrete proposals who stands for our humanist German culture and who is against it. These proposals were and continue to be the starting point for immediate steps towards the achievement of cultural co-operation between the Germans of Eastern and Western Germany.

United Action — An important Task

United action by the working class and the unification of the two working-class parties in Eastern Germany marked the decisive turning point in the history of the German working-class movement. The founding of the Socialist Unity Party in Germany meant that for the first time a single Marxist working-class Party came into being in Germany, in the heart of Europe, in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany thereby carried on the best revolutionary traditions of the German working-class movement.

The uniting of the two working-class parties into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the

founding of a single class organisation of workers—the Amalgamation of Free German Trade Unions—have ensured the working class its leading role in the democratic development.

The preparations for the Fourth Congress showed the ideological, political and organisational growth of the Party.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has proved what achievements can be registered by the working class when it is united. The most important thing now is to achieve united action and comradely co-operation of the working class of the whole of Germany. We express our wish that the members of the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Germany will manage to establish united action in Western Germany so that, together with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, they can successfully complete the great national task of struggle for a united, peace-loving and democratic Germany and for ensuring general European collective security. We greet the members of the Communist Party of Germany fighting in difficult conditions and wish them great success in their work!

The great transmission belts linking the Party with the broad masses are the mass organisations such as the trade unions, consumer co-operatives, the Union of Free German Youth the Union of Democratic Women of Germany, the Peasant Mutual Aid Amalgamation, sports societies and other organisations. These

organisations too must concentrate their activity on establishing close contact with the working masses, on concern for man and raising the scientific level of labour.

In all mass organisations it is necessary to improve ideological work, to develop spiritual life and educate people in the spirit of Socialism. This will facilitate the realisation of the tasks confronting our Party.

Great Vistas

At the Fourth Congress our Party can report to the entire German people, on the great achievements in our construction. We are the only Party in Germany which has not only implemented the programme proclaimed in 1945 but has even overfulfilled it since we have already started to lay the foundations of Socialism.

In view of the successes achieved by the working class, intelligentsia and working peasants in building a new life, there can be no doubt that both the great tasks in the struggle for the reunification of our homeland and the grand tasks which will face us in the second Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled. The working people will build a Germany wherein the people themselves will act the master, a Germany that will be democratic since the people will put an end to the domination of capitalist monopolies, a Germany that will be

free and mighty because It is peace-loving and independent, because it is bound by firm ties of friendship with the Soviet Union and the countries of the world camp of peace. The successes of worker-peasant rule in the German Democratic Republic, the achievements in its economic construction, the development of science, technique and culture, the raising of the standard of living of the population—all this will convince the working people in Western Germany that it is worthwhile fighting for the cause of peace, democracy and the unity of Germany, that the time has come to drive the militarists out of their positions of domination in Western Germany in order to ensure that the peaceful co-existence of the peoples of Europe finally becomes reality.

While the Bonn Government, through its policy aimed at the formation of the "European Defence Community", is trying might and hamper the reunification of Germany on a democratic basis, the People's Chamber and the Government of the German Democratic Republic are exerting all their efforts to bring both parts Germany closer together. Now, just as before, we are supporting the proposals contained in the statement made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic on November 25, 1953 and in the memorandum of the Government of the GDR addressed to the Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers concerning the development of inter-German trade, the achievement of an agreement

on the strength and armaments of the police, co-operation in the realm of culture, etc. We shall also do our best to implement the proposal of Comrade Molotov, Foreign Minister of the USSR, for the establishment of commissions for economic and cultural relations, composed of representatives from both parts of Germany.

We welcome the proposal, advanced by many friends of peace in Western Germany and by the National Front of Democratic Germany, concerning a referendum on whether there should be a peace treaty and the withdrawal of occupation troops or the "European Defence Community" treaty, the "General Treaty" and the presence of the occupation troops for a further 50 years.

This referendum will help to bring the peace-loving population in both parts of Germany closer together and will promote joint activity.

Thanks to the great aid rendered by the Soviet Union and on the basis of the successful development of the socialist sector of our economy it has become possible for us to proceed with the uninterrupted development of our productive forces in all branches of the national economy and to raise the standard of living of the working people.

We now propose:

That the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany instruct the Central Committee of the Party to work out before August 1954 the directives for the second Five-Year Plan and submit them to the Government of the German Democratic Republic for its consideration.

The chief tasks of the second Five-Year Plan:

1. The elimination of the disproportions in the national economy by means of raising the production of power, the output brown coal and the development of the chemical industry.

2. Further increase in production of consumer goods.

3. Further development of agriculture.

4. The rehabilitation of damaged cities and the extension of the house building in old and new industrial centres as well as in rural areas.

The great tasks of the second Five-Year Plan will be solved by the mighty force of the working class, working peasantry and all forces striving for construction. The German Democratic Republic is a highly developed industrial country. It has at its disposal a large number of scientists and technicians. The workers and working peasants love their work and are good specialists in their field. The German people have proved that they are a gifted people.

The main thing now is fully to develop the creative energies and initiative of the popular masses-since they are the makers of history. The popular masses who, after the Hitler catastrophe,

have restored the civilian economy from the ruins, who spare no efforts for the rehabilitation of damaged cities and towns, and who were able to rehabilitate the economy at a speed that was unthinkable in capitalist Germany— these popular masses, guided by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Party of the working class, will build a new Germany.

**DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE—
VITAL PREREQUISITE FOR RAISING
WELL-BEING OF POLISH WORKING
PEOPLE. Zenon Nowak, Member,
Political Bureau, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party**

The Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, on the basis the successes achieved in the development of the national economy, has put forward as the most important of the tasks confronting the Party that of accelerating the advance in the well-being of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. The Congress has outlined the main lines and means for solving this chief task of the present period of socialist construction—accelerating the rate of development of agriculture, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

The successes of socialist industrialisation in people's Poland give us the opportunity to direct the main efforts of the Party towards an upsurge in agriculture, towards overcoming the excessive disproportion between industrial and agricultural development. In our conditions, when the socialist sector in agriculture already exists and is developing, and when, simultaneously, the vast majority of the working peasantry still work their plots individually, it is necessary to launch an all-out offensive on all sectors of agriculture so as to

achieve a considerable increase in agricultural production. It is essential to develop in every way the initiative and activity of the peasant masses, to discover and put into action all the reserves latent in the millions of individual farms, in the agricultural producer co-operatives and in state farms.

The militant programme for a sharp-upswing of all branches of agriculture in the USSR, outlined in the decisions of the September and February-March Plenums of the C.C. of the CPSU, which is being successfully implemented by the Communist Party, the Government and people of the Soviet Union, is an incentive and model for our Party in its efforts to develop agriculture.

During the nine years of the existence of people's-democratic Poland an enormous amount of work has been carried out to rehabilitate agriculture, which was destroyed during the war, and to create the conditions for its further development. The value of agricultural produce per 100 hectares of land in 1953 was almost 25 per cent higher than in 1938. Along with the general improvement in the standard of living of the working people there has also been a rise in the material well-being and cultural level of the rural population. In 1953 the real income per head of the rural population was 75 per cent more than in 1938 and 20 per cent more than in 1949.

In its concern for raising the level of agricultural production the people's state is, year

by year, increasing supplies of machines, agricultural implements and artificial fertilisers. In 1953, for instance, supplies of agricultural machines and implements increased 2.5 times and of artificial fertilisers 1.5 times as compared with 1949.

It is, however, necessary to emphasise that the reason for many of the economic difficulties of the past few years was the lagging-behind of our agriculture. We have made a number of mistakes in our work which resulted in the excessive lagging behind of agriculture. The main shortcoming in our work was that; in consequence of the insufficient concentration of forces and means on this sector, we were unable to rally the peasant masses to struggle for the full utilisation of the reserves of individual peasant farms by improving methods of land cultivation and cattle-breeding. The opportunities arising from the development of industry for increasing aid to agriculture were not fully utilised. The material incentive for expanding agricultural production, particularly in individual farms, was not always increased in time.

The task now is, on the basis of the greater opportunities presented by the rapid development of socialist industry and by overcoming all shortcomings and fallings in the guidance of agriculture, to ensure a growth in agricultural production and cattle-breeding, ably to combine increased assistance to individual peasant farms

with the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

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In order to ensure a speedy improvement in supplying the population with food and light industry and the food industry with raw materials, the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party has put forward the task of bringing, in the course of 1954-55, the yield of the four main grain crops up to nearly 12 million tons, of increasing the head of cattle to approximately 8 million, of hogs up to 11 million and of sheep up to 4.5 million.

The output of grain was and remains the chief and central problem in the development of agricultural production. Only the solution of the grain problem will ensure the uniform development of the main branches of agriculture and eliminate the disproportion existing at present between the development of stock-breeding and crop-raising.

While intensifying the struggle to ensure that not one inch of land remains unused we fully realise that a cardinal factor in solving the grain problem under existing conditions in our country is the achievement of higher yields per hectare.

Of particular importance in this struggle is the creation of conditions permitting the full utilisation of the latent reserves of the millions of individual

peasant farms with a view to increasing their productivity.

The hundreds of thousands of pledges taken by individual working peasants in honour of the Second Congress of the Party, the preparations for the spring sowing, more successful than in the previous years, facilitated by the first steps taken by the peasants in implementing the decisions of the Second Congress of the Party testify to the fact that the Polish peasants are striving to manage their farms better, to cultivate the land in a better way, to improve cattle-breeding and to have a better life. The sure road to a continuous increase in agricultural output by individual farms is to teach, stimulate and persistently help the working peasants, so that they can make practical use of the simplest of agrotechnical methods which have long ago been tested but which the great majority of peasants, unfortunately, do not apply. The introduction of these measures, on a large scale would give the country some millions of tons of additional grain, hundreds of thousands of tons of meat, tens of millions of litres of milk.

The Congress gave a decisive rebuff to the various harmful "theories" which until recently were current among certain local functionaries to the effect that the possibilities of increased production in individual farms were allegedly already exhausted. In its decisions the Congress outlined a broad programme for intensifying agrotechnical and zoo-technical aid, for

considerably increasing production help to the working peasants. The application of economic incentives on a wide scale, the increase of production and financial aid by the people's power and the proper utilisation of this aid, the broadening and improving of the work of county machine-hiring stations, popularisation of the achievements of advanced peasants in crop-raising and cattle-breeding, improved supplies to the countryside, spreading of agricultural knowledge, arousing of initiative and activity of the peasant masses and help in their efforts to increase output,—this is the main direction of our strivings for increasing the agricultural production by individual peasant farms.

The Congress emphasised that an absolute condition for achieving effective results in this struggle was the skilful combination of production and agrotechnical assistance with persistent political and organisational work among the peasant masses. The Government has recently adopted a number of decisions, with a view to achieving more rapid increase in the output of crop-raising and animal husbandry, in which greater production aid by the state is more closely linked with the implementation of the Leninist principle of raising the material interestedness of the working peasants in the results of their work. The maintaining of the obligatory deliveries at the present level for the next few years alongside

with an extension of the bonus system also serves this purpose.

The development of agriculture in Poland is taking place in an atmosphere of a sharpening class struggle, of a struggle against kulaks and speculators, for the isolation of the kulaks and a closer rallying of the poor and middle peasants around the working class, for the persistent consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

To help the poor peasants to improve the management of their farms and to prevent them from being robbed by the kulaks—this is an important duty of Party organisations and People's Councils.

It is necessary at the same time to assure the middle peasants that the all-round development of their farms, and in particular the development of cattle-breeding, will ensure a speedy increase in their incomes. Party and state bodies must learn to adjust carefully and patiently relations, with the middle peasant. Any violation of the policy of the Party with regard to the middle peasant and, especially, the application of compulsory measures in economic relations with him, pushes him into the arms of the kulak and strengthens the position of the kulak in the countryside.

At present the policy of the Party with regard to the kulak is to restrict his efforts for exploitation and to isolate him politically.

Party measures for an increase in productivity of individual peasant farms closely bound up with the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. The measures, taken together, strengthen the regulating role of the state, strengthen the bonds between the millions of individual farms of the working peasantry and the socialist town, gradually prepare them for transition to collective management of their farms.

All forms which teach the working peasants to manage their farms efficiently, in accordance with the most up-to-date and scientific methods, which teach them that the best results in their work achieved by combined efforts, are especial importance in that they pave the way leading from the independent individual farming to collective, socialist farming.

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During the past few years producer co-operatives have further developed in Poland. More than 200,000 poor and middle peasants have united in 8,500 producer cooperatives possessing, more than 1.5 million hectares of land. When looked at in relation to the task of the socialist reconstruction of the countryside, this figure is not a big one: so far only 7 per cent of the total number of working peasants belong to the producer co-operatives. The results achieved by

the peasant members of the co-operatives are, however, most convincing and a practical demonstration of the advantages to be gained from the collective management of farms by both the working peasants and the people's state.

The yield of the four main grain crops in producer co-operatives throughout the country was 15 per cent more than on individual farms while the share of the very profitable technical crops within their crop structure is considerably higher. The producer co-operatives have considerably outstripped individual farms in applying rational methods of stock-raising and have attained higher milk yields.

Our Party, in all its practical activity, is striving to ensure the most favourable conditions for the development of producer co-operatives. In all the Government decisions particular attention is paid to ensuring that producer co-operatives have every possible opportunity for a further all-round development.

On February 23 the Council of Ministers adopted a decision concerning the development of producer co-operation; the decision envisages a considerable increase in the investment credits to be granted to the existing producer co-operatives and newly formed ones primarily for the purpose of developing commonly-owned animal husbandry and for economic construction. The state is supplying the co-operatives with greater amounts of building materials, providing better veterinary

services, carrying out melioration work on land belonging to the co-operatives and is engaged in electrification of co-operative premises and the households of the co-operative members.

The work for organising the proper exploitation of land, which has been carried out on a large scale this year, will make it possible correctly to define the type of production of a given co-operative, to elaborate and introduce permanent crop rotation, etc. The decision envisages concrete measures for better services to the co-operatives by the machine and tractor stations which are the main form of state help to the producer co-operatives and the chief lever in socialist reconstruction of the countryside. A great amount of field work in producer co-operatives is now done by tractors and machines of the state machine and tractor stations (SMTS). However, the MTS do not yet play their due role in the most labour-consuming processes of the between-row cultivation of potatoes and other vegetables and the ensuring of the fodder base for animal husbandry. The MTS are so far inadequately equipped with the necessary machinery and implements for the mechanisation of these jobs. The discrepancy between the capacity of the tractor park and the machinery equipment still exists with the result that the capacity of the tractor park in the MTS cannot be fully utilised particularly where the between-row cultivation of crops is concerned. In addition the

modern machinery possessed by the MTS is not used in a proper way. There is a clearly pronounced tendency in the machine and tractor-stations to underestimate the significance of serving the individual peasantry.

The main reason for the shortcomings in the work of the MTS was the lack of understanding on the part of their activists and certain local Party bodies of the immense political role of the machine and tractor stations as an organiser of struggle for the development of producer co-operation and for achieving a higher level of agricultural production, and the attempts to confine the role of the MTS only to the functions of a service depot, to something in the nature of the machine-hiring stations.

The Party and the Government are determined to continue, the expansion of the network of the MTS. In 1954 there will be 462 MTS and the capacity of their tractor park will be equal to 19,700 tractors (in terms of 15 h. p.).

Notwithstanding the achievements registered, the development of producer co-operation in our country is still inadequate both from the point of view of our requirements and possibilities provided by the people's state.

The task is to show greater concern for the existing producer co-operatives, to form new ones land to draw new members into the existing co-operatives.

We must carry out the political and organisational work for developing co-operation among the working peasants, rely still more firmly on the rural Party and non-party activists, constantly refute and expose the false arguments of the class enemies against co-operatives. The Party organisations are in duty bound to work systematically for developing producer co-operation, resolutely do away with the practice of spasmodic campaigns in this vital work of the Party in the countryside, to develop all possible forms, of joint activity of the co-operatives and individual, peasants, to link this work with all day-to-day tasks and all current political and economic campaigns carried out in the countryside. The Party organisations must combat the tendencies of capitulatory passivity towards the forming of new producer co-operatives and the adventurist attempts to influence the peasants by administrative pressure, must, strictly observe the voluntary principle in forming new co-operatives bearing in mind that the type of co-operative should be decided only by its founders—the working peasants. We must be more bold and undertake on a wider scale the formation of co-operatives of lower types which facilitate the drawing in of more peasant households in a given village.

The advanced co-operative, which harvests bumper yields and develops intensive animal husbandry, which ensures high incomes for its

members per work-day unit and which fulfils its obligations to the people's state in an exemplary manner, where the board of the co-operative carries out its work efficiently and the rights of the members strictly observed, is the best thing to convince the individual peasants of the superiority of socialist forms of farming and of the advantages of joining the co-operative.

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In our conditions a special role in the struggle for ensuring increased agricultural output can and must be played by the, state farms which have a big share in agricultural production since they have in their possession over 12 per cent of all land.

The state farms have registered a definite success. They have reclaimed hundreds of thousands of hectares of land which had not been cultivated for years; increased several times the number of hogs, large-horned cattie and sheep compared with 1949. In 1953, the state farms delivered to the state nearly 40 per cent more hogs for slaughter as against 1952, nearly 36 per cent more wool, 44 per cent more eggs. Yet the yields of grain, potatoes and sugar-beet in state farms are still low. The state farms do not use to the full their much greater opportunities and above all their large-scale tractor and machine park. At present they have 29,000 tractors (in

terms of 15 h.p.). In the past few years they have received highly productive machines manufactured by our socialist-industry, as well as grain and sugar-beet picking combines and caterpillar tractors imported from the Soviet Union.

The Government has taken a number of important decisions including one on the better organisation of labour and payments for labour, which raise the material interestedness of the workers in the results of the work on state farms. These decisions have created the prerequisites for better work on the state farms which can and must increase their share of agricultural produce for the market, can and must become real factories for producing grain, meat and milk.

It is a matter of great political and economic significance to see to it that all the state farms play their role in ensuring an advance of production by both co-operative and individual peasants, particularly by supplying them with high-grade seeds and best pedigree cattle, to see to it that our state farms become an effective lever for the socialist transformation of the countryside, for the transformation of our entire agriculture into a modern large-scale agriculture which is run in conformity with agricultural science.

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The decisions of the Second Congress of the Party stipulate that immense means must be mobilised to facilitate the development of agriculture. The responsibility of the directing bodies, through which this help will be given to the countryside, for the more expedient and efficient, more economical and correct utilisation of the means at their disposal has been greatly enhanced.

The directing agricultural bodies will be able to solve the new and complicated tasks in a correct manner, provided they rid themselves of the bureaucratic style of work, provided the harmful and not infrequent practice of displaying indifference towards production requirements and the needs of the peasants is eliminated. It suffices to cite an example of the agricultural department of the Bydgosz regional People's Council which in 1953 alone issued 71,650 directives and instructions including more than 10,000 addressed to the Ministry of Agriculture. The workers of this department hardly left their desks and only rarely visited the localities.

Better Party leadership to the People's Councils, the bringing of the organs of people's power closer to the working peasants by abolishing the county People's Councils and forming village People's Councils will strengthen their contact with the masses and will enable them to cope with the question of giving leadership to agriculture in a more operative and

concrete manner, to give it better help, to eliminate shortcomings, to popularise advanced experience, to draw the peasant masses into the job of running state and economic business to a still greater extent.

The people's state is taking measures to extend on a larger scale the training of new specialists for agriculture, to extend the network of higher and secondary agricultural educational establishments and at the same time to see to it that thousands of agricultural specialists, now employed in other branches of the national economy return to work in agriculture.

The tasks of the Party in the countryside have grown immensely in straggle for carrying out the programme laid down by the Second Congress. The prestige of the Party and the confidence of the peasant masses in the Party have grown. At the same time there have also grown the demands of the peasants on our organisations, Party functionaries and on the entire work of the Party in the countryside.

To cope with these tasks to direct the efforts of the people for ensuring an upsurge in agriculture means above all to master the concrete and efficient leadership of the struggle for carrying out the programme outlined by the Second Party Congress. We must stop holding unnecessary meetings, stop making declarations which are not accompanied by practical work and by contact with the people,—a malady which has

infected not a small number of local Party and state functionaries. We must eradicate the superficial attitude towards agricultural questions which is closely linked, with the completely incorrect methods of commandism in relation to the working peasants, both Party and non-party peasants.

In order to win the great battle for ensuring the advance of agriculture it is necessary, as is pointed out by the Second Congress of the Party, to allocate to all sectors on the front of this struggle a considerable number of our best organisers, most capable and skilled economic and political workers, and greatly to reinforce the leading cadres of agriculture.

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Since the Second Congress we have already witnessed the first although modest changes for the better in the work carried out by the Party in the countryside and in the leadership given to the rural Party organisations.

The recent plenary meetings of the county Party committees devoted to preparations for the spring sowing showed that the vast majority of the functionaries not only understood the tasks facing them, in all their complexity and significance, but displayed deeper and more concrete interest as to how these tasks should be solved.

The working class is becoming increasingly conscious of the great responsibility which it must shoulder in the development of agricultural production and the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. The movement for giving political, organisational and industrial aid to the working peasantry is gaining momentum. The personnel of big enterprises have sent thousands of their representatives, best machine operators and propagandists to help the peasants, with the spring sowing.

The more rapid and further development of agriculture is a matter of national significance, a tremendous long-term task which requires systematic day-to-day work, a task which can be realised only by the joint efforts of, the popular masses, the people's state and the Party.

Creatively applying in its policy the tried and tested Lenin teaching on the worker-peasant alliance our Party redoubles, its efforts for accelerating the development of agriculture—the main factor for a more rapid improvement in the standard of living of the working people in town and country, for adding to the strength of the people's state.

**FOR FURTHER ADVANCE OF ECONOMY
AND RAISING LIVING STANDARDS OF
WORKING PEOPLE IN
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. * Viliam Siroky,
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the
Czechoslovak Republic, Member,
Political Secretariat, Central
Committee, Communist Party of
Czechoslovakia**

On September 15, 1953, the Government adopted a decision based on the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, determining the main lines along which the further economic and cultural upbuilding in our Republic should advance. The Party and the Government have advanced the task of ensuring a more speedy raising of the standard of living of the working class, of the working peasantry and intelligentsia, primarily by means of implementing the policy of a gradual reduction in prices for food and manufactured goods, by an upsurge in agriculture, an increase in the output of mass consumption goods and an improvement in their quality and assortment.

* From the report by Comrade Viliam Siroky to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on March 29.

The Party and the Government have simultaneously put forward the demand that the necessary prerequisites be created for the successful implementation of this policy by ensuring a proportionate development of the national economy. In particular by an accelerated development of its main branches and, further, by means of greater all-round concern for agricultural production, for the political and economic strengthening of the agricultural producer co-operatives by rendering full support to the production of small and middle individual peasants and, finally, by attaining a considerable progress in increasing labour productivity and strengthening the regime of economy in our industry and administrative apparatus.

I.

Our efforts in the implementation of the policy of the Party and the Government have produced positive results. The population have benefitted by an average of 4,500 million crowns a year from the second reduction in retail-prices which took place in October, 1953. Since then there has been a considerable improvement in supplying the working people with manufactured goods and food. The living standard of the members of agricultural co-operatives and individual peasants has also been appreciably raised. Reduced delivery norms, accompanied by a simultaneous

increase in procurement prices and various other benefits to the peasants, mean a benefit of 2,700 million crowds per year.

Such are the chief results attained last year through the efforts of the Party, which were directed to ensuring a speedier raising of the standard of living of the working people. The Party had already declared last year that the policy of reducing retail prices would be pursued in 1954. It is thanks to the further advance in industrial output, to increased labour productivity and lower production costs that the main prerequisites have been created for a new reduction in retail prices on April 1.

This third reduction in prices is on a far larger scale than those hitherto effected. It covers more than 53,000 additional articles of mass consumption and benefits the population to the extent of 5,600 million crowns a year. The population will benefit by a further 280 million crowns from reduced charges for repairs and communal services.

The price reduction in October, 1953, the cuts in the prices of some goods in December last and the reduction of April 1 will benefit the population to the extent of 10,700 million crowns per year. We shall have a better idea of how immense this sum is if we determine the benefit a family of four will receive. Such a family, as compared with the situation, on October 1, 1953, will be better

off by an average of over 3,300 crowns yearly, which is more than two months average wages.

The cut in retail prices is not the only means by which we raise the standard of living of our people. Since October last we have also taken a number of other measures such as, for instance lowering the taxes for single and childless people, paying special Christmas grants to people in receipt of children's allowances and to certain categories of pensioners; a number of measures in the realm of agriculture have also been carried out; in consequence of these measures workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia have received additional benefits amounting to 3,800 million crowns annually.

Budget appropriations for the needs of culture, schools, health, for pensions, health insurance and other measures will, furthermore, this year be increased by 17 per cent above last year, i.e. by nearly 4,000 million crowns. House building, for which we are this year allocating 1,400 million crowns more than in 1953, will be carried out on a considerably larger scale. There will be one-third more apartments built in 1954 than during the course of last year); furthermore, many working people are being given the opportunity to build their own houses, and for this purpose the Government is giving them substantial assistance.

This new, third cut in prices is being carried out in conditions of a continuous and growing demand on the part of the population for all types

of goods because its income is steadily increasing. The average wages of industrial workers were 12.5 per cent higher in the last three months of 1953 than in the same period in 1952; as a result of increased procurement prices, reduced norms of obligatory deliveries and other measures, the incomes of the members of producer co-operatives and individual peasants have increased. The statistics relating to sales to the population testify to this.

During the last three months, of 1953 the sales of meat were 11 per cent greater than in the same period in 1952, sales of fish were 32 per cent more, fats 10 per cent, vegetable oil 31 per cent, butter 13 per cent, cheese over 100 per cent, ready-made clothes 11 per cent, motor cycles nearly 50 per cent, refrigerators over 100 per cent, washing machines 180 per cent more. Sales of other important items are also substantially increasing.

This new reduction in prices affects to the further advance in our economy as a whole, it is a proof of our successes in the construction of Socialism. These successes are not only the result of a year's work; at their root lie the great working efforts, selfless work of our working class and our people during the course of the Two-Year Plan, and, in particular, during the Five-Year Plan. These successes have been determined by the powerful advance of our industry, the volume of which has more than doubled during the course of

the Five-Year Plan. These results are explained by the gradual consolidation of the socialist sector of our agriculture. They evidence the friendly co-operation of the working people in town and country, they testify to the strengthening of the alliance of workers and peasants.

The beneficial influence of our fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Union, the support and unselfish assistance it renders to all sectors of our socialist construction is also reflected in these results. In the same way they reflect the political and economic co-operation with countries of the democratic camp.

We must not, however, close our eyes to the fact that as yet we do not sufficiently make use of the advantages of the people's-democratic system, that we are a long way from rallying to the full for the development of our economy the huge reserves we possess thanks to socialist ownership of the basic means of production. That is why an extensive reduction in prices should not and must not give rise to a feeling of complacency, to a feeling that everything is in the best of order. On the contrary, we must frankly declare that there are serious shortcomings in the fulfilment of the tasks arising from decisions of the Party and the Government and that it is necessary to fight these shortcomings effectively and with energy. The cut in prices must be backed by a corresponding increase in labour

productivity, by increasing profitableness and by strengthening financial control in industry, trade, transport, and so on. It is at the same time necessary to create prerequisites for further implementing the policy of raising the standard of living of the working people.

II.

The most serious shortcomings are to be observed in the sphere of agriculture which has greatly lagged behind in its development during the period of the Five-Year Plan as compared with the rapid pace at which industry has advanced. Chiefly because of the low level of agricultural production, in particular of cattle-breeding, we were unable to effect reductions in the prices of meat, and meat products and could only cut them for tinned goods.

Bearing in mind the task of ensuring a continuous rise in the standard of living of the working people of our country, agricultural production the present stage of socialist construction is one of the main problems of our national economy. The state of agricultural production is still unsatisfactory, the reason being that the wrong approach of many of the functionaries of the Ministry of Agriculture, even of leading functionaries, to the main tasks of agricultural production has not essentially changed.

The extensive measures adopted by the Party and the Government in the matter of rendering assistance to agriculture should have become effective instruments for the Ministry of Agriculture and National Committees for ensuring a steady advance in agricultural production. The workers in the sphere of agriculture, however, have not been orientated and even now are not being orientated and now are not being orientated with sufficient consistency in the matter of urgently solving production tasks, of increasing harvests and productivity of animal husbandry as the chief means of increasing the profitableness of state farms, agricultural producer co-operatives and of agriculture in general.

Little has been done to achieve a substantial improvement in the work of the MTS, to provide them with permanent qualified workers, to supply them with the necessary agricultural machines and spare parts and radically to improve the work of the state farms. Neither did we take effective measures to ensure fodder prior to create good conditions for the wintering of cattle and thus were not able to increase its productivity.

It is necessary, taking into consideration the general stale of agriculture, to elaborate short-term plan (for 2 or 9 years) Incorporating measures for continuous and lasting increase in agricultural production. These measures should, in particular, concern the solving of the following problems:

1. Ensuring the proper cultivation and utilisation of every inch of ploughable land. Great changes in the countryside, arising out of the co-operative movement, attempts at sabotage on the part of the kulaks, and changes in the cultivated crops have given rise to big changes in the distribution of land according to its utilisation. As a result of insufficient attention having been devoted to this question; the total area down to crops is shrinking to an alarming degree. Thousands of hectares of arable land at present have no real master, and are not being properly cultivated. We have every right to regard the utilisation and proper cultivation of this land as important, ready reserves for considerably increasing the output of grain and fodder crops.

2. Ensuring increased mechanisation and construction. Since October last, agriculture has been supplied with an increased number of tractors. However, the effect of these deliveries was considerably minimised by the fact that through the fault of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Machine-Building the production and delivery of spare parts were not ensured. In the same way neither cultivators nor tractor-drawn implements were supplied. Even now there are serious shortcomings in using the machinery, in repairing the machines and in the production and delivery of spare parts.

We should anticipate that the efforts directed towards mechanising agriculture will yield

substantial results in the shortest possible time, that the Ministry of Agriculture and the State Planning Board will draw up a mechanisation plan covering a period of years and by so doing ensure the appropriate preparation of production in the machine-building industry which will supply in good time the necessary types of machined and equipment. It is necessary to work out measures for eliminating serious defects in the building of livestock, sheds and other farm premises and thus ensure adequate and efficient utilisation of large sums set aside for long-term capital investment in agriculture.

3. Ensuring adequate manpower for agriculture. The agricultural bodies still lack a precise plan for both making up the shortage of manpower in agriculture and allocating agronomists, zoo-technicians, machine operators, repair workers and other specialists with the necessary qualifications. The huge sums allocated for refresher-training and courses were not used in the correct manner and the level of the study was not up to the mark.

Hence, we anticipate that the Ministry of Agriculture, fully conscious of its responsibility, will take measures and pay much more attention to the question of cadres, to staffing the MTS, state farms and the agricultural administrative apparatus, from the districts to the Ministry, with skilled personnel.

4. Serious shortcomings in planning and guiding agriculture. Experience has shown that the former methods of planning agriculture were over-centralised, that they did not properly take into account the possibilities of certain regions and districts and their peculiarities, that they froze the initiative of the local bodies in the matter of ensuring an upsurge in the matter production. Another reason for this state of affairs, is the excess, of indices in the plan and the complicated and insufficiently clear system of accounting. Consequently, the bodies concerned must draw the corresponding conclusions from these shortcoming in planning and guiding agriculture add submit plans for improving them. Finally, it is necessary that the job of advancing agricultural production becomes the cause of the entire Party, of the National Committees and all the forces of the National Front, that concern for developing agriculture is closely linked with striving constantly to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

The realisation of the proposed price reduction is closely linked with radically improving the work of the Ministry of Stocks, of all its bodies and also with the necessity of substantially improving the work of the National Committees in this respect.

The Party bodies and organisational must see to it that every district and every village fulfils the procurement quotas—the base for supplying the working people with foodstuffs. The Party bodies

and organisations must see to it that the procurement bodies always so function that they represent an effective weapon of the policy of constantly strengthening the alliance between the working class and working peasantry.

The Party and the Government are creating further favourable prerequisites for an advance in animal husbandry and the fulfilment of the state-delivery quotas by increasing the procurement prices for calves for slaughter between 80 gellers and 1.2 crowns per kilogram as from April 1 and for beef cattle by 20-80 gellers per kilogram.. In this way the average annual income of agricultural producer co-operatives and individual peasants is increased by 106 million crowns.

III.

The conditions for effecting price reductions and ensuring a further rise in the material and cultural level of the working people arise in our national economy not only from the steady development of industrial and agricultural production but also from the consistent observance of a regime of economy. The regime of economy must, above all, include economical use of social labour, i.e. higher labour productivity and economy of materials. Individual Ministries confine themselves to the job of checking up on how tasks are fulfilled by their particular branches of industry and do not see to it that every factory

and every sector fulfils its assignment both in relation to particular types of products and to overall expenditure, which means that they do not disclose the latent possibilities for reducing production costs.

Our plan for lowering the cost of production does not nearly exhaust all possibilities and nevertheless the majority of the Ministries carries it out in an unsatisfactory manner. The cost of production in enterprises within the competence of the Ministry of Fuel and Power industries and the Metallurgical Ministry, was higher in the last three months of 1953 than in the corresponding period of 1952 and considerably exceeded the level envisaged by the plan.

One of the main factors on which the cost of production depends is the expenditure of the materials. There are many instances when the norms of use of the materials are exceeded with impunity, not to speak of the fact that these norms are often overestimated or not fixed at all. Of particular concern is the fact that there are still many instances of uneconomical use of fuel and electric power.

The cost of production is badly influenced by a considerable increase in losses due to wastage and, far from being reduced, these losses increased by 100 million crowns in the fourth quarter of 1953 as compared with the corresponding period in 1952.

Not infrequently the growth in the cost of production is determined by the excessive expenditure of the wage fund and by the direct violation of the principle of payment according to quality and quantity of work done.

The profitability of capital investments exerts a considerable influence over the cost of production. There are cases when new investments, instead of contributing to the reduction of running costs, lead to an increase. Efforts to achieve greater profitability must therefore be considered on the lagging sectors of work which lower the general figures. In this respect the introduction of cost accounting and the principle of personal incentive for all workers is very helpful.

The price reduction will result in greater demands for goods and the retail trading network will accordingly receive an additional 5,000-6,000 million crowns worth of manufactured goods and foodstuffs. In this connection it is necessary once again to turn our attention, to the production of articles of mass-consumption and to the work of trading enterprises since we cannot be satisfied with the present rates of output of mass-consumption goods of improving quality, putting out new kinds of goods for sale or the finish and packing of goods.

Notwithstanding certain success in the production of foodstuffs we must see to it that there will be a greater variety and that first of all the quality of bakery items, meat and fish

products, canned food, cheese and milk products will be improved.

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Our Party is confronted with the task of organising in an even, better way, more efficiently, purposefully and concretely the creative efforts of our working people and by doing so ensuring the fulfilment of the vital tasks discussed by the present Plenum of the Central Committee. We have all the prerequisites for their fulfilment, it is now necessary for our responsible Party functionaries and the tremendous army of our activists to become fully aware of what the Party demands from them in the given period and that all of them fulfil their duty to the Party and the working people on their sectors of work.

The Party organisations, Party organs the functionaries of the Party apparatus must feel responsible for the fulfilment of the economic tasks. Our Party organs and the Party organisations often either assume the functions of the economic bodies or ignore the economic tasks altogether. Comrades see many shortcomings, bad management, bad organisation of labour, etc., but pass them over. These shortcomings must be disclosed, measures for their elimination discussed jointly with the leading economic functionaries at the meetings of the bureaus of regional and district committees, by the

committees of the Party branches so that the entire membership and the population, be rallied for the eradication of the shortcomings disclosed.

Our Party is united and closely rallied around the Central Committee and is filled with militant determination. Our working class, our engineers and technicians, scientists, producer co-operative members, economic executives and political workers are full of creative abilities and energy. The preparations for the elections to National Committees are taking place in an atmosphere of enhanced political activity aimed at translating into life the tasks of economic and cultural upbuilding.

We shall spare no effort to see that the Xth Congress of our own Communist Party is held amidst an unprecedented upsurge of socialist emulation! May the joyous awareness of the fact that the selfless labour of our people is yielding its fruits stimulate all Communists to ensure by means of another wave of labour enthusiasm the full success of the Party's policy which leads the peoples of our Republic along the road of happiness, and well-being.

ACREAGE UNDER IRRIGATION GROWS IN PEOPLE'S CHINA

Applying new methods of farming technique and extending the area under irrigation the peasants of People's China are selflessly working to increase the output of agricultural produce.

To further raise yields the peasants in all areas of the country launched during the winter of 1953-94 an extensive campaign for the construction of new irrigation channels, reservoirs and other irrigation projects. The construction of irrigation projects by peasants in Szechwan Province resulted in the extension of the area under irrigation by more than 60,000 hectares.

As against the previous year the irrigated area in North China will increase this year by more than 84,000 hectares. Large-scale construction works are in progress to eliminate the flood menace.

At present 800,000 peasants in Hunan Province are taking part in the building of irrigation projects.

**FOR ALL-ROUND STRENGTHENING OF
WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE IN
BULGARIA. Georgi Traikov, Vice-
Chairman, Council of Ministers,
People's Republic of Bulgaria,
Secretary, Bulgarian Agrarian People's
Union**

Our people have registered serious successes in socialist construction. Present-day Bulgaria is no longer a backward agrarian country of small-scale and under-developed agriculture and unstable, poorly technically equipped light industry. As a result of the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan Bulgaria has been transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. The foundations of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries have already been laid, the engineering, chemical and electrical industries are rapidly developing. Radical changes, have taken place in agriculture: over 60 per cent of the land is cultivated by the co-operatives; over 92 per cent of the entire peasant farmsteads work together well and with enthusiasm in co-operatives and each year show more and more forcefully, the immeasurable superiority of the co-operatives over individual farming. Thousands of agricultural machines work in the fields helping the working peasants harvest bumper yields. The

foundations of Socialism have been firmly laid in our country.

The development of our country and the successes registered by us in a very short space of time have confirmed the correctness of the path along which our country is led by the Communist Party of Bulgaria following the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and invariably carrying out the behests of Georgi Dimitrov. The unselfish fraternal and given by the Soviet Union and co-operation with the countries of people's democracy play a decisive role in the achievement of our successes.

Relying on the successes achieved and in conformity with the basic economic law of Socialism, at its Sixth Congress the Communist Party of Bulgaria adopted directives for the second Five-Year Plan of the development of the Republic, the central aim of which is to ensure a sharp increase in the material and cultural standards of the working people. The decisions of the Sixth Congress reflect the immense, continuously growing possibilities inherent in our national economy and the deep-going strivings and aspirations of the whole people.

Of prime importance in the fulfilment of the tasks put forward by the directives on the second Five-Year Plan is the matter of ensuring a further advance of agriculture. During the second Five-Year Plan period agriculture must considerably increase supplies of food to the population and

raw materials to our industry. This can be achieved solely as a result of a radical increase in agricultural production and, above all, as a result of eliminating the lag in animal husbandry.

Proceeding from this need the Communist Party and the Government have elaborated profound and effective measures for ensuring the upsurge of agriculture. In 1957 the output of farming and animal husbandry will be approximately 56 per cent above that of 1952. The acreage under industrial crops, spring vegetables, orchards and vineyards will be substantially increased and greater yields of all crops will be harvested. We must considerably increase the head of livestock and raise its productivity. The Party and the Government have helped and will help considerably the co-operatives and individual working peasants to do this job. Suffice it to say that, as compared with the first Five-Year Plan, in the second Five-Year Plan state capital investments in agriculture will increase nearly 2.5 times. In the second Five-Year Plan the machine and tractor stations will have at their disposal not less than 23,000 tractors, 5,000 harvester combines, and thousands of other agricultural machines.

To implement the measures of the Party and the Government for achieving a further upsurge of agriculture we must mobilise the creative efforts of the working peasants. Co-operative members and all working peasants, must work still more

persistently and with all their energy. They have every possibility of raising agricultural production because this embodies the national as well as the personal interests of the peasants.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union recently discussed measures to be carried out jointly by local organisations of the Party and the Union to fulfil the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress and adopted an appeal to the working peasants. The appeal vividly embodies the common aims of the two fraternal organisations, testifies, to the fraternal co-operation of both organisations under the guidance of the Communist Party and to the constant strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Board of the Agrarian People's Union called on Communists and Union members to work untiringly to fulfil the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress and stand together shoulder to shoulder in the front ranks of the fighters for the upsurge of agriculture.

Communist Party and Union organisations will together concern themselves with the all-round strengthening of the agricultural producer co-operatives, further the development of democracy, criticism and self-criticism within the co-operatives, strengthen labour discipline, fight for strict observance of the Statute of the

Producer Co-operative and for protection of state and co-operative property. The Communists and the Agrarians will take on the most difficult jobs and by their example will inspire the masses for selfless labour. They will be in the forefront of the work to ensure bumper yields, high productivity of animal husbandry, will follow to the full the example of the Soviet collective farmers, make use of their experience on a large scale and introduce advanced methods of labour in agriculture.

The appeal calls on all Communist Party and Union organisations to carry out joint work among individual peasants and encourage them to produce heavier yields.

The Communists and Agrarians are called upon to be the most ardent propagandists for the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress, tireless organisers of the struggle for their fulfilment and constantly to convince and rally under the banner of the Fatherland Front all the working people for realising the great national task—building Socialism.

The friendship between the Communists and the Union members was born in the course of joint struggle against the monarcho-fascist regime, forged during the heroic, September uprising of 1923 and Consolidated and broadened in the ranks of the Fatherland Front, in the resolute struggle of our people for the overthrow of fascism and big capital. The attempts of

mercenary imperialist agents to shake this friendship suffered complete fiasco, having encountered the firm unity of the Communist Party and the Agrarian People's Union, unity sealed with the blood of thousands of heroes. The Communists and Agrarian Union members have rallied still closer in the joint struggle to defeat the imperialist agents and together, as brothers spared no efforts to fulfil the first Five-Year Plan. The participation of the Agrarians in laying the foundations of Socialism contributed to their correct education, to their higher ideological and political level. By their deed and strivings they have closely linked themselves with the cause of Socialism.

In response to the appeal the Agrarian Union members express their unshakable determination to work even better in fraternal friendship with the Communist Party members to translate into life the directives of the Sixth Party Congress, They are fully aware of the great significance of the further upsurge of agriculture for the development of our country.

In the course of combined work the friendship between the Communists and the Agrarians will be constantly strengthened and the worker-peasant alliance, this granite-like basis of our people's-democratic state, will become firmer.

True to the memory of Alexander "Stamboliyski, Raiko Daskalov and thousands of heroes who fell in the struggle against the

monarcho-fascist rule, the Agrarian Union members will religiously safeguard the unity of the people and constantly strengthen the ranks of the Fatherland Front. Shoulder to shoulder with the Communists and under the guidance of the Communist Party they will devote all their strength and abilities to the fulfilment of the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party and to ensuring a substantial rise in the material and cultural level of the working people of our country.

50th ANNIVERSARY OF — "L'HUMANITÉ"

April 18 will mark the 50th anniversary of the foundation of "l'Humanité", central organ of the French Communist Party. "l'Humanité" was founded in 1904 by Jean Jaures and since 1920 has been the organ of the Communist Party. At present it is the biggest newspaper of the working class, the newspaper of the people, genuine tribune of the French nation.

To mark the occasion the Central Committee has issued a call which reads in particular: "Being the daily champion of the demands of the working people in town and country, ardent fighter for democratic liberties, fighter for the independence of the country, international solidarity of the working people, against colonial oppression and for fraternal mutual understanding between the peoples in the cause of establishing lasting peace, "l'Humanité" is waging constant struggle for the establishment of working-class unity, for uniting all national and democratic forces.

"To read, study and circulate the newspaper is one of the primary duties of Party members."

The Central Committee of the Party calls on all organisations, Party members, readers and friends of "l'Humanité" to launch a campaign for greater circulation of the newspaper.

The call of the Central Committee has met with a warm response from Party activists. The

circulation of the special issue of April 4 carrying, in particular, articles by Maurice Thorez., Wilhelm Pieck, Marcel Cachin and Joliot-Curie was a great success. On this day many Party organisations increased the sale of the newspaper two, three and even more times. The overall increase in the sale of the newspaper was more than 300,000 copies and the total edition amounted to nearly 800,000 copies. All Party activists are now striving to keep new readers of "l'Humanité"-Dimanche" (Sunday newspaper), and to draw them into reading the daily newspaper "l'Humanité". They are organising rallies and meetings throughout the country devoted to the 50th anniversary of "l'Humanité" and collecting funds in support of the newspaper. As a result of the fund campaign launched in November last year over 80 million francs have already been collected.

In his article published in the special issue of April 4 Maurice Thorez writes: "On this 50th anniversary of "l'Humanité" when our country is threatened with serious danger the newspaper which expresses the ideas of the Communist Party is becoming more important. Let us do all in our power to bring the newspaper, in all respects, up to the level of the tasks facing it. Let us strive to improve it both in form and content. In Lenin's words, let it become not only the collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also the collective organiser. Let this newspaper of France become the newspaper of all French men and

women, then it will be easier to achieve the aim before us".

PRE-CONGRESS DISCUSSION IN COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN (Review of World News" and district Party Bulletins)

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain is scheduled to open in London on April 16. Just now the British Communists are completing the lively pre-Congress discussion which has lasted for more than three months to the 1,500 branches of the Party and also in the columns of "World News", the Party's weekly Journal, and in the-district bulletins.

In the pre-Congress discussion Party members critically analysed many facets of the work of the Party. They discussed in detail such questions as the Party's leadership of the workers' mass movement for higher wages, against high prices and high rents; the role of the Party in the struggle waged by the British people for peace, and national independence; building the Party in the factories and transforming mass Party it into mass Party; the need for increasing the number of subscribers to the Party press and the "Daily Worker" in particular; the need for intensified work among women and youth. Considerable attention was paid to the problem of intensified struggle of the working class in defence of the rights of the colonial peoples and of establishing close contact between the British working-class

movement and the national-liberation movement in the countries of the British Empire.

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In view of the developing mass struggles of the working people of Britain in defence of their vital rights, for peace and national independence the pre-Congress discussion, naturally, could not but concentrate on the reasons why these struggles, as well as the beginnings of united, action of the working class, have not as yet found reflection in the growth of the Party. This examination was also stimulated by the Executive Committee's "Discussion Statement" which advanced as one of the main tasks of the Congress the taking of "steps to end the contradiction between the developing mass struggles and the slow growth of the Party".

Judging by the contributions published in some district bulletins and in "World News" it appears that there are two views as to the cause of this contradiction. Some of the contributors feel that the fault lies allegedly with the workers, "they don't understand" the need for the Communist Party, "they are not ready", "they only think of immediate demands", and so on. But the majority of the contributors categorically reject this erroneous view. John Mahon, London District Secretary, pointed out in the district bulletin on March 19, that the cause lies within the Party

since "we do not explain sufficiently our aims, do not bring our Socialist programme into living connection with the events of the day, do not make the life of our Party branches interesting enough to attract and hold new members, and get too easily diverted from the continuous task of appearing publicly as a Party with our all-world policy before the "people".

The overwhelming majority, of Party members consider that inside the Party there is a lack of understanding of the role of the Communist Party in the British labour movement and in the fight for Socialism. This, wrote C. Claydon (London) in "World News" on February 13, "results in only a small minority of members recruiting others and fighting to build the Party. Another consequence is that many of our branches... do not function as the vanguard of the working class in their particular workplace or locality". Party branches display poor efforts in explaining to the workers and the broad popular masses the vital need of the struggle of the Communist Party and its programme for the solution of the problems facing the country. "Most workers know that our Party is against capitalism", wrote D. Robinson (Midlands) in "World News" on February 27. "But how many know what we stand for? It's up to us to show them by putting the 'British Road to Socialism', our alternative programme, in front of them. Thousands do not know we have an alternative to

capitalism and all it brings in its wake—war, poverty, etc.”

Horace Green (N. E. District) criticised the “Discussion Statement” saying that whilst in it “there are references to the ‘British Road to Socialism’, the fact that this programme needs to be linked up closely all the time with our immediate policy is not made strongly enough. Understanding and conviction about the programme in our ‘British Road to Socialism’ are the basis for really establishing our Party with deep roots in this mass movement now developing”.

Many Party members point to the need for a more persistent effort to weld together the mass movement and the ideas of Marxism. For example, Mick Bennett, National Organiser, in an article published in “World News” on January 9, wrote: “The success of all Communist and Workers’ Parties has precisely in their ability to weld together the mass movement and the ideas of Marxism. A movement without Marxist ideas cannot advance to Socialism, and that has been proved over and over again during the entire history of the British working class.”

Contributors to the discussion stress that the shortcomings in the work of the Party can be eliminated only provided the Party branches are strengthened. The London District Secretariat stated in its bulletin on February 12: “We have the alternative policy but we must also have a

Party organisation strong enough to explain this policy to the working class and help united action in defence of the interests of the people..." At the same time the majority of the contributors lay emphasis on the need to strengthen the factory Party organisations. Tom Ahern, railway worker, wrote in "World News" on February 27 that "all our troubles and all our weaknesses spring from this cardinal weakness of ours—our failure on the industrial front".

The bringing of the Party's programme "British Road to Socialism" to the masses, the establishment of closer contact of the Party with the masses by means of intensified struggle for their immediate demands, the strengthening of the Party branches and the factory branches in particular.—all this the participants in the pre-Congress discussion consider as the paramount means for strengthening the Party, for recruiting new members and enhancing the leading role of the Party in the struggle of the working class for their vital interests, for people and national independence.

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The Executive's "Discussion Statement" said: "We must recognise that we have done far too little to give assistance in the building of a powerful and representative organised peace

movement, and take steps to overcome this weakness.

In their contributions, Party members advance ways and means for overcoming this shortcoming. W. Nelson (Nottingham) wrote in "World News" on March 6; "Have we sufficiently understood that the key to many of the present slogans, i.e. No Arms for Germany, East-West Trade, Anglo-Soviet Friendship, the Fight for Peace, etc., is first and foremost End US Domination?... With the tremendous anti-American feeling that already exists and the growing awareness of the American threat to world peace among all sections of the people we should be leading a mighty movement for, as a first step, the withdrawal of all American occupation forces."

The contributors link the need for intensified struggle against the American occupation, for peace and national independence with the question of building a broad popular alliance, as proposed in the "British Road to Socialism". In their collective contribution the Manchester University Graduates Branch criticised those who try to postpone the building of this alliance until the achievement of working-class unity. "The work toward this alliance", they wrote in "World News" on March 27, "is not something which can only begin when the working-class unity is a fact. On the contrary, it is of great help in forging working-class unity." Many contributors call for greater effort by the Party in the work

among the broad sections of the British people and in bringing them more resolutely into the struggle for peace and national independence.

The forthcoming (May) municipal elections and the Party's preparation for the next General Election evoked a lively discussion on the ways and means, of building working-class unity which is the basis for the broad popular alliance. Referring to this question Jack Maunder (Cardiff), a Communist Party municipal councillor, wrote in "World News" on February 20: "In my opinion the Party can only succeed in local elections if it campaigns in the pits, factories, streets and in the broad labour movement for its policy with the Daily Worker, other Party literature, meetings, discussions, etc., not during the election time itself, but for months... before the elections, take place."

Considerable attention in the discussion is devoted to the tactics of the Party in the next General-Election. Party members urge the building of unity with Labour Party members in the course of the struggle for a progressive, militant election programme which alone can lead to the creation of a united front against the Tories and the Right-wing Labour and trade union leaders.

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The pre-Congress discussion testifies to a serious striving of the British Communists to review the present problems, and future perspective of the labour movement in Britain. This is of tremendous importance in the present situation when the working people are discussing what policy can solve the grave problems facing the country.

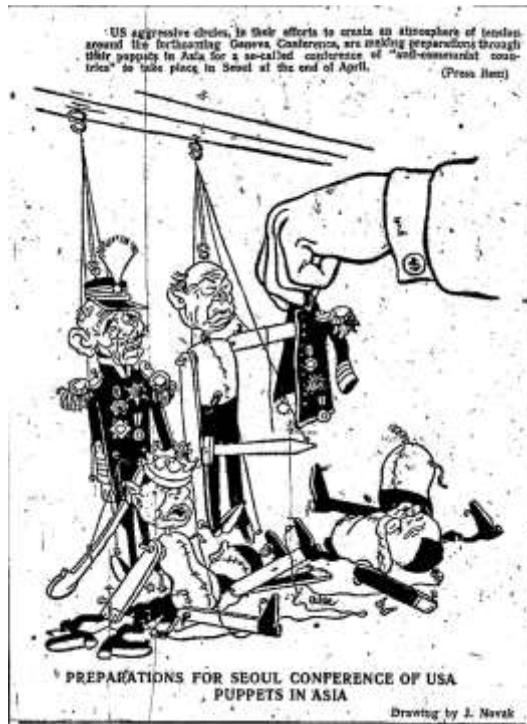
There can be no doubt that the discussion will help the Communist Party of Great Britain and the forthcoming Congress to decide the vital questions in the work of the Party for ensuring further development of the mass movement in defence of the vital interests of the British people, for peace and national independence of the country.

John SMITH.

PREPARATIONS FOR SEOUL CONFERENCE OF USA PUPPETS IN ASIA. Drawing by J. Novak

US aggressive circles, in their efforts to create an atmosphere of tension around the forthcoming Geneva Conference, are making preparations through their puppets in Asia for a so-called conference of "anti-communist countries" to take place in Seoul at the end of April.

(Press item)



DECISION OF ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

The All-India Peace Council has decided to observe April 25 as "Asia Day" and has called on the people of India to demonstrate on this day their profound desire for peace and freedom.

April 23, said Dr. Kitchlew, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council is the day before the opening of the Geneva Conference. The questions of Korea and Indo-China, which will be discussed at this Conference, are of deep concern to all the peoples of Asia, and particularly the people of India.

Dr. Kitchlew said that those taking part in the meetings and demonstrations to be held on "Asia Day" should send to Geneva, on behalf of the people of India, resolutions calling for an end to the war in Viet Nam, the establishment of stable and lasting peace in Korea, recognition of the People's Republic of China and an end to the attempts the imperialist powers to build their, on the territory of Asia.

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF "LA VOZ DE MEXICO"

A " 'La Voz de Mexico' month" from mid-March onwards, is being held all over Mexico in connection with the thirtieth anniversary, on March 14, of the newspaper "La Voz de Mexico", central organ of the Communist Party of Mexico.

The great role played by "La Voz de Mexico" in the fight to defend the interests of the working class and the entire Mexican people has emphasised by the working people at countless meetings and in the greetings from fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties; all of them convey their best wishes, for new successes in the work of educating and rallying the working people of Mexico, in the struggle for unity of the working class, for the ideological and organisational strengthening of the Communist Party.

DIRE PLIGHT OF PEASANTRY IN LEBANON

A conference of peasants and agricultural labourers took place recently in the Akkar region (Mount Lebanon). The report of the Preparatory Committee read at the conference referred to the dire straits of the peasants' and agricultural labourers in Lebanon and pointed out that a handful of feudal lords, having seized the best plots of land, are ruthlessly exploiting the peasantry. In a number of villages they continue to levy the "achra" tax (one-tenth of the harvested crop yields) which has been prohibited by law. In fact they levy more than 12 per cent of the peasant harvests. In addition, the peasants pay many other taxes with the result that half of their harvest goes to the feudal lords.

The feudal lords have introduced a real corvée system, the peasants are obliged to till the feudal land for 20 days every year without pay. Not infrequently the feudal lords obtain loans from the banks at low rates of interest and turn loans to the peasant, demanding interest at the rate of 3 per cent per month. Seeking to force the peasants to work in even more difficult conditions the feudal lords resort to evicting them from their homes.

The conference called on the people of Lebanon to defend the peasants and agricultural labourers from the arbitrariness of the feudal

lords. And to fight for their better living standards.

BOOK REVIEW

A Truthful Book About the Soviet Union



A new book, "**Hands Across the Himalayas**"^{*}, was recently published in English, Hindi, and Urdu by the All-India Peace Council. It is an account of the Indian Peace delegation which spent 25 days in the Soviet Union after taking part in the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held in Vienna at the end of 1 December 1952.

^{*} Hands Across the Himalayas. Indians In the Soviet Union. All India Peace Council. pp. 156. New Delhi.

The merits of this book lie primarily in the fact that it is an impartial and true portrayal of facts. The book is also of value because it is written by a large group of the 26 members of the delegation. Among them are Dr. S. Kitchlew, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council; Dr. J. Kumarappa, well-known economist; Daljit P. Singh, housewife, collector of over 60,000 signatures in favour of a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers; P. Chatterji, influential industrialist from Bengal; the writers Desai, Yashpal and Bedekar; S. Banerji, Member of Parliament; Hajrah Begum, teacher; Shraddha Mata, religious leader. Among the delegation were members of six major political parties of India.

The book begins with the impressions of S. B. Adityan, editor of "Daily Thanti". Recalling as one of the outstanding incidents in his life the day in January 1953 when he visited the Lenin Mausoleum for the first time he writes: "My thoughts went to the people of my country. In my mind's eye, I saw the misery, the poverty, the distress and the sufferings of my people not Lenin find his country in the same condition? Did he not set in motion the forces which have reconstructed his country into peoples' paradise? Has he not lighted a torch and shown the path to his country and to all mankind? As I thought of these. I saw a vision of a new India, a happy India, a reconstructed India, with no poverty, with no

unemployment, with no starvation or hunger, with healthy and happy people..."

The subsequent chapters of the book open up to the reader the brilliant many-sided reality of Soviet life, the happy life of the Soviet people who are boldly marching along to a bright future—to Communism. During their stay in the Soviet Union the members of the Indian delegation visited Moscow, Georgia, the heroic cities of Leningrad and Stalingrad. "In defending Stalingrad", they write, "the heroes of the Red Army saved not only the Soviet Union, but the world from fascist enslavement."

By their own choice, as the book stresses, the members of the Indian delegation visited a number of Soviet works and factories. the V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Canal, the printshop of the newspaper "Pravda", the new Moscow State University, schools, kindergartens and creches, scientific-research institutes, sanatoria and rest homes. They went to the Leningrad Hermitage, the Tretyakov Art Gallery, museums, palaces and parks of culture, clubs and workers' flats. They met Ministers, clergymen, economists and scientists. They acquainted themselves with the Soviet trade unions, of various public organisations.

The members of the delegation displayed particular interest in the material conditions of Soviet workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia, in the social status of women, in the

medical treatment of the population, in the protection of labour—i.e., in all the questions which are urgent problems in India. This is vividly described in detail in the book.

What conclusion do the authors of the book arrive at?

They note, first of all, an exceptionally high and steadily rising standard of living of the Soviet people. Some facts are given about a collective farm in Hotsuban, a village in Georgia. Before the Revolution the peasants of this village owned no land and were completely illiterate, Hotsuban, like thousands of other village's in the Soviet Union, now leads a well-to-do and cultured life. In 1952, for instance. Heroes of Socialist Labour, mother and daughter Gittuvadze, earned 60,000 roubles in the course of a year, 70 families out of the 450 have cars of their own. Some 300 residents of this village have received higher education and 60 young men and women are studying in universities and institutes in Moscow and Tbilisi.

The authors more than once stress that solicitude for man and the satisfaction of his various cultural requirements are the special concern of the Soviet state. "What impressed us all", they write about the V. I. Lenin Library in Moscow, "was not simply the size and organisation of this library, but the fact that its doors are open to every Soviet citizen—old and young from every walk of life—and that the social

system in the Soviet Union does make it possible for all to make use of such libraries.”

Similar conclusions can be found in other chapters of the book describing the higher educational establishments, schools, stadiums, palaces of culture, theatres, hospitals, creches, etc. “We have been struck”, the authors’ declare, “by the large number of facilities guaranteed free of cost to every, Soviet citizen—medical treatment, education, excellent club amenities and cultural and sports facilities... We are particularly impressed by the special attention given to children in the Soviet Union.”

The book “Hands Across the Himalayas” exposes one of the inventions of imperialist propaganda, namely, that of the American Information Service in India (USIS) to the effect that the Soviet Union has no freedom of religion and that the family is being broken up. The book points out that religious freedom in the USSR is not only guaranteed by the Constitution it is actually being practised, and that, family ties, far from being loosened, are strong and becoming even stronger year by year.

The members of the Indian delegation, representing one of the most multi-national countries in the world, were greatly impressed by the complete absence of racial discrimination in the USSR and by the flourishing of culture in the previously backward national regions of the country.

Acquaintance with Soviet workers, peasants and intelligentsia at work, in the theatres, in the flats and in the streets enabled the authors of this book to appreciate to the full the feeling of respect and friendship which the Soviet working people have for peoples of other countries. No matter where the members of the Indian delegation happened to be, they were shown care and attention, greeted with friendly smiles and met with an ardent desire for strengthening the ties of friendship with the Indian people who are courageously waging the fight for peace.

And finally, the predominating thought throughout the book "Hands Across the Himalayas" is the firm conviction of the authors of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. It was perfectly expressed by Saifuddin Kitchlew in the following words:

"...The Soviet people and the Soviet Government want Peace more than anything else in the world. Peace to continue their constructive activities... Peace to build new houses for the workers... Peace to raise the living standards still further beyond the excellent standard it has already reached. Peace to add more and more free services to the countless ones which already exist... They do not want war, they don't plan war against anyone in the world.

"I want the people of the world to know this. Our delegation consists of men and women of the most varied opinions. We all had heard many

stories about the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union. We came to find the truth for ourselves. We have found it. The stories are lies. The Soviet Union wants Peace above all. No country engaged in so much construction can ever plan war."

Today when the American imperialists are setting up their military bases in Pakistan, on the borders of India, and are calculating how much less the Pakistan soldiers will cost them than their own, of vital importance is the struggle of the peace fighters in India against the machinations of the US imperialists. The words uttered by Saifuddin Kitchlew on behalf of his great people sound with particular force: "No power on earth can ever make the Indian people participate directly or indirectly, in any war against the Soviet Union."

The: book "Hands Across the Himalayas" again and again confirms the great truth that Socialism and peace are inseparable. The peoples of all countries see in the Soviet Union the mighty bulwark of peace from which they draw courage for the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy.

Madhavial S. DAS

POLITICAL NOTES

Advocates of "European Army" in France Meeting With Failure

The advocates of the "European Army" in France recently undertook an unusual operation known in some circles as "operation smoke-screen". Faced, with an irritated Washington; an impatient Bonn and with the sharply expressed hostility of the French people, they are now trying to supplement the Bonn and Paris agreements with all sorts of technical, legal or pseudo-legal amendments and involved guarantees in the hope that they will manage to blunt vigilance and fool honest citizens, causing them to drop their opposition to the ratification of the "European Defence Community" agreement. In other words, they want to sugar the pill so that it will be easier to make people swallow it.

The question involuntarily arises: Why did they have to resort to these tricks? If certain official documents are to be believed, the necessity for placing arms in the hands of the West German revanchists is already supposed to have been "unanimously recognised" by the French people. The words "unanimously recognised" are taken from the reply of the French Government to questions put by the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Affairs. As everyone knows, the unanimity of the French people does

actually exist, but it is directed against the "European Army" and the rearming of Western Germany.

It is also well known that most of the members of the British Labour Party, many German Socialists and a vast number of other people in all the European countries are ever more resolutely opposed to the EDC, This is not, however, taken into account by the French rulers.

In their zealous attempt to gag the mouth of their opponents the advocates of the "European Defence Community" are becoming more and more impudent. The following fact is most instructive in this respect: the new "time-table" worked out by the American Embassy in Paris for ratification of the "European Defence Community" agreement by the French Parliament.

The American "ultimatum time-table" has already been exposed by Edouard Herriot, honorary Chairman of the National Assembly, at the recent Congress of the Radical Party. According to this "time-table" the National Assembly of France is to ratify the "European Defence Community" agreement on April 16 at the latest. That is why the advocates of rearming Western Germany are doing their best to get the Bonn and Paris agreements ratified.

That ever-broader sections of society are becoming concerned and indignant, including those who had hitherto taken a wait-and-see position, is evidenced by the Marshal Juin "case".

As is generally known, in a speech delivered in Auxerre (Department Yonne) Martial Juin put forward weighty arguments against the creation of a "European Defence Community". When called upon to give an explanation to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers he refused to do so and was dismissed from his posts of Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and Permanent Military Adviser to the Government.

That the mighty patriotic protest movement of the French people against the Bonn and Paris agreements is growing is evidenced not only by the innumerable popular demonstrations taking place all over France; it is attested to by the important fact that 59 out of the 105 Socialist Deputies recently issued a special pamphlet directed against the "European Defence Community". Having been deprived of freedom of speech by the "grace" of Guy Mollet they have used the freedom of the pen in order to expose the "European Army" and demand that their Party gives them a free hand in the voting in the debate on the ratification question.

Neither promises, manoeuvres, commands nor threats can make the French people forget the danger with which the revival of German militarism is fraught for France and the cause of peace. French men and women do not want to be put in the galley which will bring them to calamity.

Jan MAREK

FACTS EXPOSE...

Refuge for Hitlerites

As is known, the so-called Blank Office (Blank is in effect the Bonn War Minister) is feverishly forming West German divisions for the "European Army". The newspaper "Kieler Nachrichten" reports that of 174 high-ranking officials in the Blank Office 23 worked at Hitler's staff headquarters and 77 are former officers of the Hitler General Staff. As regards the rest of the officials, their revanchist sentiments and affection for the Wehrmacht raises no doubt whatever.

It will not be difficult to guess therefore what, according to the designs of Blank and his associates, the revived West German divisions are to represent; an exact replica of Hitler's aggressive army.

"Unfit" People

The American newspaper "Worker" carried a letter from a resident of Lincoln (Arkansas). It says that at present a man's life is restricted, on the average, to 45 years. It is already difficult for a woman of over 35 to get a job, and there is not even any sense in looking for one after she reaches 50... The Governor of the state said that

people of more than 45 years of-age can no longer expect to get work; older people, he said, are "unfit".

This is how people in the prime of life and at the peak of their powers are made "unfit" by capitalism.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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